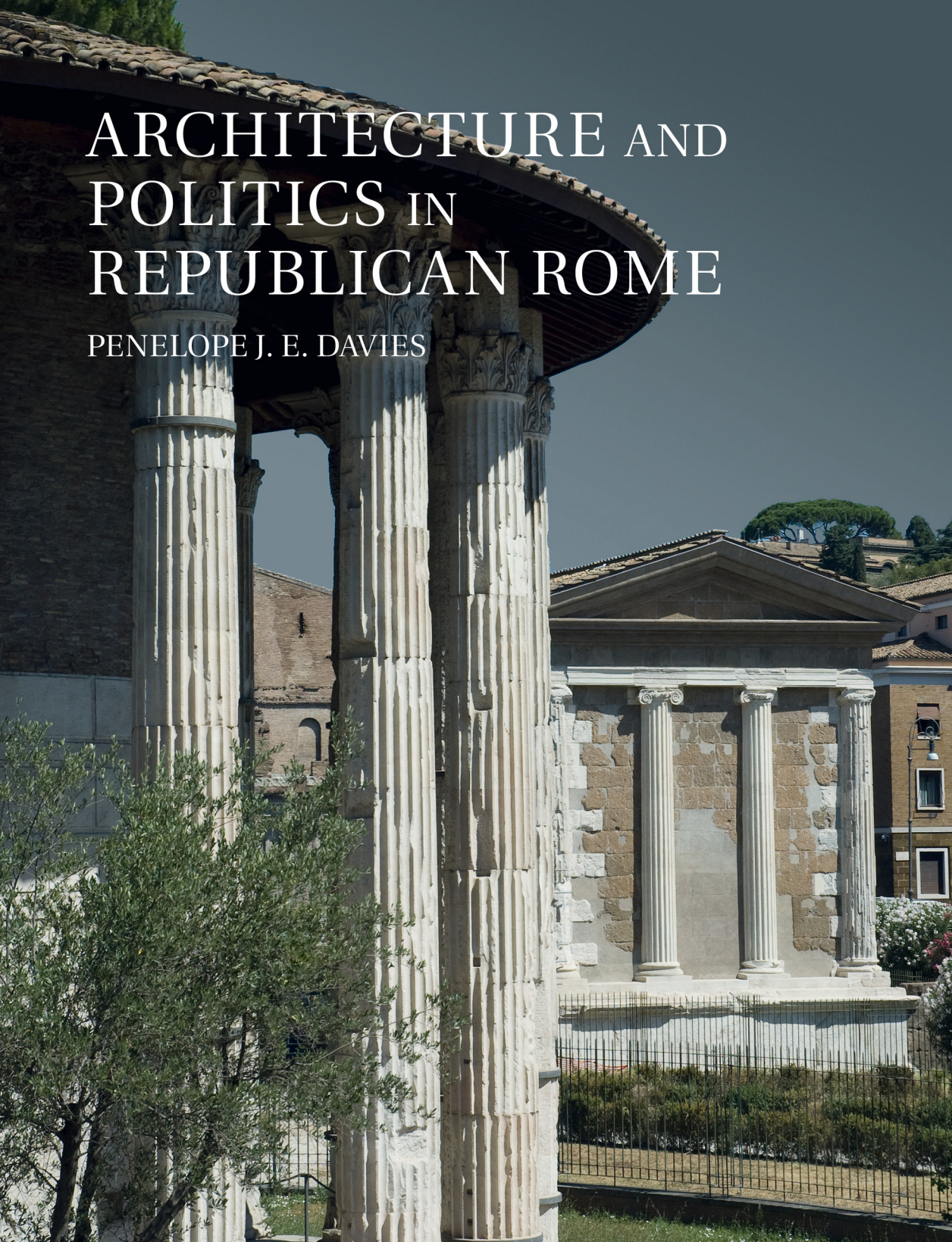




ARCHITECTURE AND POLITICS IN REPUBLICAN ROME

PENELOPE J. E. DAVIES

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ARCHITECTURE AND POLITICS IN REPUBLICAN ROME

Architecture and Politics in Republican Rome is the first book to explore the intersection between Roman Republican building practices and politics (ca. 509–44 BCE). At the start of the period, architectural commissions were carefully controlled by the political system; by the end, buildings were so widely exploited and so rhetorically powerful that Cassius Dio cited abuse of visual culture among the reasons that propelled Julius Caesar's colleagues to murder him, in order to safeguard the Republic. In an engaging and wide-ranging text, Penelope J. E. Davies traces the journey between these two points, as politicians developed strategies to maneuver within the system's constraints. She also explores the urban development and image of Rome, setting out formal aspects of different types of architecture and technological advances, such as the mastery of concrete. Elucidating a rich corpus of buildings, Davies demonstrates that Republican architecture was much more than a formal precursor to that of imperial Rome.

Penelope J. E. Davies is Professor in the Department of Art and Art History at the University of Texas at Austin. Her work focuses on public monuments of Rome and their propagandistic functions. Author of *Death and the Emperor: Roman Imperial Funerary Monuments from Augustus to Marcus Aurelius* (Cambridge University Press, 2000), she also co-authored *Janson's History of Art, Seventh and Eighth Editions* (2006, 2011).

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For my parents

There is a crack in everything. That's how the light gets in.
— Leonard Cohen, Anthem (1992)

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INTRODUCTION

That imperial Roman buildings served imperial ideologies, few scholars would dispute. In fact, a search to expose their propagandistic content is the driving force behind much of the research on the subject. Not so Republican architecture, which is often branded, albeit implicitly, as the primitive prolog to an art that grew instantly sophisticated with the dawn of Empire; and for these four and a half centuries when Roman architecture was born and its message-bearing potential developed, scholarship frequently privileges formal issues. Moreover, because the city was characterized by isolated buildings and independent nodes rather than an integrated design (to the extent that Livy, writing in the late first century, and Tacitus at the start of the second century CE, described it as the outcome of a building frenzy after a Gallic conflagration), contemporary scholars show relatively little interest in its urbanistic qualities.¹

With this book, I argue that the Republican city and its component buildings were inextricably intertwined with Republican government, which they helped at times to perpetuate and at times to challenge. My goal is to sketch a matrix for this relationship, beginning with the early Republic, when architecture reinforced a patrician stranglehold on authority, through the plebeians' struggle for equality, justified and resisted through architecture, and the years of expansion throughout the Mediterranean, when magistrates used buildings to frame themselves, *inter alia*, as brilliant *conquistadores*. I explore the unraveling of senatorial authority at the end of the second century, achieved in part through concrete construction, in part by populist subversions of the very language of building, and simultaneously denied by conservatives

through their monuments. I end with the dictatorship of C. Julius Caesar, the first Republican to propose overarching policy changes for Rome, conceived in architecture and city planning, and the conspiracy against him, which buildings may have helped to propel to its bloody conclusion.

REPUBLIC AND ARCHITECTURE

There were three overlapping components to Republican government: a senate performed as a deliberative council; a series of elective magistrates – including consuls, censors, praetors, aediles, quaestors, tribunes of the plebs and, in times of crisis, dictators – had relatively specific though evolving mandates; and the citizen body made up the army and, in its voting assemblies, elected the magistrates (except for a dictator, who was nominated by a consul).² The set-up created a situation verging on the paradoxical. As Livy presents it, on expelling their last king, Tarquinius Superbus, at the end of the sixth century, the political elite denounced aspirations to autocratic power, and whether or not this is true, collegiality was fundamental to the constitution: with the exception of a dictator, every magistrate had at least one partner in office.³ Yet at the same time, because they valued public service above any other pursuit, and because the number of magistrates in each office diminished progressively with each step toward the consulship and the censorship, the system also fomented furious competition, which only intensified as the population grew, as property requirements for military service were eliminated, and as public office opened up to municipal Italians after the Social War of 91–89. That magistrates functioned in isolation

from one another, not as a cabinet, probably exacerbated their ambitions.⁴

As destructive as these ambitions might be for a republic, they were also beneficial, for the achievements of any of the state's members were simultaneously its own; competition among the political elite for the people's grant of honors may in fact have generated stability for much of the Republic. A degree of competition was therefore not only acceptable but even desirable;⁵ the challenge was to control the degree. To this end, Romans established a series of checks and balances with regard to power, which the Greek historian Polybius, in about 140, viewed as a resounding success: "Such being the power that each part [the senate, the people and the army] has of hampering the others or co-operating with them, their union is adequate to all emergencies, so that it is impossible to find a better political system than this ..."⁶ Since magistracies were elective, the ruling class could not govern individually or collectively without seeking legitimacy from those they hoped to govern; and rivalry among themselves notwithstanding, group solidarity resided in a shared recognition that their welfare was inextricable from that of the *res publica* and the *populus Romanus* as a whole. Trusting the populace to reward commitment to and excellence in politics and war with public office and glory, they developed a consensus that ambition should be self-regulated.⁷

All the same, constant changes to the constitution and recalibrations of consensus suggest that reality did not always live up to ideal; a great deal, after all, was at stake. In the short term, one office was a stepping-stone to the next, and though there appears to have been an implicit order to the *cursus honorum*, until legislative controls on holding back-to-back magistracies and the Villian Law of ca. 180, in theory, at least, a man with ten years' military service could aspire to any office. From 327, he might also have an eye to prorogation, a process that extended a general's authority for a second year as proconsul or propraetor. Across the board, senators could aim for the influence that came with seniority in the senate, and high magistracies yielded fortunes through military conquest, as was especially apparent from the second century.⁸ In the longer term, the personal and family renown that came with office-holding provided a kind of capital that later generations could draw upon when seeking public honors in their own right, and a family's longevity in politics in turn enhanced the possibility of personal posthumous memory.⁹ With so much to gain, individuals

increasingly pushed against the limits of acceptable conduct.

This was true in architectural sponsorship as in other realms. Throughout much of the Mediterranean, the four and a half centuries of the Roman Republic were years of rapid urban development. It was in a city's interest to have grand public buildings and spaces, not only for its own functioning but also to vie with other states for prestige. Construction was perceived as the responsibility and the hallmark of local ruling elites, usually monarchs; architecture gave them visibility and helped to legitimize their status, and did so in at least two ways: first, through acts of benefaction, their initiatives improved standards of living for their subjects; and second, by masterminding space, they framed the daily ceremonies of life and the rituals of elite power. In Rome, though, things worked differently. For an elite that strove constantly to negotiate status with the voting public, visibility enhanced electability and augmented prestige, which made it all but irresistible for even the most committed Republican to use buildings as a tool for self-advancement. To control these instincts, the sponsorship of public architecture was apparently circumscribed: literary and epigraphical evidence suggests that, by constitution or consensus, only elected officials commissioned public buildings, and did so on behalf of the *res publica*; *privati* did not deploy their own resources on state construction. Moreover, these magistrates labored under close constraints: unlike monarchs of the eastern Mediterranean, who could reasonably anticipate the fullness of their reigns to accomplish their goals, and who also had the resources of the state at their disposal, magistrates had unusually brief terms of office—one year, or at most eighteen months for a censor, and (unlike Pericles of Athens) no successive terms, and the senate seems to have watched over their use of state resources. These conditions helped the political elite to self-regulate, by informing magistrates' building projects. In general plan and inception, a single structure (such as a temple, or a basilica) was manageable within a short time (as Vitruvius appears to acknowledge, with his aside on a Roman "passion for quick results" in building);¹⁰ a massive orchestration of urban space, of the kind that Hellenistic kings and later emperors managed to realize, was not. In theory at least, the system controlled state architecture tightly enough to prevent individuals from exploiting it to threaten the system. And just as it kept the wealthy from self-advancement through construction, so it prevented non-senatorials from using public architecture, a

powerful language of authority, from protesting a system that was heavily weighted against them.

From one perspective, the history of Republican architecture is the history of individuals and groups developing strategies to maneuver within the constraints imposed by the system, and finally breaking free. This book explores their strategies, in seven chronological phases, suggested by developments in architecture, by political change, and by the state of the evidence.¹¹ In each section, an overview of political events at home and abroad provides a context for discussion of public construction, addressed under three headings: religious, manubial, and civic. These designations, chosen for ease of exegesis, are both artificial and highly permeable; many temples, for instance, were funded with *manubiae* (spoils); manubial dedications were often sacred; the Comitium had a civic function but was also a *templum* or sacred precinct, as were, probably, the *ovile*/Saepta and the Curia;¹² the provision of entertainment venues and pomerial enlargement, both categorized as civic enterprises, were also religious.¹³

My discussion focuses primarily on intention (which is, by the nature of the system, almost entirely that of the senatorial class), rather than reception. My principal subject is architecture yet, since the genesis of manubial monuments is intertwined with the practice of sculptural display, sculpture makes cameo appearances, and especially the cult statues for which temples were constructed. Despite their role in public life, buildings funded by private means – such as houses, tombs, commercial structures, and private entertainment venues – appear only where they elucidate the history of public building; I also exclude shrines or sanctuaries without major cult buildings.¹⁴ More importantly, perhaps, I limit my treatment to the architecture of the city of Rome. To be sure, archaeological evidence there is notoriously difficult to assess: sparse, fragmentary, smothered by later accretions, and often poorly documented. Great swaths of the city remain unexcavated, skewing any assessment of urban development, and where traces of buildings are discernible, identified or not, they rarely suffice to allow for confident reconstructions.¹⁵ When trying to approximate Rome's appearance in the Republic, it is not unusual, therefore, for scholars to mine the abundance of material preserved at other Italian sites, such as Cosa, Gabii, or Pompeii,¹⁶ and though this method has merit for a history of formal developments, for an assessment of political meaning it is highly problematic, since the

regulations and consensus that governed public conduct in Rome – including commissions of public architecture – were specific to Rome.

Politics, moreover, were local; even when citizenship was extended to municipal Italians, elections still took place in Rome, concerned issues of Roman life, and favored men from old Roman families. Responses to Roman *mores*, players in a Roman drama, Roman buildings were unique to Rome.

A study of this sort is as dependent on written sources, such as inscriptions, state calendars, and literary texts, as it is on material remains, and these texts are no less controversial than the archaeological data, as scholars routinely lament: often penned by conservatives long after the fact, they reflect concerns and attitudes of their own times.¹⁷ The most detailed account of building commissions is woven into Livy's *Ab urbe condita*, in which many historians today place little faith before the end of the fourth century, when Romans started to keep written records that could serve as source material.¹⁸ Still, I justify my use of information on building vows, dedications, and offerings of spoils in his account of early Rome on the basis that he, and other authors (such as the Greek historian Dionysius of Halicarnassus and the architect Vitruvius, both writing in the age of Augustus), could mine public inscriptions for data, and may have had access to priestly records.¹⁹ For the period after ca. 300, written sources are uneven: while Livy is probably reliable, in the main, his text is missing between 293 and 219 and after 167; for these years scholars count on notices, often little more than chance mentions, scattered through a miscellany of sources, until Cicero's letters and speeches, one-sided as they are, open a window on the city, and allow a reading of Pompey's and Caesar's building initiatives almost from conception to completion.

In brief, the sparse and sporadic nature of the evidence, both archaeological and literary, means that many buildings must be missing from our accounts, and apparent fluctuations risk over-interpretation; my attempt at establishing patterns of commissioning, building design, location, and function is therefore often a game of speculation. Such a matrix as emerges will tolerate plenty of fine-tuning.

RELIGIOUS, MANUBIAL, AND CIVIC INITIATIVES

Judging by literary and archaeological evidence, Republican Romans erected more public temples (*aedes publicae*) than any other type of state building. The formal

votum (vow) for a temple, its *locatio* (contract-letting), and its *dedicatio* (dedication) on completion were state matters, privileges that devolved onto magistrates—dictators, consuls (usually in their role as general), censors, occasionally praetors and aediles, and in one instance a tribune.²⁰ Until the late Republic, the senate as a body never commissioned temples unless on advice of the oracle, the Sibylline Books; on rare occasions, they appointed ad hoc officers known as *duumviri* (*Ilviri*) *sacris faciendis*, *Ilviri* and *decemviri* (*Xviri*) *aedi dedicandae*, and *Ilviri aedi locandae* to take responsibility for them.²¹ All individuals engaged in these acts of piety performed on behalf of the *res publica*, but religion being inseparable from politics, Romans also recognized that in so doing they aligned themselves with the gods and the interests of senate and state, which brought them, their *gens*, and often their peer group, glory and prestige.²² To guard against temple construction (and other types of building) serving their interests too effectively, therefore, the senate maintained a controlling hand; a vow made on the state's behalf probably required senatorial ratification, and though there are no known instances of the senate's refusal, its veto power must have had a restraining effect.²³ Senators could also equivocate endlessly before granting their imprimatur, or exercise their option to deny funding.²⁴ When approved, a temple was often a collegial project: though the man who vowed it might dedicate it in a later magistracy or as a *Ilvir*, he could only do so by will of the electorate or the senate, and though in many cases the privilege fell to a relative, it could just as easily fall to a rival.²⁵

Undeterred, scores of senatorials still opted in; a conservative estimate would place roughly eighty temples in Rome by Julius Caesar's time,²⁶ and from the start of the Republic to its unraveling, dramatic variations in process and construction chart their efforts, and those of diverse power groups, to maneuver for visibility. There were shifts in agency, as plebeian consuls, aediles, and even a tribune joined patrician dictators in making vows, and adjustments in funding, as vowers came to rely not only on spoils and other state funds but also on fines collected while aedile. Choices of honorand vacillated between Greek and established Italic gods, new personifications, and divine qualities; and designs were modified as Romans negotiated Greek influences and the possibilities presented by concrete technology. Locations changed to suit shifting functions: initially icons of patrician control, temples evolved to serve individual agendas, and were strategically sited for self-promotion.

Most temples came about in a military context, for Rome's natural state was a state of war. At one moment or another, diverse factors made this so: the city's defensive strategies; the exigencies of its treaties with allied states; military command as a prerequisite for magistracy; and individuals' thirst for glory. War meant spoils, for standard practice throughout the Mediterranean was to pillage cities taken by force: conquerors assumed a right to the property of the conquered. In due course the process became relatively standardized. When troops had breached the enemy city's walls and wiped out any resistance, their general sent a contingent of soldiers to pillage while the rest stood guard. The largest and most precious goods were transported back to Rome; the rest, or the proceeds from their sale, were distributed among the troops on site.²⁷ For the commander, the advantages were considerable: spoils were not only visual proof of conquest, but they raised income and morale among the troops, and enriched and empowered the state, for which he was owed gratitude. The more plentiful and spectacular they were, the greater the adversary appeared; the greater the adversary, the mightier Rome, the more lethal the army and the abler the general.

In many instances, the first public exhibition of spoils occurred during a triumph, for which, on pronouncing victory, a commander could petition the senate. While he retained his army on the Campus Martius, north of the city, the senate deliberated the merits of his case, though once given, its word was not final: a tribune could interpose his veto, and the populace voted on the decision.²⁸ Another option was the lesser honor of an *ovatio*, and a general denied both a triumph and an ovation could fund an unofficial procession to the sanctuary of Jupiter Latiarius on the Mons Albanus.²⁹ As for the ritual itself, there may have been no routine procedure, but ancient accounts still yield a general impression. Clad in a *tunica palmata* (a tunic embroidered with palm leaves), a *toga picta* (a toga dyed purple), and a golden crown, the *triumphator* rode a ceremonial chariot, preceded by wagons of spoils and prisoners. Ministrants led sacrificial animals; dancers, flautists, actors, torch- and incense-bearers enlivened the spectacle. Magistrates followed, with the senate, and the army; by the second century, liberated Roman citizens brought up the rear. Watching from temporary stands, people strewed the path with flowers; temples stood open; the city was in festival.³⁰ From the Campus Martius, the procession wound its way to the Capitoline Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, and there the

general fulfilled his pre-battle vows by offering sacrifice, and presided over a banquet. A celebration of the gods' favor, the ritual built popular consensus around the governing elite that led Rome to victory.

From its inception, a triumph was one of Rome's highest accolades. Yet for all the glory it conferred, it remained ephemeral.³¹ Not so the spoils, which came to include vast sums of money and precious metals, and objects and artworks that lent themselves to display. In rare cases the state created permanent exhibitions of them to honor its generals, but unlike Greek states, which granted visible tributes for excellence, such as statues and crowns, to help reconcile inequalities of status with the egalitarian ideal of the *polis*, Rome never developed a code of honors.³² Seeking recognition, generals therefore started to install their spoils in public places on their own initiative, for though the spoils were property of the state, generals seem to have had a say over their disposal. Over the years, these installations, known as *monumenta*, evolved from embellishments of existing buildings and spaces into autonomous memorials.³³ Spoils were powerful determinants of a general's career, to the extent that by the mid-Republic heated debates bore in on the nature of pillaging and the objects seized, and on the disposal of plunder; in turn, these debates altered the trajectory of sculptural production in Rome, and led to innovative uses of spoils in the public interest. The grand monuments that resulted – arches, porticoes, a theater, and a forum – radically changed the face of the city.

Alongside religious and manubial buildings, civic structures, too, were gradually added to the urban landscape. For emergency building in times of war, dictators took the lead, but for most of the Republic, the dominant agents were censors, whose mandate included letting contracts for state buildings using resources assigned by the senate, and aediles, charged with overseeing the fabric of the city; often they used income from fines.³⁴ Yet by the end of the second century, as consensus and

collaboration broke down, so too did patterns of civic sponsorship: consuls, praetors, and tribunes joined the fray. How much latitude any of them enjoyed in the use of their funds is debatable, but though it is conceivable that they merely facilitated projects outlined by the senate, the sparse surviving evidence on commissioning processes pits the senate against various censorial initiatives, suggesting that censors and other magistrates took a more active role in initiating projects on behalf of the state.³⁵ They also recognized the potential to capitalize on their magistracies for self-advancement, and civic architecture became a realm of rapid innovation.

Few civic buildings were dedicated to the activities of state officials. Public funds went instead to protection, political processes, infrastructure, and entertainment. A grand circuit of fortifications redefined the city after the Gallic invasion, and beyond it, some time later, a shipshed was probably erected for the fleet. Political arenas – the Forum, the Curia, the Comitia, and the *ovile* – were monumentalized and dignified; grand basilicas accommodated judicial and other civic business. As industry intensified and the population expanded, the water supply was magnificently augmented, and attention paid to waste removal. Enhancements to the port area facilitated and encouraged river trade, and the Forum Boarium and the Porta Trigemina region, the city's principal commercial districts, were maintained and developed with paved roads and porticoes. Entertainment venues grew in number, size, and splendor.

Side by side, religious, manubial, and civic buildings multiplied to fill Rome's public spaces. At times fantastically innovative, or strategically sited, they were nonetheless products of a political system that constrained their size and kept even the most lavish of them, Pompey's Theater-Portico complex and Caesar's Forum, as relatively isolated ventures. None would form part of a program, and as close as Caesar came to envisaging a policy for urban development, the instincts of a flailing Republic prevailed to deny its realization.

ONE

A REPUBLIC TAKES SHAPE: *ca.* 509–338

POLITICAL FRAMEWORK

Civic Affairs

As Livy presents it, in 753 Romulus founded Rome. He was its first king, and six others ruled after him: Numa Pompilius, Tullus Hostilius, Ancus Marcius, L. Tarquinius Priscus, Servius Tullius, and L. Tarquinius Superbus. They led the army in war, exercised judicial power, and fulfilled religious duties, until 509, when a scandal broke. S. Tarquinius, the king's son, raped Lucretia, daughter of Sp. Lucretius, who took her own life in shame. The outraged people condemned the king to exile, elected his relatives, L. Iunius Brutus and L. Tarquinius Collatinus, as their first consuls (though P. Valerius Poplicola assumed Tarquinius Collatinus' post when they banished the entire Tarquin family), and passed the king's religious duties to a *rex sacrorum* (king of sacred matters). Iunius Brutus extracted an oath from the people "that they would suffer no man to be king in Rome." Livy's text, the principal account of the dawn of the Republic, meets its share of skepticism, in respect to the historicity of its protagonists, the chronology, and the very notion of a sudden shift from monarchy to Republic;¹ yet as sparse and controversial as it is, other evidence, both archaeological and literary, cautions against dismissing the general thrust of his account out of hand.

Extant data suggests that there was indeed a monarchy in sixth-century Rome, as well as a wealthy aristocratic class from which an advisory council was drawn. By the late sixth century, the populace was likely organized into two types of assembly: a *comitia curiata*, which voted to appoint a king and probably comprised all free male citizens sorted into units (*curiae*) in tribes of ten, and a *comitia centuriata*, a military assembly that grouped citizens as equestrians, infantrymen, or unarmed adjuncts according to wealth.²

In the last decade of the sixth century, the monarchy does seem to have ended – after an aristocratic coup, perhaps, or a hostile attack on the city – and the ensuing decades saw the establishment of a new system of governance, the *res publica*, with an evolving, unwritten constitution. The citizen body voted on most political actions, and a deliberative council or senate of about 300 was instrumental in developing policy. Two annually elected consuls exercised supreme command (*imperium*) over the army as over the city's administration, except at times of emergency, when the senate authorized a consul to nominate a dictator for six months or the duration of the crisis, whichever was shorter. A *rex sacrorum* or *sacrficulus* performed any of the king's religious functions that were deemed essential for harmonious relations with the gods (the *pax deorum*), and was prohibited from holding any political position.³

Military service was a prerequisite for office, and since service in the cavalry required substantial property ownership, consulships (and subsequent magistracies) were only open to the wealthy. In the early days, moreover, the patricians, a group of about nineteen aristocratic families, controlled government, and at an indeterminate point in the fifth century closed ranks and monopolized the consulship.⁴ Livy describes acute activism among plebeians (non-patricians) in the first decade of the century, when the wealthy among them probably agitated for access to patrician privileges; at issue for the poor, meanwhile, were the very fundamentals of life: survival and freedom. Food shortages were rife, exacerbated by a want of land to cultivate and disruption of trade by war, and indebtedness was or would become so severe that many fell into bondage.⁵ Literary sources recount a secession to the *mons sacer*, northeast of the city, around 496–494, where plebeians established their own magistrates: tribunes of the

plebs, who could propose bills and veto other magistrates, and who enjoyed sacrosanctity, and a pair of aediles, whose duties would eventually include the maintenance of the physical fabric of the city, provision of public entertainments with state funds, involvement in the grain supply, and oversight of archives. Around 473–471 the plebeians also installed a new assembly organized by tribe (the *comitia tributa*).⁶

Around 451–449, plebeian and patrician officials apparently stepped down to allow a commission (or two) of ten, the Decemvirate, to tabulate Roman law, previously the preserve of the elite. The results, inscribed on bronze tablets – the Laws of the Twelve Tables – were posted in the Forum.⁷ With further plebeian agitation came the Valerio-Horatian Laws of ca. 449, which recognized the tribunate and the plebeians' political organization, enforced the right of popular appeal against magistrates' decisions, gave plebiscites legal force, and allowed aediles to keep records of senatorial decrees.⁸ Offices remained variable: for the remainder of the fifth century and into the fourth, boards of military tribunes routinely replaced the consuls, and two new magistracies were added: a pair of quaestors, who from ca. 446 oversaw the treasury and its archives (augmented to four in ca. 421, more in 267) and, in ca. 443, two censors who conducted the census and, at some point, began to let contracts for the expenditure of public money collected through taxes and conquest;⁹ they may also have been charged with general building restoration.¹⁰ Eventually censors held office every five years for eighteen months, though for a little more than a century after its establishment the office was irregular.¹¹

By the fourth century, as the wealthy appropriated public land for their rural estates, as debt escalated, and patricians controlled the consulship, social unrest had become chronic.¹² In ca. 384, M. Manlius Capitolinus probably attempted a coup, and though he was executed on charges of aspiring to kingship, the senate was forced to act: the Licinian-Sextian Laws of ca. 367 introduced debt-relief measures and a restructuring of the administration, with a revised roster of magistrates. To the two consuls, one of whom could probably be plebeian, was added a praetor (two in ca. 342) to assist in military duties and preside over judicial affairs in Rome; by 246 praetors were designated peregrine (military action) or urban (judicial matters). Two curule aediles were plebeian and patrician in alternate years, and a decemvirate of patrician and plebeian officials consulted the Sibylline Books in lieu of the patrician *Ilviri sacris faciendis*.¹³ Gradually plebeians gained access to curule magistracies, and advances

towards equity in government continued: the *lex Genucia* of ca. 342 and, in ca. 339, the *lex Publilia* reserved one consulship and one censorship for a plebeian and allowed that both consuls could be plebeian. Still, with the possible exception of the *flamines Cerealis* (the priests of Ceres, Liber, and Libera), whose status at this time is unknown, patricians controlled the priesthoods in an exclusive, hereditary college.¹⁴

Rome at War

As Rome negotiated its position first locally then further afield, all but the poorest men of fighting age were engaged in constant seasonal warfare, from the start of the Republic as before. Livy's narrative, again filled with personalities of disputable historicity, may reflect a general gist of events: upon Tarquinius Superbus' flight to Etruria, the people of Veii and Tarquinii fielded armies against Rome. Defeated, Tarquinius threw in his lot with Lars Porsenna, king of Clusium, who attacked and besieged the city from the Janiculum, perhaps around 504; this led to the Battle of Aricia between the Etruscans and the occupied city on the one hand, and the remaining Latin states and Cumae on the other; abandoning Rome on his defeat, Porsenna left its forces to confront the Latin League, a coalition of Latin states, at the battle at Lake Regillus near Gabii in ca. 499 or 496, where Rome either vanquished the Latins or fought them to a stalemate.¹⁵

The outcome was the Cassian Treaty of ca. 493, an alliance between Rome and the Latin cities that, in the following decades, faced incursions by the Volsci and the Hernici of south Latium, the Sabines on the north-east, and the Aequi on the east.¹⁶ By ca. 431 Rome had defeated the combined Volscian and Aequian forces at the Mons Algidus and, seeking to control trade routes along the Tiber, in ca. 426 secured a hard-won victory against Fidenae; capturing Veii after a protracted siege in ca. 396, Rome absorbed its vast territory into the *ager Romanus*. This momentous downturn for Etruria marked a commensurate magnification of Rome's stature. Treaties with other Etruscan cities followed, as well as decisive victory against the Aequi in ca. 388.¹⁷ Around 390, according to Livy and other literary sources, Rome's fortunes declined briefly but dramatically when, at the river Allia, north of Rome, an army of Gauls vanquished Roman forces, invaded the city, and seized control, leaving only after several months, on receipt of a ransom in gold.¹⁸

The decades that followed saw fresh conflict with the Aequi, the Volsci, the Etruscans, the Samnites, and the



Fig. 1.1 Map of Rome, ca. 509–338 and regal monuments mentioned in the text (Penelope Davies, Onur Öztürk, and Bogdan Perzyński)

Aurunci, renewed alliances with the Latins and the Hernici, and truces with the Samnites, Caere, Tarquinius, and Falerii; the Latin cities of Tibur and Praeneste also surrendered.¹⁹ A sign of Rome's growing might, in ca. 350–348 it withstood simultaneous attacks from Gauls and a Greek fleet, and sealed a treaty with Carthage. By ca. 343, a consequential engagement had been set in motion. The Samnites besieged Capua and, despite an alliance with Samnium, Rome responded to the Campanians' call for help, thereby provoking the first Samnite War (343–341). Roman victory brought a renewed treaty, but soon the Campanians, the Sidicini, and the Volsci joined the Latins in revolt. Crushed in ca. 338, the Latin League ceased to exist. Rome was the leading city of Latium.²⁰

RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS

Templa (consecrated precincts) and their altars were the essential cult installations of regal times, the most celebrated being the Altar of Mars on the Campus Martius, ascribed by Verrius Flaccus to Numa, and the Ara Maxima, attributed to Hercules (the hero who rid Rome of the monster Cacus), or Evander.²¹ As well as precincts, literary sources mention temples, *aedes*, and these – monumental, innovative in design, and prominently placed – were probably the most impressive buildings of the day.²² They broadcast the city's wealth and regional status; probably regal projects, they communicated the king's authority to command manpower. In the fledgling Republic, sacred buildings were not only the earliest but also the dominant form of public architecture. With their temples, the political elite may have charted their change of government; thereafter, they enhanced their authority while negotiating divine favor (Fig. 1.1).

Changing the Guard: a New Beginning?

Simply stated, the definition of the *res publica* was negative: it was not a monarchy.²³ At its dawning, this characterization by absence may have been written into the cityscape by willful

acts of destruction, sometimes followed by renovation. In the *area sacra* of S. Omobono in the Forum Boarium, for instance, a vibrant commercial district by the Tiber, a monumental temple had been constructed in ca. 580–570, and rebuilt and enlarged in ca. 540–520 (Figs. 1.2–3).²⁴ At the end of the sixth century the temple was razed: a thick stratum of clay covering its podium, topped by a thin burn layer with fragments of architectural terracottas, probably represents collapsed walls and fire damage. The violence of the destruction may link it to conflict with an enemy (Porsenna?), or signal deliberate erasure of monarchy, implicit in the temple's patronage; a nearby deposit of terracottas from the temple may even represent a ritualized cleansing.²⁵ An intensive phase of restoration followed, probably in the first decades of the fifth century: the temple area was raised and leveled with earth, a platform constructed of locally quarried cappellaccio blocks (*tufi del Palatino*) bordered with peperino (Fig. 1.4), and the surrounding ground level elevated to protect against flooding. By about mid-century, twin temples had been set upon the platform, newly oriented to face south; one honored Mater Matuta, the other Fortuna (Fig. 1.3).²⁶ A similar sequence of events seems to have occurred beyond the east end of the Forum, the area between the Palatine and the Capitoline which by ca. 650 had evolved into the city's primary political arena (Figs. 1.5–6).

During the regal period, construction there had focused on the site of the Regia in several phases, by the fourth of which, in ca. 530, the building consisted of a trapezoidal courtyard with an entrance and two rooms on the west side, and a room on the southeast. Between about 520 and the early fifth century, this building was destroyed by violence or dismantled, and rebuilt; the rooms on the west were eliminated, and two rectangular rooms added on the south. The building's reorientation to the cardinal points at this point may have been a concession to work at the adjacent precinct of Vesta, where cappellaccio blocks and terracotta roof tiles indicate two early building phases. The structure built in the second of these, begun in ca. 575, was leveled to the ground in the last quarter of

- 1.1 Temple (Hora? Quirinus? Argei?)
- 1.2 Temple of Semo Sancus
- 1.3 Temple of Juno Lucina
- 1.4 *Ovile*
- 1.5 Villa Publica
- 1.6 Altar of Mars
- 1.7 Temple of Apollo Medicus
- 1.8 Temple of Juno Moneta
- 1.9 Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus
- 1.10 Temple of Jupiter Feretrius
- 1.11 *Columna Maenia*
- 1.12 Comitium

- 1.13 Rostra
- 1.14 Curia Hostilia
- 1.15 Atrium Regium
- 1.16 *Tabernae novae*
- 1.17 Regia
- 1.18 Temple of Saturn
- 1.19 *Tabernae veteres*
- 1.20 Temple of Castor
- 1.21 Lacus Iuturnae
- 1.22 Precinct of Vesta
- 1.23 *Domus Regis sacrorum*
- 1.24 Domus Publica

- 1.25 Velian Shrines A and B
- 1.26 Temple of Mater Matuta
- 1.27 Temple of Fortuna
- 1.28 Sanctuary to female divinity?
- 1.29 Ara Maxima
- 1.30 Temple of Ceres, Liber, and Libera
- 1.31 Circus Maximus
- 1.32 Temple of Mercury
- 1.33 Temple of Juno Regina
- 1.34 Temple of Diana

Fig. 1.1 (cont.)



Fig. 1.2 View of the *area sacra* of S. Omobono (Penelope Davies)

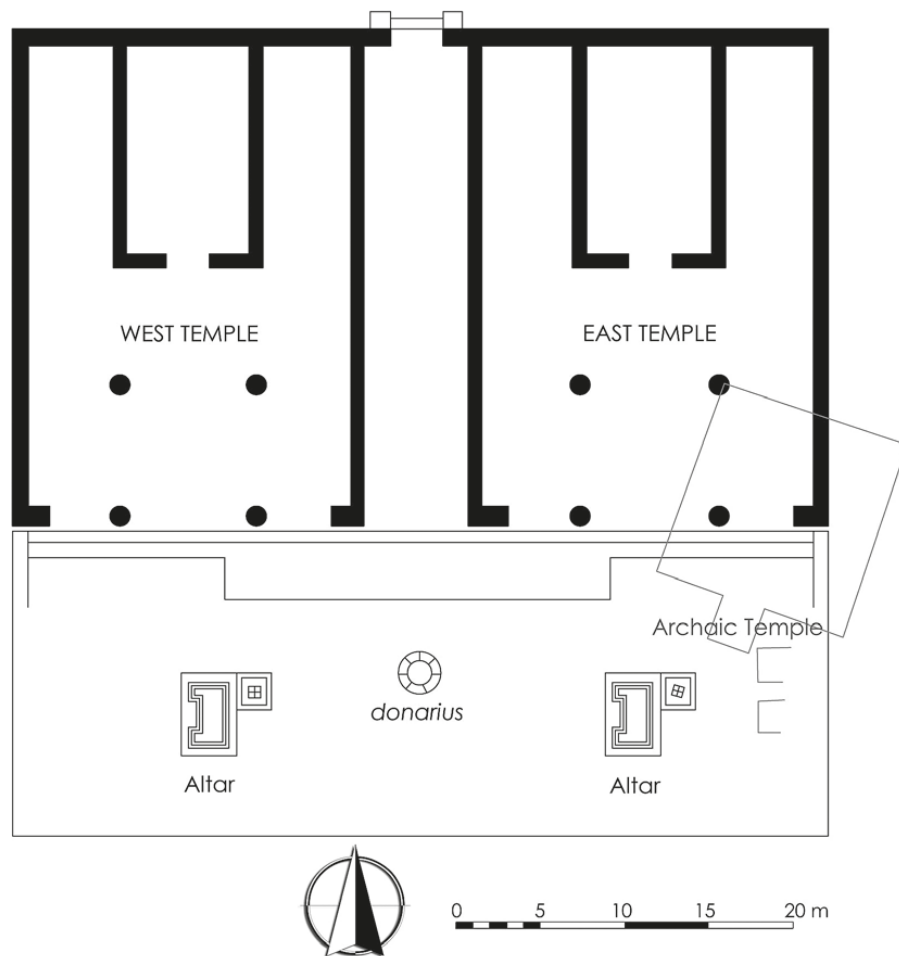
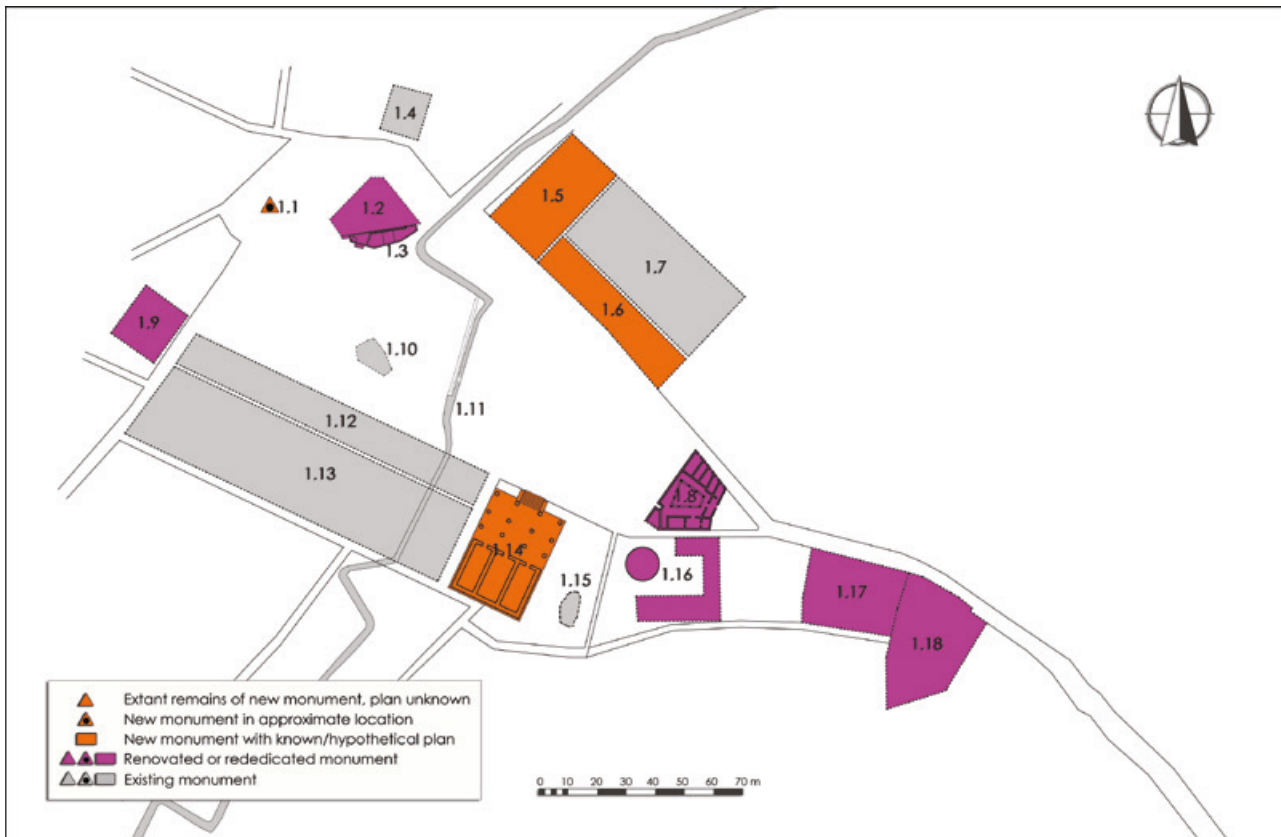


Fig. 1.3 *Area sacra* of S. Omobono, as restored by *ca.* mid-third century, plan (Onur Öztürk)



Fig. 1.4 *Area sacra* of S. Omobono, wall of the temple platform, first decades of the fifth century, actual state (Daniel Diffendale)



- | | | |
|---------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1.1 <i>Columna Maenia</i> | 1.7 Houses | 1.13 Houses |
| 1.2 Comitium | 1.8 Regia | 1.14 Temple of Castor |
| 1.3 Rostra | 1.9 Temple of Saturn | 1.15 Lacus Iuturnae |
| 1.4 Curia Hostilia | 1.10 Lacus Curtius | 1.16 Precinct of Vesta |
| 1.5 Atrium Regium? | 1.11 Cloaca Maxima | 1.17 Domus <i>Regis sacrorum</i> |
| 1.6 <i>Tabernae novae</i> | 1.12 <i>Tabernae veteres</i> | 1.18 Domus Publica |

Fig. 1.5 Forum Romanum and environs, the regal period to ca. 388, plan (Penelope Davies, Onur Öztürk, and Bogdan Perzyński)



Fig. 1.6 View of the Forum Romanum (Penelope Davies su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Soprintendenza Speciale per il Colosseo, il Museo Romano e l'Area archeologica di Roma)

the sixth century. Tracts of late sixth century cappellaccio walls suggest a new structure with rooms opening onto a courtyard, and a nearby cappellaccio altar platform and well; construction also took place at about the same time at an adjacent site to the east, and the street between the precinct of Vesta and the Regia was narrowed and surfaced with gravel.²⁷

At the start of the Republic, this complex of buildings may have had shared significance. In plan, the Regia is reminiscent of a structure beneath the Tholos in the Athenian agora (Building F), dating to ca. 550–525: both had rooms facing onto a trapezoidal courtyard. Archaeologists associate the Tholos with the Prytaneis, or Athenian council, as defined in Kleisthenes' reforms after the fall of the Peisistratids, and to some, the commonalities between the buildings suggest a similar purpose.²⁸ Admittedly, ancient texts are unclear about the Regia's function; yet they tend to link it first to kingship, and thereafter to the Pontifex

Maximus or the *rex sacrificulus*, and archaeological evidence suggests religious activity from at least the mid-sixth century, which intensified at the start of the Republic. Interventions at the site are consistent with efforts to sustain the *pax deorum* after the king's expulsion.²⁹ In fact, work at these three neighboring sites, the Regia, the precinct of Vesta, home of the city's hearth, and the adjacent building, which may have been the Domus Publica, initially owned by a king, then residence of the *rex sacrificulus/rex sacrorum* and later of the Pontifex Maximus,³⁰ may indicate the new political elite's control of, and commitment to, key religious institutions on behalf of the *res publica*.

These were not isolated initiatives. The Altar of Mars may have been reconsecrated at about this date,³¹ and two spectacular temples, begun in regal times, were dedicated. One was the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the southwestern end of Capitoline hill, the most magnificent and innovative building of Rome to date (Fig. 1.7). Livy



Fig. 1.7 Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, dedicated in *ca.* 509, actual state. Rome, Musei Capitolini (Penelope Davies)

and Dionysius believed that Tarquinius Priscus had pronounced the vow, leveled the site, and built retaining walls and a monumental terrace; Tarquinius Superbus finished the project, and was promptly ousted. Either as suffect consul in 509, as Livy believed, or as consul in 507, the view of Tacitus and Dionysius, M. Horatius Pulvillus consecrated it.³² Ceramic finds more or less concur, setting the start of construction after 550 and completion around the turn of the century.³³ Consecrated as a monument of the new Republic, the temple negotiated sustained guardianship from Rome's highest god in return for sustained reverence. The other was the Temple of Saturn in the southwest corner of the Forum (Fig. 1.8). Likely begun toward the end of the sixth century, according to ancient authors it was dedicated, though by whom it is not clear: by T. Larcus, dictator of 501 and 498, or the consuls of 497, A. Sempronius Atratinus and M. Minucius Augurinus, or Postumius Cominius, consul in 501 and 493, following a *senatus consultum*.³⁴ The temple served as a treasury and an archive,

and thus the Latin agrarian god, custodian of the earth's riches, became overseer of the state's wealth, seized from the deposed king.³⁵

Fifth and Fourth Centuries: Motivations, Honorands, and Agents

As represented by literary sources, other fifth- and fourth-century temple vows, like their later counterparts, were simultaneously enmeshed in and stimulated by Rome's civic and military preoccupations.³⁶ On the civic front, the principal catalyst for vows was a shortage of food, which made hunger a constant companion to the poor. Dionysius claims that a bad crop in the run-up to the battle at Lake Regillus kindled a fear that provisions would be lacking for soldiers, and A. Postumius Albinus, dictator at the time, demanded a consultation of the Sibylline Books. They prescribed propitiations in the name of an agrarian triad, Ceres, Liber, and Libera, and Postumius Albinus vowed temples in



Fig. 1.8 Temple of Saturn (in the center), end of the sixth century, actual state. (Penelope Davies su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Soprintendenza Speciale per il Colosseo, il Museo Romano e l'Area archeologica di Roma)

their honor should food be restored. Crops flourished, trade resumed, and a temple was built from the spoils of war, which he dedicated in *ca.* 493.³⁷ Around 495, too, a centurion, M. Laetorius, dedicated a temple to Mercury, the god of merchants, whose chief commodity in the early Republic was food. By Livy's account, the electorate assigned him the honor having grown frustrated by the bickering of their consuls (Ap. Claudius Sabinus and P. Servilius Priscus), each of whom sought to make the dedication since it brought with it the charge of the grain supply (the *annona*) and a chance to inaugurate a guild of merchants.³⁸ Fears of famine resurfaced in *ca.* 433 (Livy again), inspired by prolonged plague, so a temple was vowed to Apollo Medicus to protect the people's health, probably following a consultation of the Sibylline Books. It was dedicated in *ca.* 431 by Cn. Iulius as consul (Fig. 1.9).³⁹ Ancient authors also claim that, on brokering a reconciliation between patricians and plebeians at the time of the Licinian-Sextian Laws of *ca.* 367, M. Furius Camillus vowed a temple to Concordia, goddess

of harmony, but scholars lend little credence to these accounts.⁴⁰

Meanwhile, a monumental cappellaccio podium discovered inside the ex-Istituto di Geologia near S. Susanna on the Quirinal indicates a new temple foundation dating to around 500.⁴¹ The honorand remains unknown but may have been related to civic issues; the temple has been associated with the cult of the archaic Argei, whose nature was a mystery even to Varro;⁴² with Hora, perhaps a companion goddess to Quirinus, whose cult is attested on the Quirinal;⁴³ and even with Quirinus himself, the divinized Romulus, god of the Roman people, whose temple Livy dates to the end of the fourth century while also setting a meeting of the senate there in *ca.* 435.⁴⁴

If hunger was the main civic stimulus for temple vows, conflict beyond Rome's borders was its foreign complement and, as thank-offerings for victory, or for mere survival, they served to acknowledge divine favor.⁴⁵ Thus, ancient texts state, in the aftermath of the battle of Lake



Fig. 1.9 Temple of Apollo Medicus, dedicated in *ca.* 431, as restored by C. Sosius after 34, actual state (Penelope Davies)

Regillus, Postumius Albinus vowed a temple to Castor and Pollux (Fig. 1.10), twin patrons of horsemen who, people insisted, had materialized first on the battlefield to lead the charge and then again by the spring of Iuturna in the Forum to announce the victory. Having favored plebeians ahead of the conflict, with the Temple of Ceres, Liber, and Libera, with this vow Postumius Albinus recognized the equestrian class, to whom, he implied, credit for victory was due. Its dedication, Livy claims, fell to Sp. Cassius in *ca.* 493.⁴⁶

Meanwhile, on the southwest corner of the Palatine, to the north of the later purported Temple of Victoria Virgo, remains of the inner walls of a substantial cappellaccio podium suggest that, in the first two decades of the fifth century, a temple replaced or complemented an existing cappellaccio structure, probably also cultic, of the second half of the sixth century; monumental cappellaccio walls

also retained a spacious platform in front.⁴⁷ Antefixes with heads of the goat-horned Juno Sospita (Fig. 1.11) may indicate an honorand of a military character, though throughout Latium antefixes of this type appear on temples to diverse divinities.⁴⁸ At around the same time, the principal east-west artery over the Velian ridge into the Forum was widened and regravelled, and a sanctuary on the north side restructured and monumentalized with a small cappellaccio shrine (Shrine A) and perhaps an altar; a second, larger shrine (Shrine B) was built nearby. Maenad antefixes suggest a cult building of some sort by about 480, perhaps dedicated to a female, chthonic divinity; the inspiration for the work is unknown.⁴⁹

Nearly a century later, before the war with Veii in *ca.* 396, Furius Camillus vowed a temple to its principal goddess, Uni, and on capturing the city, so ancient authors believed, issued her with a formal invitation, or *evocatio*, to move to Rome; in *ca.* 392 he dedicated a temple to her as Juno Regina.⁵⁰ Not long thereafter, the Gallic occupation purportedly resulted in a vow to Mars, god of war (and crops) – an *ex-voto* after the Gauls' departure, perhaps, or after consultation of the Sibylline Books; T. Quinctius dedicated it in 388 as a *Ilvir sacris faciendis*.⁵¹ At the precinct of Vesta, a circular trench, probably a foundation for the oldest temple on the site, dates from some time between the first and second quarter of the fourth century (Fig. 1.12), and may have followed the return from Veii of Roman evacuees, with Vesta's sacred objects, after the incursion.⁵² Pliny the Elder, writing in the second half of the first century CE, also records a temple dedicated to Juno Lucina in *ca.* 375; Verrius Flaccus, in the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, attributes the vow to the wife of one Albinus after childbirth, and the dedication to married women, but his explanation strikes an aetiological note; the vow more probably followed the peaceful subjugation of Tusculum, her cult center, in *ca.* 381.⁵³ Finally, Livy, and perhaps Ovid, in the Augustan age, claim that in the heat of battle against the Aurunci of Campania in *ca.* 345, L. Furius Camillus, dictator and son of Veii's conqueror, vowed a temple to Juno Moneta, a goddess eventually associated with remembering, advising and warning, as well as maintaining standards of truth and accuracy. On his resignation, its dedication fell to the consuls, C. Marcius Rutilus and T. Manlius Torquatus.⁵⁴

Dedications and restorations of existing buildings are also linked to military events by ancient authors. In *ca.* 466, when the younger A. Postumius Albinus defeated the Hernici, who had betrayed the terms of the Cassian



Fig. 1.10 Temple of Castor, dedicated in *ca.* 493, actual state (Penelope Davies su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Soprintendenza Speciale per il Colosseo, il Museo Romano e l'Area archeologica di Roma)



Fig. 1.11 Juno Sospita antefix from the southwest zone of the Palatine. Antiquario del Palatino (Penelope Davies su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma)

treaty, he consecrated a Temple of Semo Sancus Dius Fidius, guarantor of oaths. Set in the western sector of the Quirinal, it had languished undedicated since the regal period, and the senate called for his name to be inscribed upon it.⁵⁵ Before leaving for battle at Veii, Furius Camillus allegedly vowed a restoration of the Temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta at S. Omobono, where a Monteverde tufo pavement and a pair of U-shaped peperino altars, set perpendicular to the temples (Fig. 1.13), could belong to this time.⁵⁶ Refurbishments may also have occurred at the Temple of Saturn after the occupation of the Gauls (who sought its riches), under the auspices of L. Furius Medullinus, a military tribune in 381 and 370, and at the Temple of Apollo, which was (re-)dedicated in 353.⁵⁷ At some point in the fourth century, too, the terrace on the southwest corner of the Palatine was raised with blocks of Grotta Oscura and Fidene tufo, and two renovations occurred in the sanctuary on the Velian ridge.⁵⁸

This data yields tentative patterns. Where they can be identified, fifth-century temples typically honored



Fig. 1.12 Precinct of Vesta, actual state (Penelope Davies su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Soprintendenza Speciale per il Colosseo, il Museo Romano e l'Area archeologica di Roma)



Fig. 1.13 Altar at the *area sacra* of S. Omobono, first half of the fourth century (?), actual state (Penelope Davies)

Greek divinities already established in Italy, their cults perhaps mediated through South Italy: thus Ceres, Liber, and Libera, probably adapted from an Italic dyad, mirrored the Greek Demeter, Iacchus, and Persephone; Castor and Pollux echoed the Greek *dioskuroi*, arriving in Rome with a Latinized version of their origination myth; and Apollo Medicus, worshipped in Rome by at least 449, started out as a Greek god of healing.⁵⁹ These assimilations suggest that Rome was receptive to external influences and maintained permeable cultural boundaries, at least where religion was concerned; worship of these gods may also have forged bonds with other cities.⁶⁰ By the early fourth century, by contrast, military gods and gods of subjugated cities came to the fore, and celebrated expansionism. Commanders probably deployed the strategy of evocation in diverse ways, not just at Veii, where Uni's cult center was abolished; Juno Lucina's sanctuary at Tusculum, for instance, was spared upon the establishment of her cult in Rome, as a demonstration of willingness to embrace those who would cooperate and collaborate.⁶¹

With the possible exception of Furius Camillus' Temple of Juno Moneta, which, by evoking his father's Temple of Juno Regina, underlined his lineage and intimated an inherited talent, ancient texts suggest that most vows between the founding of the Republic and the suppression of the Latin revolt were acts of piety responding to state crises, rather than manifest attempts at individual self-advancement.⁶² In the fifth century, several vows addressed plebeian grievances, underscoring the importance of engaging the people at large, who constituted Rome's military and voting power. Still, irrespective of

circumstances surrounding the various vows, in every case where the vower's name is recorded, even when the temple concerned plebeians, he was patrician. Often he uttered his pledge at the urging of the Sibylline Books as relayed by *Ilviri sacris faciendis*, who until ca. 367 were all patrician; a predominantly patrician senate must also have approved the use of state funds.⁶³ This monopoly on vowing temples perpetuated the notion that relations with the gods were a patrician preserve; mirroring their control of the priesthoods, it buttressed collective patrician authority.⁶⁴ Tellingly, literary evidence suggests that when, with the Licinian-Sextian Laws, a decemvirate made up of both patricians and plebeians replaced the *Ilviri sacris faciendis*, vows following consultations of the Sibylline Books tapered off; temples were no longer a language of exclusively patrician power. At the other end of the social spectrum, at no point did the populace unite to vow a state temple by plebiscite; indeed if, as in regal Rome and in Syracuse during the reign of Dionysius I, early Republican buildings were erected by *corvée* (labor required of the population as a tax),⁶⁵ the construction process was a performance of social hierarchies: the people's participation underscored their subordination to senate and state.

For the most part, dedications were the preserve of patricians as well, with (allegedly) two exceptions, both in the 490s, which may support the notion of plebeian attempts at self-assertion in that decade. For the Temple of Mercury, the populace passed over the patrician consuls for the plebeian Laetorius, while the dedication of the Temple of Castor by Cassius, in the same year as Postumius Albinus' dedication of the Temple of Ceres, Liber,



Fig. 1.14 Denarius minted by Q. Cassius Longinus in 55, with a reverse image of the Temple of Vesta (Dix Noonan Webb Ltd.)

and Libera, may betray jockeying for position between plebeians and patricians; and things may not have ended well for Cassius: if literary sources are to be believed, in *ca.* 485 the patricians had him executed for aspiring to kingship.⁶⁶

Design

Whether it be archaeological or literary, evidence for the design of early Republican temples is lamentably sparse. Once pieced together, though, it yields a general sense of their dimensions, layout, and materials. Judging by its foundations and by an image on a *denarius* minted in 55 (Fig. 1.14), the first phase of the Temple of Vesta, like its successors, had a circular plan, recalling the oval form of early Italic huts.⁶⁷ For the most part, however, in their essential form, early temples shared features with the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, albeit on a smaller scale. This majestic building was extraordinary for its time: its substructure, built of cappellaccio blocks, suggests dimensions on the order of 54 by 74 meters (Figs. 1.7, 1.15–16), which meshes with Dionysius' assessment of its circuit at 800 Roman feet.⁶⁸ A frontal staircase led to a hexastyle façade, its columns spaced in what Vitruvius would later term an *araeostyle* design (with wide intercolumniations), and, unique in Rome at that time, the temple had lateral colonnades.⁶⁹ A deep porch with two rows of columns preceded parallel *cellae* for Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva; foundation walls indicate additional rooms at the rear, and Dionysius describes subterranean chambers housing the Sibylline Books.⁷⁰ The roof was presumably terracotta over a wooden armature; trusses probably bridged the expanses between supporting members.⁷¹ Massive terracotta plaques, decorated with anthemion designs, reveted the *simas*, and literary accounts place terracotta sculptures on the roof, recalling the archaic ridgepole sculptures of Minerva and Hercules at S. Omobono; among them were a central acroterion by Vulca of Veii depicting Jupiter in a quadriga, and a statue of the god Summanus.⁷²

With its vast dimensions, the temple is far larger than contemporaneous structures in Italy. Its size, and its distinctive foundation design, with intersecting walls to support the columns (rather than pillars, as was normal), its lateral colonnades, deep multi-columned porch, and anthemion revetments, find comparanda not in contemporaneous temple schemes in central Italy, but in the Greek world, and especially Ionia, where sixth-century architects favored monumental peripteral and dipteral designs over

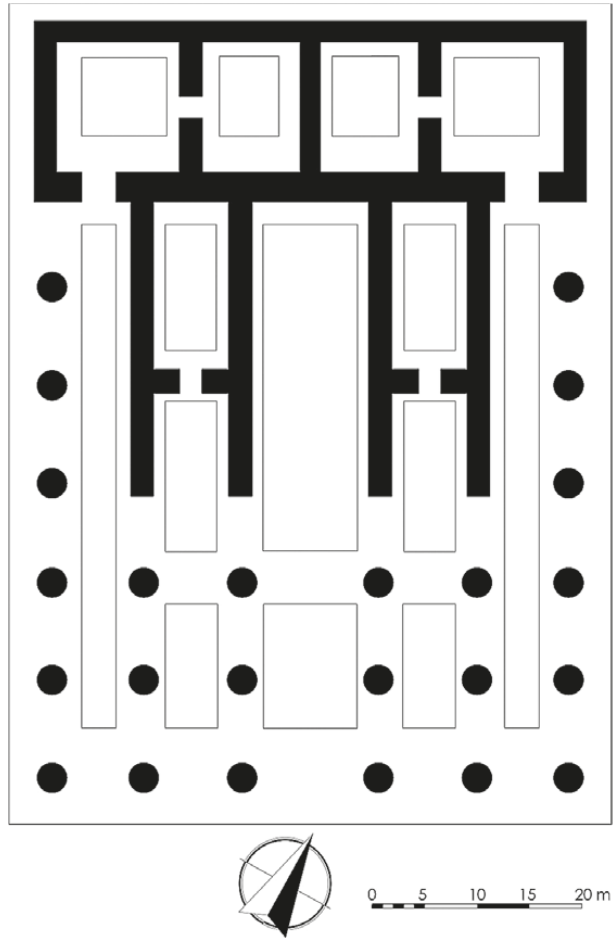


Fig. 1.15 Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, dedicated in *ca.* 509, plan (Onur Öztürk, after Hopkins 2010)

modest *oikos*-style temples with lateral and rear walls. This suggests close interaction with the eastern Mediterranean, and a shared language of monumentality.⁷³ Greek features were combined with the high podium and solid rear wall characteristic of Italic temples to form a wholly innovative building,⁷⁴ an apt symbol for a fresh era.

Like the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, early Republican temples generally stood high above ground level on rectangular podia, framed and reinforced with *opera quadrata* and filled with earth and rubble.⁷⁵ At first, as in the Temple of Castor (Phase I) (Figs. 1.17–18) or the podium in the ex-Istituto di Geologia on the Quirinal, they were built of cappellaccio, locally quarried but friable. It fell out of favor soon after the conquest of Fidenae and Veii, where more compact, durable stones were available for importation; Fidenae tufo (*tufo rosso a scorie nere*) was used, for instance, for a set of walls on the Arx that

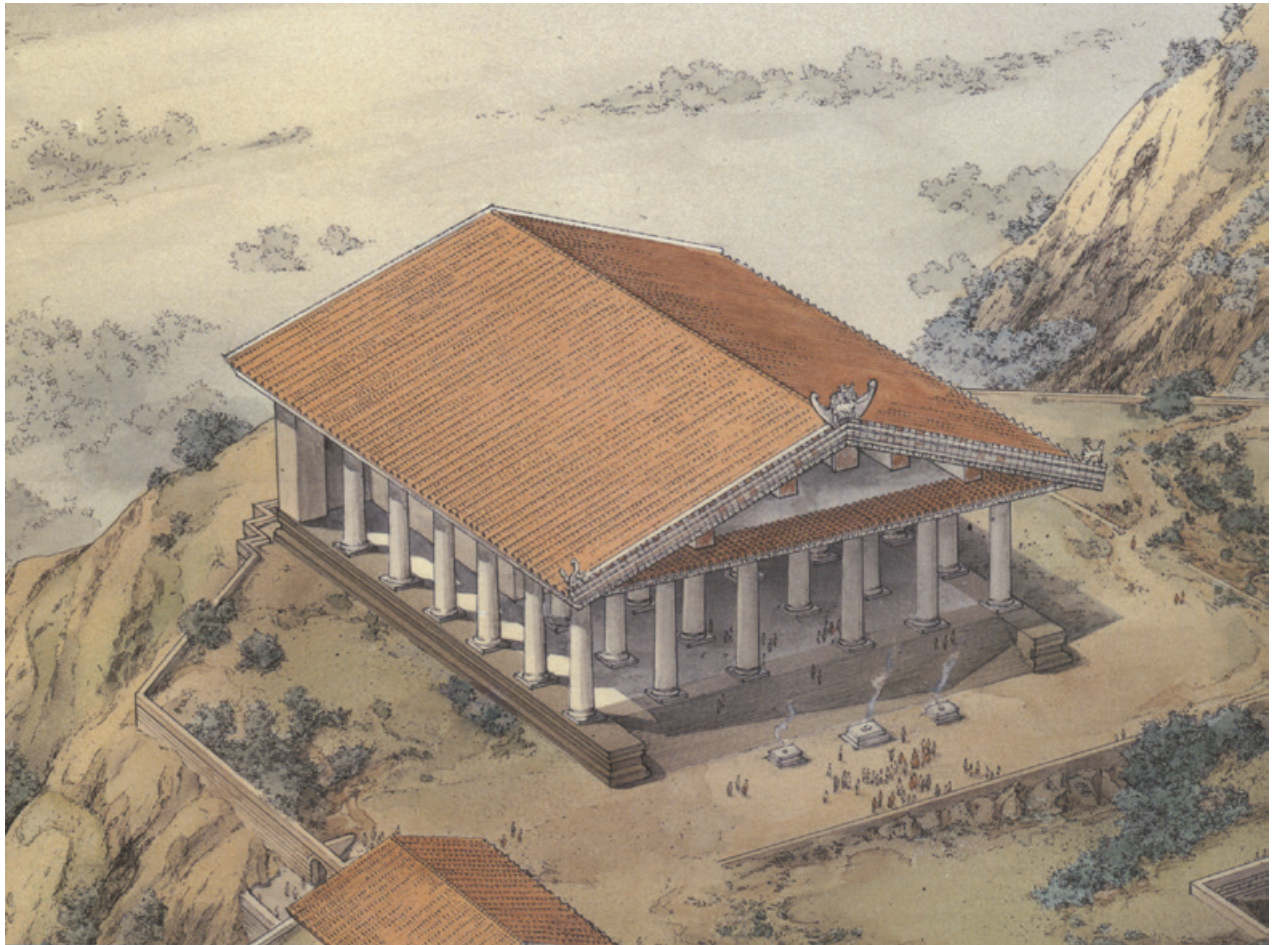


Fig. 1.16 Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, dedicated in *ca.* 509, hypothetical reconstruction (Grafica Inklink, Florence)



Fig. 1.17 Temple of Castor, dedicated in *ca.* 493, remains of the archaic podium, actual state (Penelope Davies su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Soprintendenza Speciale per il Colosseo, il Museo Romano e l'Area archeologica di Roma)



Fig. 1.18 Temple of Castor, Phase I, dedicated in *ca.* 493, hypothetical reconstruction (John Burge)

are sometimes identified as the Temple of Juno Moneta (Fig. 1.19).⁷⁶ Podia were impressive: the Temple of Castor's was about 27.50 meters wide and 5 meters high, the Temple of Apollo Medicus' roughly 21.45 by 5 high, and the putative Temple of Juno Moneta's over 20 meters wide (Figs. 1.19–22); the single platform for the Temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta measured 47.5 meters on each side and at the front projected about 5 meters above ground. These podia simultaneously raised the temples above floodwaters and defined them as religious.⁷⁷ Access to the temple was by way of a frontal staircase, stretching the full width of the façade as at the Temple of Apollo Medicus or set at the center as, perhaps, at the Temple of Castor, and the cella block was variously placed: traces of walls suggest that the Temple of Apollo Medicus sat to the rear of its podium, leaving space in front for a raised forecourt; the Temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta were probably similarly positioned, while the Temple of Castor took up the entirety of its podium (Fig. 1.20).⁷⁸

Defining the temple's façade was a pair of columns *in antis* (as in the Temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta: Fig. 1.3) or a row of prostyle columns (as in the Temple of Castor and possibly the Temple of Apollo Medicus: Figs. 1.20–21);

they were probably stone or wood, sometimes cased in terracotta, as suggested by a fragment of column casing from the Velian.⁷⁹ In the rare instances when Vitruvius mentions early temples in Rome, he describes them as tetrastyle (with four columns across the façade), which distinguishes them from the broader hexastyle Capitoline Temple. Column spacing, he states, was diastyle or araeostyle, which is consistent with the scant archaeological evidence; both styles were still visible in Rome in the architect's lifetime (and he judged them highly unfashionable):

The *diastyle* temple is composed that we may put the breadth of three columns in the intercolumnar space, just as occurs in the temple of Apollo and Diana [probably the Temple of Apollo Medicus]. This design has the following difficulty: because of the wide intercolumnar space the epistyle has a tendency to break. It is not possible to make an *araeostyle* temple with epistyles in stone or marble; instead, above the columns wooden beams must be placed all around. The appearance of these temples is splayed, top heavy, low, and sprawling.⁸⁰

The columns screened a porch, three columns deep at the Temple of Castor, where visitors could mill about in a quasi-autonomous covered space, and maybe two



Fig. 1.19 Walls on the Arx associated with Temple of Juno Moneta, vowed in *ca.* 345, actual state (Penelope Davies)

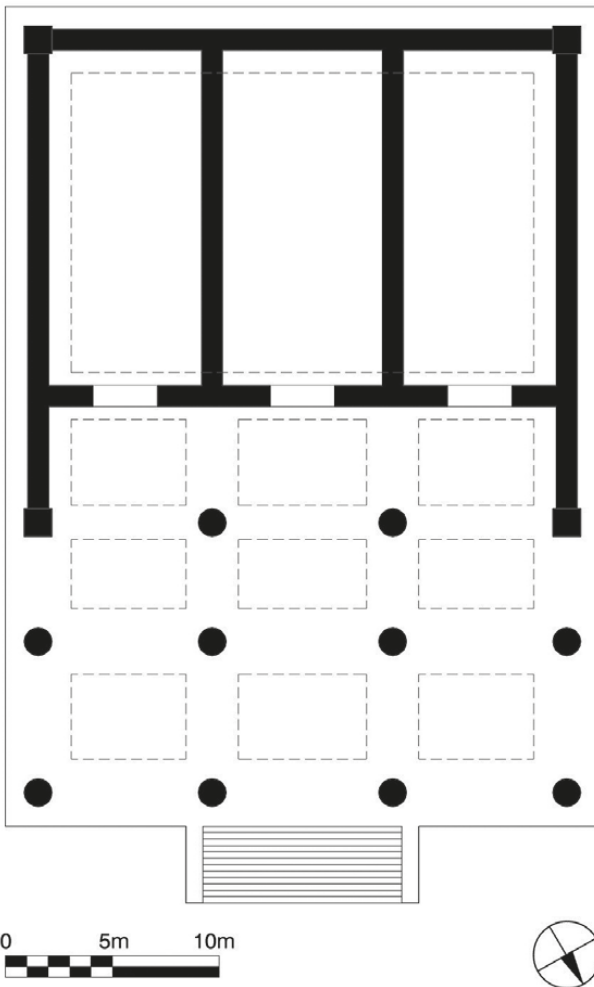


Fig. 1.20 Temple of Castor, Phase I, dedicated in *ca.* 493, plan (John Burge)

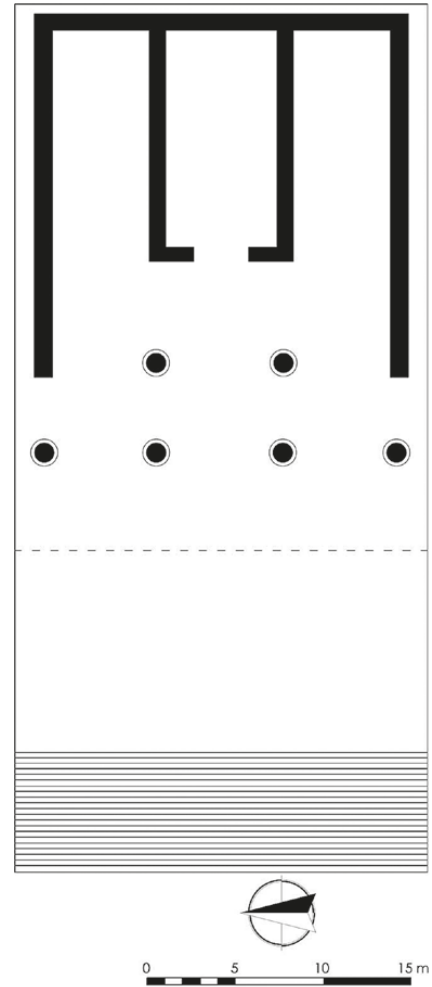


Fig. 1.21 Temple of Apollo Medicus, dedicated in *ca.* 431, plan (Onur Öztürk)



Fig. 1.22 Temple of Apollo Medicus, dedicated in *ca.* 431, podium, actual state (Penelope Davies)

columns deep at the Temple of Apollo Medicus. Behind the porch was a triple cella (the Temple of Castor, perhaps the Temple of Ceres, Liber, and Libera) or a single cella (the Temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta, probably that of Apollo Medicus and the temple inside the ex-Istituto di Geologia on the Quirinal). Unlike the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, with its lateral colonnades, these temples had solid side walls, which sometimes created wings or *alae* flanking the cella. Outer walls must have been tufo to support the weight of the roof, while inner walls were tufo or *opus craticium* (timber framing packed with stones and clay).⁸¹ In at least one case, according to Pliny, painted terracottas decorated the cella:

Most highly praised modelers were Damophilus and Gorgasus, who were also painters; they had decorated the Shrine of Ceres [the Temple of Ceres, Liber, and Libera] in the Circus Maximus at Rome with both kinds of their art, and there is an inscription on the building in Greek verse in which they indicated that the decorations on the right hand side were the work of Damophilus and those on the left were by Gorgasus. Varro states that before this shrine was built everything in the temples was Tuscanic work; and that when this shrine was undergoing restoration, the embossed work of the walls was cut out and enclosed in framed panels; and that the figures were also taken from the pediment and dispersed.⁸²

The panel designs were probably geometric and floral, though one scholar believes they depicted mythological

subjects suitable to the cult.⁸³ The employment of Greek artists supports the notion of permeable cultural boundaries in the early fifth century.

Roofs were terracotta and gabled, with wide overhanging eaves to shield the walls from rain, since tufo – particularly cappellaccio – loses weight-bearing capacity and strength when exposed to moisture.⁸⁴ Petrographic analyses of tiles from the Temple of Castor indicate the use of imported clay, suggesting the possibility that they were of foreign manufacture.⁸⁵ The tympanum wall was recessed, leaving an open pediment with a sloping floor, tiled and decorated with antefixes (unlike the first temple at S. Omobono, where the pediment was probably closed); there were no pedimental sculptures (Fig. 1.18).⁸⁶ Painted terracotta revetments, mostly mould-made, protected the timbers, sealed the gaps at the ends of the cover tiles, and embellished the roofline. Most featured geometric and floral designs: revetment plaques on the Temple of Apollo Medicus, for instance, featured a painted meander pattern; those on the Temple of Castor had a cream, red, and black strigil pattern, while its *sima* plaques were decorated with a cream and reddish-brown guilloche pattern, and its openwork cresting with spiral bands and palmettes in cream, red, and black (Figs. 1.23a–b).⁸⁷ Antefixes with dancing maenads and *silenoi*, painted in the same palette, may have belonged to the pediment area, and heads of Juno Sospita and *silenoi*,



Fig. 1.23a–b Temple of Castor, terracotta revetment plaque and openwork cresting, ca. 493 (Inge Nielsen)



Fig. 1.24 Fragmentary terracotta figure of an Amazon found on the Esquiline, late sixth or early fifth century. Rome, Musei Capitolini, inv. 3363 (Penelope Davies)

found beneath the later Basilica Iulia, may have alternated along the eaves, set at right angles to the cover tiles to peer down at viewers below.⁸⁸ A magnificent late sixth- or early fifth-century terracotta sculpture of a wounded Amazon, discovered in the late eighteenth century in a secondary context on the Esquiline (Fig. 1.24), was probably an acroterion; it is almost certainly the work of a Sicilian artist.⁸⁹ Taken together, these finds mesh with Vitruvius' assertion that temple roofs "are decorated with terracotta ornaments or gilded bronze in Etruscan style, as in the temple of Ceres near the Circus Maximus ... and also the Capitoline Temple."⁹⁰

Though they were not on the scale of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, these buildings were nevertheless magnificent by contemporary standards. They projected a level of wealth and piety that can hardly have failed to impress visitors to the city.⁹¹ If the sample of evidence is sufficient to form an assessment, in scale and decoration as in general design and material, they also appear to have been relatively homogeneous. This could indicate concern to treat the gods equally, but suggests something more. Temple construction was sufficiently infrequent in the early Republic that a vow brought the sponsor prestige, even when he was acting as the mouthpiece for the Sibylline Books (and thus perhaps for senatorial will); yet, judging by the design of these temples, those who commissioned them were not aiming to distinguish themselves from others who did the same. In fact, aside from the modest inscriptions that once graced them, early Republican temples do not seem to have been individualized to highlight those who vowed them. Instead, the uniformity of design is consistent with an ideal of *isonomia*, or equal rights before the law, and the temples seem to have expressed and promoted the solidarity of the vowers as a group. If, as literary sources suggest, the vowers were all patrician, these towering buildings on massive podia imputed to the group a collective authority that was at once exclusive and elevated above quotidian life into the realm of the divine. Grand staircases invited approach and served as locales for meeting or lingering,⁹² but also reinforced the rigid *façadism* established by the solid lateral and rear walls. Viewed metaphorically, the denial of any choice of access implied immutability. Built symbols for a changeless patrician power, early Republican temples mirror the picture of patricio-plebeian struggles painted by literary sources for the fifth century: these patrician structures stood obdurate in a plebeian world. In the patricians' access to the gods lay their authority.



Fig. 1.25 Terracotta head found in the Ara Coeli gardens, fifth century (Rome, Musei Capitolini, inv. AC 12773. Archivio Fotografico dei Musei Capitolini)

Function

With regard to the use of early Republic temples, most of the evidence pertains to later periods. Still, what data there is suggests that, in the fifth century at least, function worked with design to promote senatorial authority. Ostensibly, a temple's primary *raison d'être* was to house a cult statue, which was imbued with the god's essence. By Pliny's account, these were first crafted out of wood or terracotta, which was sometimes stained with bitumen.⁹³ In the regal period, Vulca, the choroplast from Veii, purportedly executed an image of Jupiter Optimus Maximus for the Capitoline temple and an "earthen Hercules" for a shrine in the Forum Boarium, and a fifth-century terracotta head from the Aracoeli gardens may also come from a cult statue (Fig. 1.25).⁹⁴ Literary sources place a wooden image of Diana in her Aventine temple, built by Servius Tullius, and a gilded wooden statue in the archaic Temple of Fortuna in the Forum Boarium, which worshippers draped with togas.⁹⁵ Writing in the third century CE, the historian Cassius Dio tells of an ancient wooden image of Apollo Medicus that wept for three days at the death of P. Cornelius

Scipio Aemilianus in 129.⁹⁶ Also wooden, apparently, were cult statues expropriated from neighboring cities, such as Veii's Uni; others, such as a statue of Janus possibly taken from Falerii, were terracotta.⁹⁷ On the whole, bronze statues of divinities, such as an image Pliny sets in the Temple of Ceres, funded by property confiscated from Cassius soon after 485, were votive.⁹⁸

The most monumental buildings of the early city, temples were also the most secure, and inside them ancient authors place additional works of art and sacred relics, alongside the cult statues. In the Temple of Semo Sancus was a votive bronze statue of Gaia Caecilia identified as Tanaquil, with sandals, spindle, and distaff, and dedications in the Capitoline Temple of Jupiter included golden saucers laid at Juno's feet by Camillus in the Gallic War, as well as spoils and diplomatic gifts, such as a huge gold crown presented by Carthaginian ambassadors in 343 to congratulate Rome on its Samnite victories.⁹⁹ The Temple of Ceres, Liber, and Libera, meanwhile, benefited from the confiscated property of criminals and the condemned.¹⁰⁰ Temples sheltered treaties and laws: plebeian archives and copies of *senatus consulta* in the Temple of Ceres, Liber, and Libera; linen books containing the annals of magistrates (the *libri lintei*) in the Temple of Juno Moneta; and a bronze tablet commemorating the grant of citizenship to the *equites Campani* in ca. 340 at the Temple of Castor.¹⁰¹ Some temples may already have contained the insignia of political office later attested within them, such as a set of scales at the Temple of Saturn.¹⁰² In return for safekeeping, these objects enhanced the buildings' sanctity through their monetary value, venerable age, and/or political significance – but temples also shrouded them in secrecy; just as the senate controlled access to laws that governed daily life and the running of the state until the publication of the Twelve Tables, so these objects and the information they contained were accessible only to those in authority.

These temples were not power bases for religious personnel: most did not have priests specifically attached to them.¹⁰³ Still, state rituals did apparently occur inside some of them. Livy describes the dictator or the consuls driving a nail into the wall of Minerva's cella at the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Ides of September to mark the passing year;¹⁰⁴ in the same temple consuls took their oath of office, and generals laid laurel branches and wreaths in Jupiter's lap at the end of their triumphs. In later years at least, the senate, needing a space sanctified by the augurs, convened in the Temples of Jupiter Optimus Maximus and Castor, and in the Temple of Apollo, where they met foreign embassies and

deliberated triumphs.¹⁰⁵ Magistrates also conducted business in temples: the Temple of Castor became associated with the consuls; quaestors ran the treasury from the Temple of Saturn; and the Temple of Ceres, Liber, and Libera was the headquarters of the plebeian aediles and a meeting place for tribunes of the plebs, both of which offices later authors dated to the temple's inauguration.¹⁰⁶ When most of these practices developed is not clear, but in scale the temples could have amply accommodated them, and at the Temple of Castor senators could easily have assembled in the spacious porch before their meetings. The gods presided over any political activities in their temples and protected them, and at the same time lent officials authority in those activities.

These uses notwithstanding, it is unlikely that these early temples were highly dynamic. Their doors were probably closed except on anniversaries of dedications and religious holidays, and even then rituals of worship such as sacrifices did not occur within them, but on altars placed outside.¹⁰⁷ Livy mentions a *lectisternium* as early as 399, when couches were spread and banquets and sacrifices offered to several gods, but ceremonies of this kind, too, may have taken place outdoors.¹⁰⁸ With the possible exception of the *flamen Cerealis*, the patrician priests presiding over rituals in the early Republic were simultaneously engaged in running the state. Standing at the altar, a priest was outlined against the long access staircase, a scenic backdrop to his performance; a literal rendering of the notion of ascent, the steps and elevated temple portrayed the ritual activities of an exclusively patrician group as the portal to the divine. Solid, static, and majestic, imbued with the gods' presence and home to venerable objects, early Republican temples were icons in the landscape, proof of patrician piety on behalf of the state.

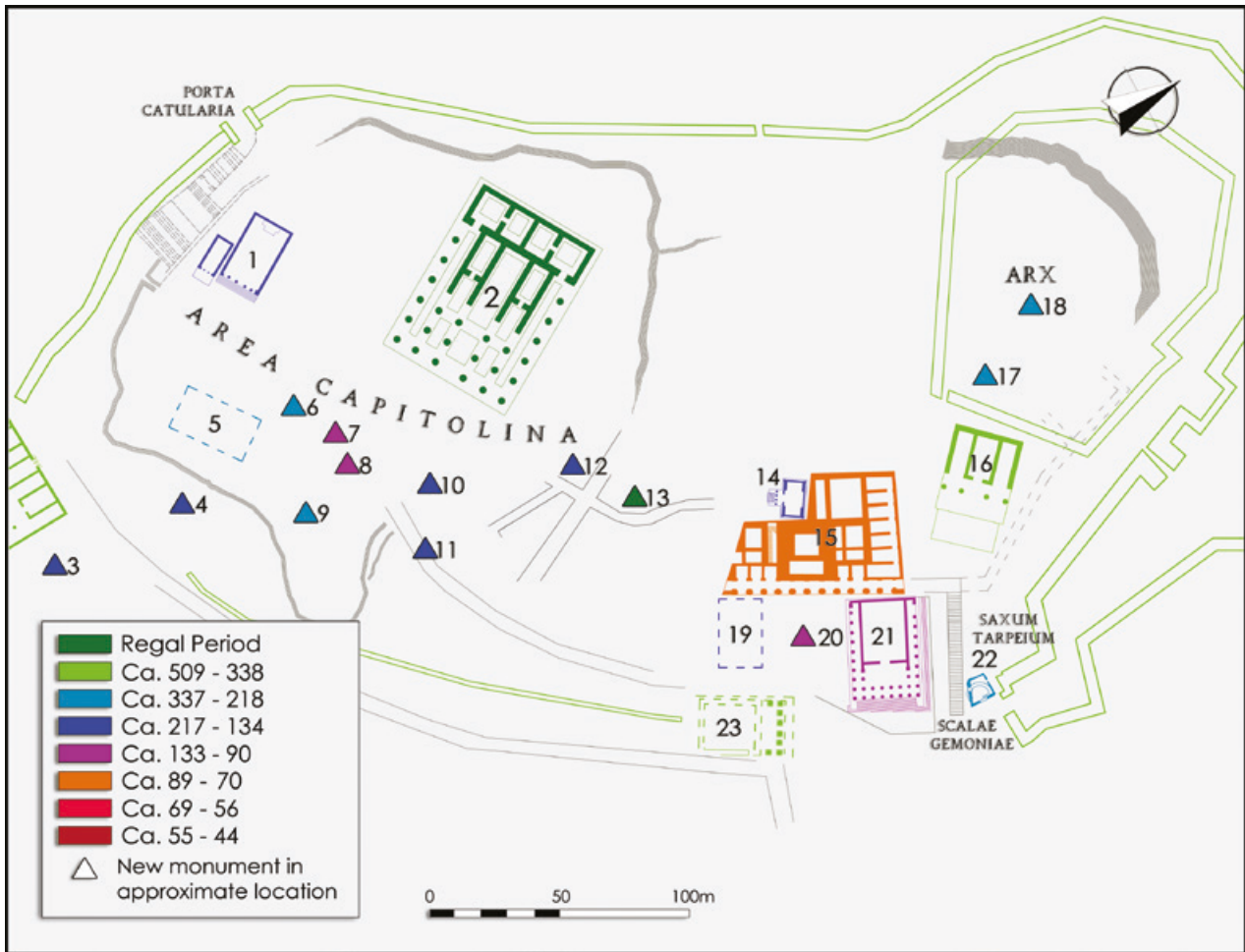
Location

In all their grandeur, early Republican temples loomed over surrounding terrain, elevating and protecting the districts they graced (Fig. 1.1). On the matter of site selection, the process is unknown, and the incompleteness of the archaeological record complicates efforts to establish patterns. Some temples may have been set in existing sanctuaries (the location of which may, in turn, have made the honorand attractive); thus the Temple of Mars beyond Porta Capena may have occupied the site of an earlier shrine from which the war god averted danger, and the Temple of Juno Lucina on the Esquiline may have stood

in a sacred grove in her name. On the southwest Palatine, offerings suggest a long history of cultic activity, probably honoring a female goddess; votives also establish the sacred character of the Velian during the regal period.¹⁰⁹

In the choice of a fresh site the vower seems to have had some discretion, provided that he opted for public land; the senate presumably authorized the choice, an augur determined its suitability, and a *pontifex* performed its consecration. For the building and the *templum* around it, spacious tracts were necessary, which militated against densely residential areas.¹¹⁰ Within the sacred boundary, the *pomerium*, new foundations seem to have concentrated in the political and religious centers, which they dignified and visually anchored. Just as the pre-existing Temple of Saturn marked the southwest corner of the Forum, so the Temple of Castor marked the southeast (Fig. 1.5), a fitting spot for its constituency of equestrians and senators. Juno Moneta took up residence on the Arx or citadel (Fig. 1.26), a peak adjoined to the Capitoline hill with a long sacred history, from which the augurs took auspices across lower-lying land to the east by observing lightning or the flight of birds; from there the guardian goddess could watch over activities in the Forum, and her standards of weights and measures were in turn protected. Some archaeologists place her temple beneath S. Maria in Ara Coeli;¹¹¹ others identify it with a section of Fidenae tufo wall in the Ara Coeli garden, set on top of sixth-century blocks of cappellaccio. The earlier blocks probably formed a retaining wall (Fig. 1.19), and the combination of materials may have given birth to a tradition, current in Livy's day, that the temple stood on top of Manlius Capitolinus' house, demolished after his execution.¹¹²

Most temples were outside the *pomerium*, where sizable tracts of land were available. The Temple of Juno Regina was on the Aventine, where two dedicatory inscriptions suggest a site near the later church of S. Sabina.¹¹³ The sixth-century Temple of Diana, which served as a federal sanctuary for the people of Latium, characterized the hill as inclusively Latin rather than strictly Roman, and this quality may have reinforced the message of regional dominance implicit in Juno Regina's *evocatio*; in turn, the temple may have helped to integrate the zone into the city.¹¹⁴ Regardless of whether the hill became linked with plebeian interests, two temples located there – the Temples of Ceres, Liber, and Libera, and Mercury – were associated with plebeian issues, the grain supply and trade, and overlooked the Circus Maximus and the route from southern Latium through Porta Capena to the



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|--|---------------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1 Temples (of Mens and Venus Erycina?) | 9 Temple of Ops | 17 Mint |
| 2 Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus | 10 Porticus of Scipio Nasica | 18 Temple of Concordia |
| 3 Trophy of Scipio Aemilianus? | 11 <i>Fornix</i> of Scipio Aemilianus | 19 Southwest Building |
| 4 Structure above the Aequialium | 12 Arch of Calpurnius | 20 Basilica Opimia |
| 5 Temple of Fides | 13 Temple of Jupiter Feretrius | 21 Temple of Concordia |
| 6 Column of Aemilius Paullus | 14 Temple of Veiovis | 22 Carcer |
| 7 Trophy of Marius | 15 <i>Substructio et tabularium</i> | 23 Temple of Saturn |
| 8 Trophy of Sulla | 16 Temple (?) in Ara Coeli garden | |

Fig. 1.26 Capitoline hill and environs, plan (Penelope Davies, Onur Öztürk, and Bogdan Perzyński)

Forum Boarium.¹¹⁵ Other temples addressing plebeian concerns occupied the mercantile district (Fig. 1.27): the temples to Fortuna and Mater Matuta, associated with grain, stood sentinel over trade in the Forum Boarium, while the Temple of Apollo Medicus, inspired by famine, defined the north edge of the Forum Holitorium, close to the market. This extra-pomerial site may have seemed appropriate for a prophylactic cult.¹¹⁶ Sometime hubs of religious and perhaps political activity, these icons of patrician power communicated patrician care for plebeians

needs while simultaneously exerting implicit authority over their realms of activity.

Archaeological and literary evidence suggests that the shift from monarchy to Republic may have been articulated through deliberately targeted demolition, (re-)construction, and rededication. As the Republic then took shape, temples were vowed and constructed to answer civic or military crises, to negotiate favorable relationships with the gods on the state's behalf. These buildings sometimes addressed plebeian concerns but were exclusively patrician initiatives,

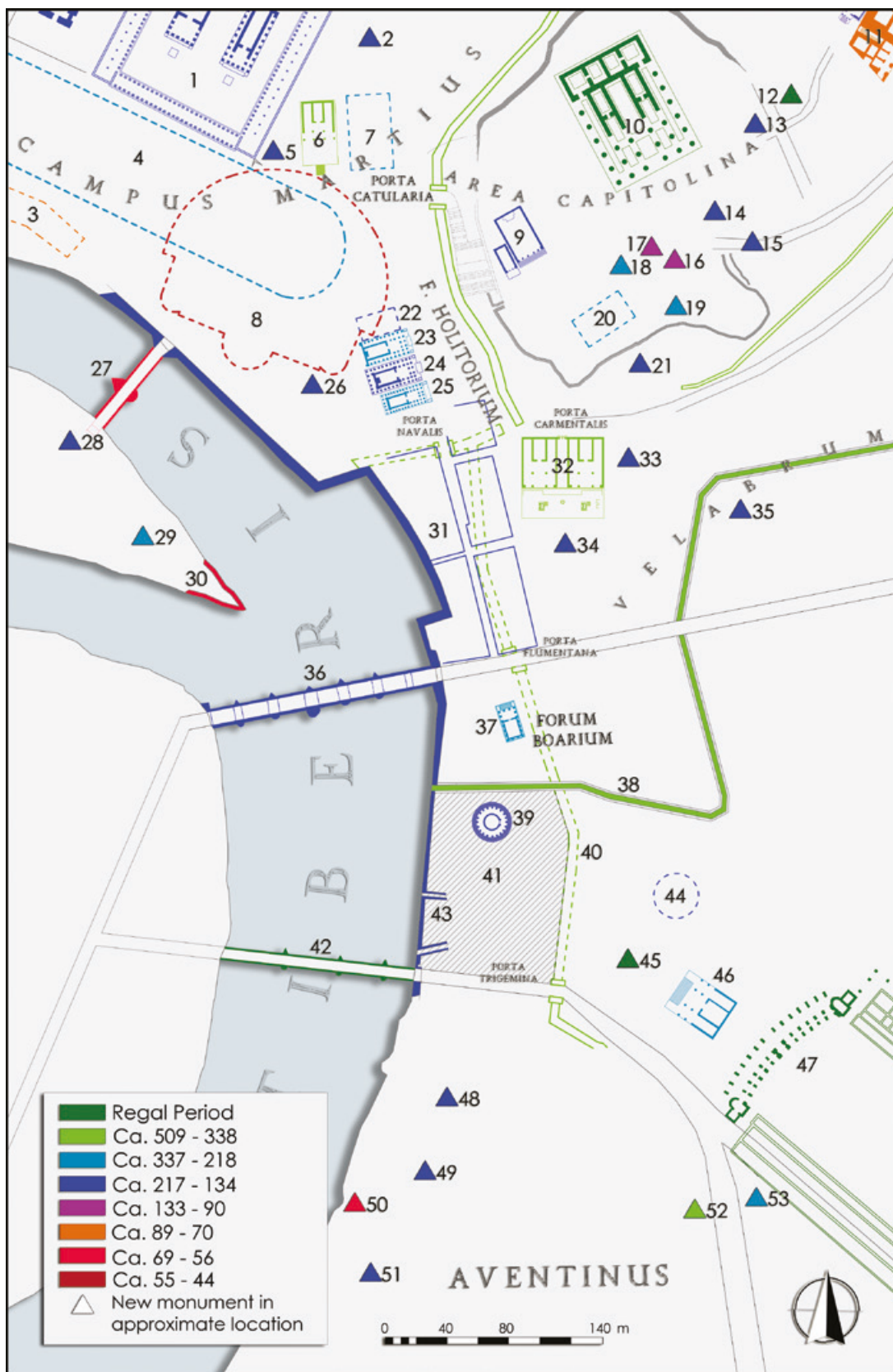


Fig. 1.27 Forum Boarium, plan (Penelope Davies, Onur Öztürk, and Bogdan Perzyński)

and their monumentality and relative homogeneity in form suggest a drive not only to honor the gods appropriately but to shore up the patrician oligarchy as a body, an instinct that was especially acute at times of plebeian discontent. Design imparted rigid authority, which was enhanced by functionality. Temples were sited throughout the city, often according to the nature of the honorands, their adherents, or magistrates who might use them, and in such a way as to elevate political and religious centers and maintain a patrician presence in predominantly plebeian zones.

SPOILS AND THE CITY

During the early Republic, as in the regal period, warfare in Latium and environs consisted chiefly of raids and counter-raids. Serious engagements and campaigns were few, as were triumphs and ovations.¹¹⁷ Often plunder may have been the principal objective, but such was its nature that it had little immediate impact on the cityscape until the dissolution of the Latin League in ca. 338, when Romans began to explore the commemorative potential of their spoils.

The Nature of Spoils

As Livy presents it, in the early Republic booty consisted principally of weapons, livestock (mainly cattle and sheep), slaves, land, bronze ingots, and movable goods such as jewelry and other precious metal objects.¹¹⁸ This was a function of the character of early warfare, and the riches available for seizure. Still, two notices stand out in Livy's account. First, in ca. 380 T. Quinctius Cincinnatus brought Praeneste's cult image of Jupiter Imperator to Rome, signaling the god's abandonment of the defeated

city.¹¹⁹ Second, in the aftermath of the Latin insurgence in ca. 338, when Rome imposed harsh penalties on Velitrae and Antium before granting citizenship to the bulk of their populations, Antium was required to surrender its ships. Some of them were subsumed into Rome's fleet; others were incinerated after the removal of their bronze battering rams, which were treated as trophies.¹²⁰

The Disposal of Spoils

When dealing with enemy weapons, generals sometimes set fire to them on the battlefield as a sacrifice to Vulcan or other gods of destructive forces; the ritual presumably obliterated malevolent forces lingering within them.¹²¹ Other items, transported to Rome, made for powerful display: captured weapons offered a glimpse of war's brutalities, and emphasized the adversary's physical vulnerability; along with precious objects, bronze, and livestock, they were a testament to the foe's economic reduction. Slaves, meanwhile, denoted the enemy's diminished population and its subordination to Roman power.

Among the stipulations of the Cassian Treaty, inscribed on a bronze pillar and installed in the Forum, was a pact that any plunder resulting from Roman and Latin campaigns would be distributed equally among the cities involved, and the allotment of booty was a matter of frequent concern after war.¹²² After any settlement, and once Rome's portion had been paraded in triumph, there arose the question of its permanent disposal. The installation of the quaestorship in 446 and its later augmentation may reflect nascent interest in managing spoils properly, for as well as overseeing army supplies and other basic needs of the state, these

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| 1 Porticus of Metellus | 20 Temple of Fides | 38 Cloaca Maxima |
| 2 Temple of Fortuna Equestris | 21 Structure above the Aequivalium | 39 Round Temple by the Tiber (Hercules Victor?) |
| 3 Warehouses | 22 Temple of Pietas | 40 Walls |
| 4 Circus Flaminius | 23 Temple of Janus | 41 Earth fill |
| 5 Temple of Diana | 24 Temple of Juno Sospita | 42 Pons Sublicius |
| 6 Temple of Apollo Medicus | 25 Temple of Spes | 43 Embankment walls |
| 7 Temple of Bellona | 26 <i>Porticus post Spei ad Tiberim et ad aedem Apollonis</i> | 44 Temple of Hercules (<i>Aemiliana</i>) |
| 8 Theater planned by Caesar | 27 Pons Fabricius | 45 Ara Maxima |
| 9 Temples (of Mens and Venus Erycina?) | 28 Temple of Jupiter Iurarius | 46 Temple of Hercules (Invictus) |
| 10 Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus | 29 Temple of Aesculapius | 47 Circus Maximus |
| 11 <i>Tabularium et substructio</i> | 30 Insula Tiberina embankment | 48 <i>Porticus extra portam Trigeminam (I)</i> |
| 12 Temple of Jupiter Feretrius | 31 Warehouses | 49 <i>Porticus extra portam Trigeminam (II)</i> |
| 13 <i>Fornix</i> of Calpurnius | 32 Temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta | 50 Emporium |
| 14 Porticus of Scipio Nasica | 33 Trophy of Scipio Aemilianus (?) | 51 <i>Porticus extra portam Trigeminam inter lignarios</i> |
| 15 <i>Fornix</i> of Scipio Africanus | 34 <i>Fornices</i> of Stertinius | 52 Temple of Ceres, Liber and Libera |
| 16 Trophy of Sulla | 35 Temple of Felicitas | 53 Temple of Consus |
| 17 Trophy of Marius | 36 Pons Aemilius | |
| 18 Column of Aemilius Paullus | 37 Temple of Portunus | |
| 19 Temple of Ops | | |

Fig. 1.27 (cont.)

financial officials dealt with booty;¹²³ they may have devised a fledgling set of regulations that later generations fleshed out – and which scholars still struggle to define.

Dionysius records one instance in the early Republic when proceeds from spoils were channeled into temple construction (the Temple of Ceres, Liber, and Libera), just as, in Livy's view, booty from the Volsci funded the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus.¹²⁴ Livestock was probably auctioned; its value, along with any bronze, was probably deposited in the treasury or used to reward soldiers. Extrapolating from later events, generals may have dedicated weapons to the gods, distributed them to soldiers for reuse, or melted them down for bronze.¹²⁵ Valuable objects were sometimes dedicated in temples. Thus Livy records Mam. Aemilius and Quinctius Cincinnatus offering gold crowns in the Capitoline temple after victories at Fidenae and Praeneste in ca. 380; and, perhaps responding to the loss of temple gold for the Gallic ransom, in ca. 358 the dictator C. Sulpicius Peticus collected gold from Tiburtine and Gallic spoils, and walled it up and dedicated it in the Capitol.¹²⁶ Inscribed plaques probably recorded the dedicator's name, as in the case of Quinctius Cincinnatus:

He bore [the image of Jupiter Imperator] in triumph to the Capitol, where he dedicated it, between the shrine of Jupiter and that of Minerva. Below it he placed a tablet, in commemoration of his deeds, with an inscription to the following effect: "Jupiter and all the gods granted Titus Quinctius the dictator that he should take nine towns."¹²⁷

It was not until the suppression of the Latin revolt that Romans began to deploy spoils more aggressively, possibly under the influence of Greek practice, and perhaps even in response to Greek complaints about Antiatic piracy.¹²⁸ At this time, they mounted the rams from the Antiatic ships on the rear wall of the speakers' platform in the Forum, in a feat of engineering that probably occasioned a restoration of the entire Comitium, the area designated for political assemblies and for elections by the *comitia curiata* (Fig. 1.28). On the strength of their presence there, the speakers' platform became known as the Rostra.¹²⁹ The site, protruding into the Forum, sets the installation apart: unlike dedications in temples, the rostra were visible to anyone at any time, and their display at the city's political heart imbued them with a civic as well as a religious quality. To people assembled in the Forum, and foreign

ambassadors at the nearby Graecostasis, the display conveyed Rome's aspiration to dominion by sea as well as by land.¹³⁰

In Pliny's view, this initiative was driven by the *populus Romanus*, not by C. Maenius and L. Furius Camillus, the consuls responsible for the victory. As additional tributes, the people erected equestrian statues of the consuls, in the Forum, as Livy saw it, or on the Rostra, as Eutropius prefers; they may also have set up a column to Maenius, shown on coins of L. Marcius Censorinus in 82 (Fig. 1.29).¹³¹ The statues were not the first in the area of the speakers' platform: the people had raised under-life-size images of Tullius Cloelius, L. Roscius, Sp. Nautilus, and C. Fulcinius on the Rostra in 438, after their assassination on a diplomatic mission to Fidenae; still, Livy considered them an extraordinary tribute, and just as the earlier statues memorialized the ambassadors for martyrdom to the state, so the Rostra monument honored the consuls for their exertions on behalf of the *res publica*.¹³²

Indeed, judging by the *fasti triumphales*, lists of triumphs set up in the Augustan era, Maenius was only the third plebeian general to earn a triumph. This alone must have made him a favorite with the crowd: one of their own, he amply justified the admission of plebeians to the upper magistracies and, only four years earlier, the reservation of a consulship for a plebeian. Yet the consul's triumph also represented a dramatic elevation in Rome's regional status, and the instinct to display the prowess publicly, like the shift in selection of divinities for temples in the fourth century, reflects Rome's increasingly imperialistic stance as it spread its hegemony through central Italy. Moreover, as Pliny stresses in relation to the equestrian statues, the subjugation of the Latins "to whom the Roman people used to guarantee by treaty a third of the booty" freed Romans to dispose of the entirety of their plunder as they chose.¹³³ This first public display of booty was therefore self-referential: spoils marked Rome's ownership of all its spoils. Further still, by requiring subordinated cities to sever their ties with each other, binding them to itself with diverse relationships – some *municipia* (self-governing states with citizenship), others *civitates sine suffragio* (states with half citizenship which provided manpower) – Rome expanded its citizenry, which in turn augmented tax revenue. At the same time, a vast increase in Rome's territory (to something between 5,289 and 8,505 square kilometers) promised *ager publicus* for farming and income in rent.¹³⁴ Unlike

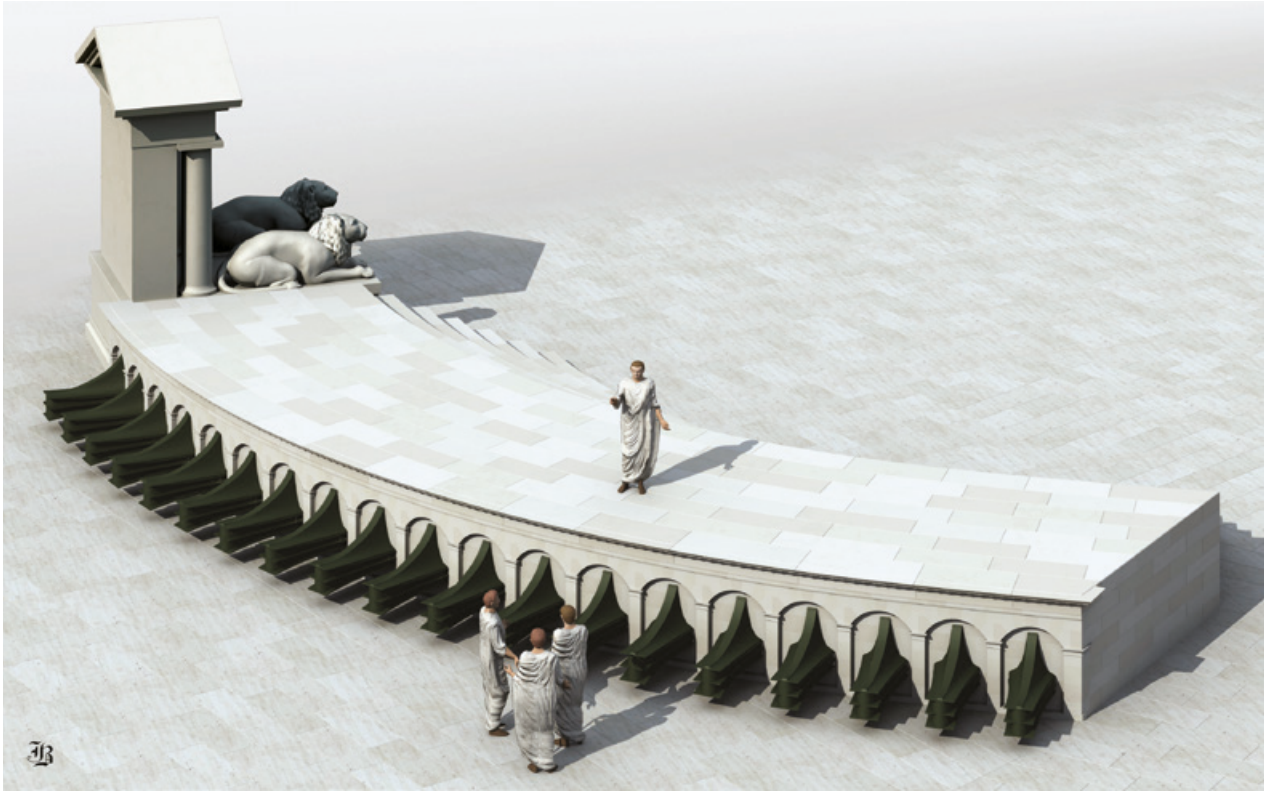


Fig. 1.28 Rostra, ca. 338, hypothetical reconstruction (John Burge)



Fig. 1.29 Denarius minted by L. Marcius Censorinus in 82, with a reverse image of the *columna Maenia* (Peus auction 418, 2016, no. 1031)

bronze ingots, the rams had a natural exhibition quality; yet, great masses of bronze, they were still implicitly valuable as bullion, and the choice to reserve them for public display rather than consigning them to the treasury signals a growing confidence in present and future wealth, thanks to the victory.

In the first century and a half of the Republic, plunder was used to enrich the state's coffers, in the treasury at the Temple of Saturn (presumably) as well as in other temples; soldiers may also have enjoyed the rewards of military success. At first, spoils were dedicated in sanctuaries, and in a single known instance funded the



Fig. 1.30 Cloaca Maxima, after ca. 650, actual state (Penelope Davies)

construction of a temple, but otherwise did little to transform the city. This changed with the dissolution of the Latin League, when ships' prows were displayed publicly, by the people's initiative, in the city's first manubial monument. The Rostra exulted in Latium's subjugation, and celebrated Rome's control over the entirety of its plunder and the wealth it promised, along with increased revenues from taxes and rent.

CIVIC DEVELOPMENT

The transition to a Republic apparently brought little immediate civic development, a stark contrast to the small surge in activity relating to religious architecture; probably the regal period had left Rome adequately provided for, with buildings to accommodate the components of government. Only with adjustments to the roster of magistrates was there a slow upswing in construction, and thereafter censors gradually took charge of letting contracts for public buildings, as the need arose.

Becoming a Republic

Estimates of Rome's population by the end of the sixth century range from 20,000 to 100,000, occupying an area of 2.85 to 4 square kilometers.¹³⁵ The sacred *pomerium* enclosed the city, and a circuit of walls built of locally quarried gray tufo, with a rampart, may have protected it in its entirety, or just the principal hilltops.¹³⁶ The Forum was the principal political arena, where some time after 650 the ground level was raised by an astonishing 9 meters (4,000 m³) and paved in gravel to prevent flooding (Figs. 1.5–6);¹³⁷ crossing the Forum, the Cloaca Maxima, a drainage channel lined with blocks of cappellaccio and covered, at least in places, with a false vault (Fig. 1.30), controlled waters that streamed down from the hills to the north.¹³⁸ Shops lined the south side of the piazza, and on the northwest corner, at a slightly higher level, was the Comitium or assembly place, paved in beaten red tufo.¹³⁹ On its south side stood the speakers' platform, measuring roughly 30 meters in length and defined on the north by stone blocks and steps, on the south by a retaining wall (Fig. 1.31a–b). Sunken into the platform was an

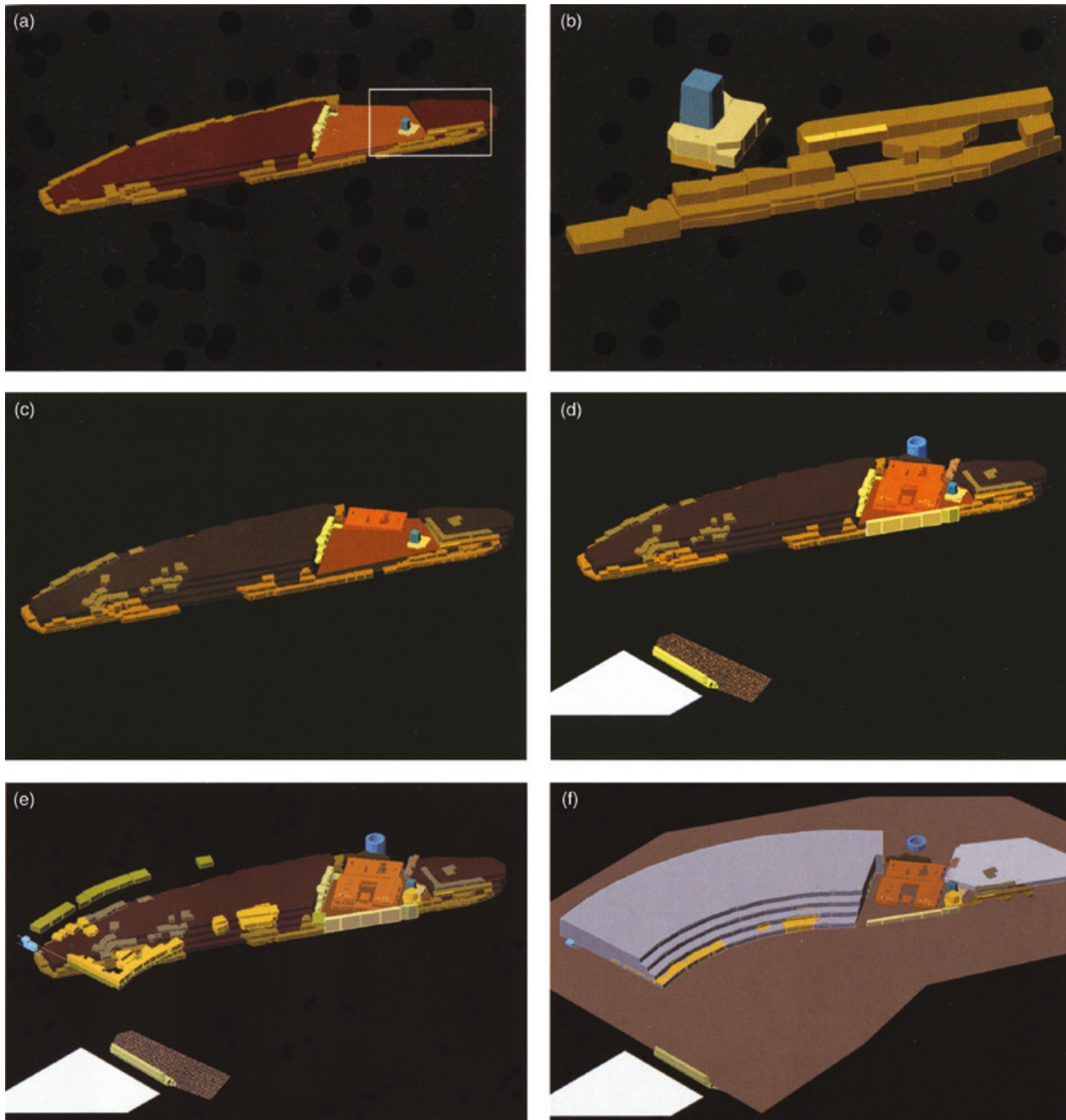


Fig. 1.31 Rostra, partial reconstruction a–b) in *ca.* the mid-sixth century; c) in the second half of the sixth century; d) at *ca.* the end of the sixth century or the beginning of the fifth; e–f) in the fourth or third century (Carla Maria Amici)

inscribed *cippus*, which had been erected on the south side of the Comitium in an earlier phase, perhaps the Volcanal from literary sources, and nearby was an altar (Fig. 1.31c). Set apart, the western sector of the platform is sometimes identified as the Graecostasis, a tribunal used in later times for

receiving foreign guests of the senate.¹⁴⁰ Remains of a tuff staircase to the northeast of the Comitium probably led to the Curia Hostilia, a hall inaugurated as a meeting space for the king's council, purportedly by Tullus Hostilius.¹⁴¹ Locally produced terracottas (a gorgon antefix and a revetment

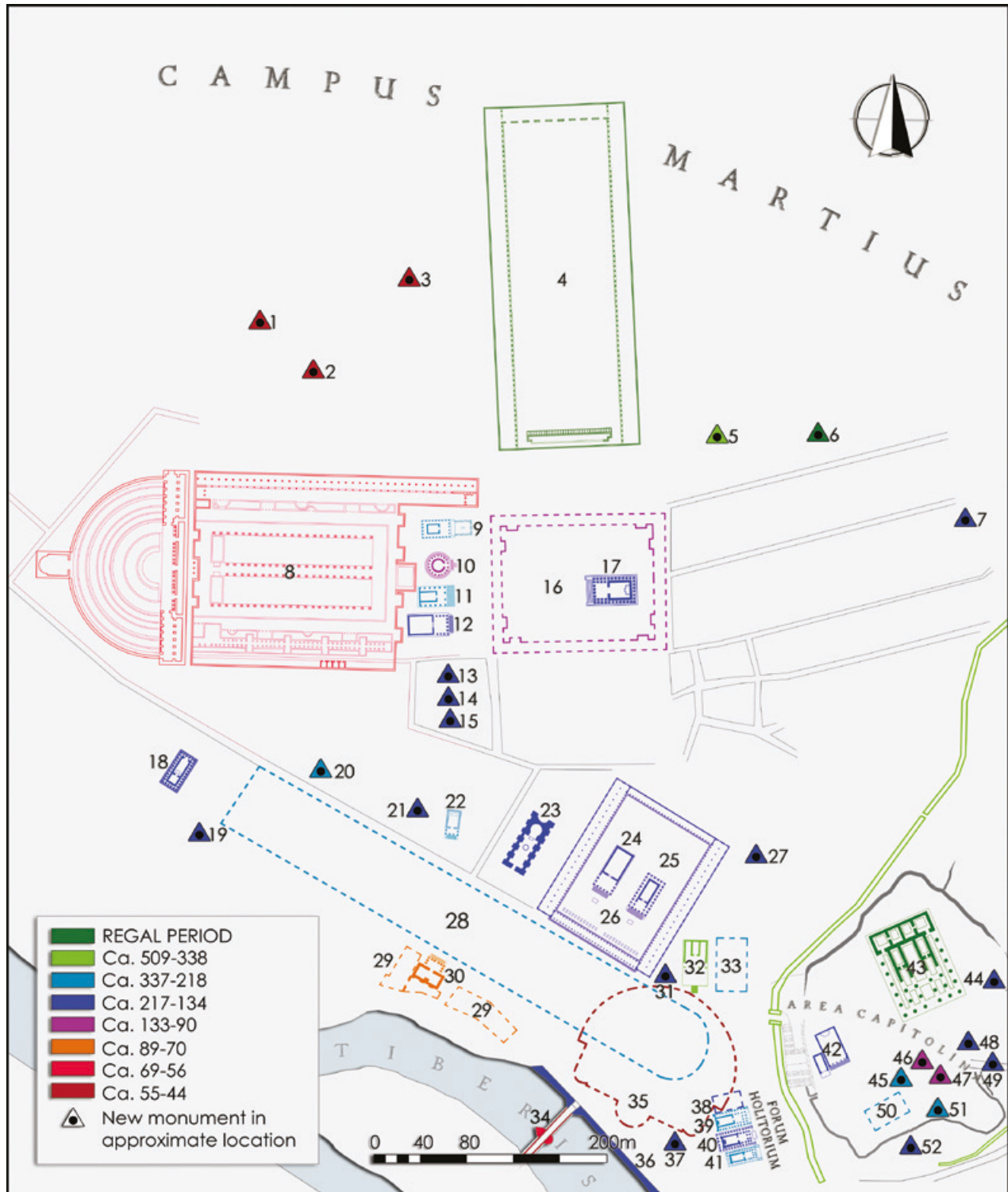


Fig. 1.32 Campus Martius, plan (Penelope Davies, Onur Öztürk, and Bogdan Perzyński)

depicting a man on a horse) discovered in the Comitium's pavement suggest that the senate house was of monumental proportions.¹⁴² Across a thoroughfare from the senate house, later known as the Argiletum, there was probably an Atrium Regium, named by Livy in a list of structures burnt in 210; it may have been a public residence for the kings.¹⁴³

By the Tiber, the Forum Boarium had developed into a lively commercial district, with a port and markets. North of the city, the Campus Martius hosted military exercises, and there literary sources place the *ovile*, a wooden enclosure where the citizenry gathered for the *comitia centuriata* and the census (Fig. 1.32).¹⁴⁴ To the south, a natural valley between the Palatine and the Aventine was drained by a large *cloaca* as a venue for chariot racing, known as the Circus Maximus (Fig. 1.33); ancient authors attributed the project's conception to Tarquinius Priscus, who erected wooden seating there, and its completion to Tarquinius Superbus.¹⁴⁵

With the start of the Republic, civic construction seems to have focused in the Forum. Slabs of gray tufo around the Temple of Castor and in the center of the piazza indicate that shortly after the beginning of the fifth century it was paved in stone, which must have unified and formalized the space.¹⁴⁶ At the end of the sixth century or the beginning of the fifth, modest adjustments occurred at the speakers' platform: a U-shaped altar was installed abutting the existing altar, which it either complemented or replaced (Fig. 1.31d),¹⁴⁷ underlining the sanctity of the space and perhaps, like the changes to the nearby Regia and the precinct of Vesta, marking the start of the new era; alternatively, it may have accompanied the establishment of the plebeian *comitia tributa* that ancient texts date around 473–471. On the northeast edge of the Forum, literary sources place butchers' shops by at least the mid-fifth

century, complementing those on the southwest (subsequently known as the *tabernae veteres*); archaeological remains suggest these were Grotta Oscura buildings oriented at a slightly oblique angle to the piazza. Traces of other shops survive to the north of the Sacra Via, across from the Regia.¹⁴⁸

Beyond these initiatives, a dearth of civic building is attested for the new Republic. For this, scholars offer diverse explanations. For some, it reflects poor survival in the archaeological record; for others, Rome's administrative functions evolved faster than its architecture; others still attribute it to a deliberate policy of austerity rooted in *isonomia*.¹⁴⁹ Yet the evidence may simply show how little government changed. Even if, for later authors, the leap from monarchy to Republic was dramatic in philosophical, ideological, or rhetorical terms, in terms of government structure, it amounted to little more than the introduction of collegiality at the highest level, when two consuls assumed most of the king's functions. The people continued to meet in *contiones* and to vote by tribe and by century, the senate substituted for the king's council, and pontiffs probably continued to maintain oversight of judicial proceedings in the Forum.¹⁵⁰ Any buildings necessary for these institutions were already in place. Even with the establishment of new magistracies, other factors may have obviated or discouraged new construction. For one thing, magistrates acted separately; there was little notion of a unified government. For another, the state provided little in the way of social benefits or amenities that called for administrative buildings. Magistrates probably fulfilled some of their duties in temples, or worked from their houses (found, *inter alia*, on the Palatine and, by the second half of the fourth century, on the edge of the Forum).¹⁵¹

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| 1 Naumachia Caesaris | 19 Porticus post navalia et ad fanum Herculis | 37 Porticus post Spei ad Tiberim et ad aedem Apollonis |
| 2 Temple of Mars planned by Caesar | 20 Temple of Hercules Magnus Custos | 38 Temple of Pietas |
| 3 Libraries planned by Caesar | 21 Porticus of Octavius | 39 Temple of Janus |
| 4 <i>Ovile</i> /Saepa Iulia | 22 Temple of Neptune | 40 Temple of Juno Sospita |
| 5 Villa Publica | 23 Temple of Hercules Musarum | 41 Temple of Spes |
| 6 Altar of Mars | 24 Temple of Juno Regina | 42 Temples (of Mens and Venus Erycina?) |
| 7 Porticus extra portam Fontinalem | 25 Temple of Jupiter Stator | 43 Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus |
| 8 Theater-Portico Complex of Pompey | 26 Porticus of Metellus | 44 Fornix of Calpurnius |
| 9 Temple A, Largo Argentina (Iuturna?) | 27 Temple of Fortuna Equestris | 45 Column of Aemilius Paullus |
| 10 Temple B, Largo Argentina (Fortuna Huiusce Diei) | 28 Circus Flaminius | 46 Trophy of Marius |
| 11 Temple C, Largo Argentina (Feronia?) | 29 Warehouses | 47 Trophy of Sulla |
| 12 Temple D, Largo Argentina (Nymphs?) | 30 Temple of Castor and Pollux | 48 Porticus of Scipio Nasica |
| 13–15 Temples (?) | 31 Temple of Diana | 49 Fornix of Scipio Africanus |
| 16 Porticus Minucia? | 32 Temple of Apollo Medicus | 50 Temple of Fides |
| 17 Temple in via delle Botteghe Oscure (Lares Permarini?) | 33 Temple of Bellona | 51 Temple of Ops |
| 18 Temple of Mars | 34 Pons Fabricius | 52 Structure above the Aequimalium |
| | 35 Theater planned by Caesar | |
| | 36 Tiber embankments | |

Fig. 1.32 (cont.)



Fig. 1.33 Circus Maximus, begun in the regal period, actual state (Penelope Davies)

Censorial Building?

The first signs of monumental civic building occur in conjunction with government restructuring. In *ca.* 433, according to Livy, the first censors, C. Furius Pacilus and M. Geganius, contracted for the construction of the *Villa Publica*. How such a process might have worked in a pre-monetary era is unclear, since existing evidence for Roman contracts assumes payment in coin;¹⁵² however it was achieved, as a base of operations for the new censors, the *Villa* dignified the office and its principal charge of classifying citizens by wealth for purposes of taxation and military service. It stood between the Altar of Mars and the *ovile* on the Campus Martius, but no information on its fifth-century form survives; there may have been little in the way of built structure, it may have been new construction, or it may have begun as a regal residence, coopted for public purposes as a pendant to the *Domus Publica* on the edge of the Forum.¹⁵³ Indeed, its designation as a *villa* and its use from the end of the third century as lodging for foreign ambassadors suggest a residential component, and it may have sheltered the censors outside the *pomerium* for the duration of their duties, a function that a temple

could less easily have fulfilled.¹⁵⁴ Implied in the name, too, was the people's ownership of the state, even if the very process of the census codified social hierarchies within it.

The responsibilities of the censorship gained new urgency in response to the Gallic invasion. As Livy tells it, the Capitoline was reinforced with a stone substructure in *ca.* 388, to be identified, perhaps, with blocks of *cappellaccio* and *Grotta Oscura* (*tufo giallo della via Tiberina*) on the *Salita delle Tre Pile*.¹⁵⁵ During a subsequent lull in warfare, he continues, the censors of *ca.* 378, Sp. Servilius Priscus and Q. Cloelius Siculus, levied onerous taxes on the citizenry for a massive amplification of existing fortifications. In about 353, repairs were undertaken by troops, by which time construction was presumably complete. Like early Republican temples, the walls were probably built by *corvée* labor.¹⁵⁶

In a single circuit of about 11 kilometers, the walls fortified an area of approximately 426 hectares, enclosing the Capitoline, the Quirinal, the Viminal, the Esquiline, the Oppian, part of the Caelian, the Palatine, and the Aventine; parts of its path (especially between the Capitoline and the Aventine) remain difficult to determine. Towers, and gates for passage, punctuated its course (Fig. 1.1).¹⁵⁷ About 94 meters long, an impressive tract outside *Stazione Termini* in



Fig. 1.34 Fortification walls near Stazione Termini, begun in *ca.* 378, actual state (Penelope Davies)

Piazza dei Cinquecento (Fig. 1.34) retains most of its original thickness (*ca.* 4 meters) and height (approximately 10 meters), in 17 alternating courses of headers and stretchers. Seams in construction distinguish three teams of workers, each responsible for about 36 meters, which approximates the *plethron*, a measure used by Syracusan builders. This, and Greek letters incised into some of the blocks at the quarry or at a holding site where the stone cured, suggest that architects and master-builders came from Syracuse, where Dionysius I had recently erected fortifications.¹⁵⁸

In their accounts of the Gallic incursion, Plutarch and Livy describe widespread conflagration.¹⁵⁹ Polybius, by contrast, mentions only an occupation. A recent assessment of literary and archaeological evidence concludes that mercenary warriors, the Gauls, came for plunder, not conquest; their destruction targeted houses (those in the area of the later Forum Iulium, for instance, where there are signs of fire) rather than public buildings.¹⁶⁰ Still, it is likely that their brief occupation took a toll on morale; as Livy tells it, at least, part of the population evacuated to Veii and Caere before their arrival, hauling

with them the temple treasures and furnishings of cult, and on returning talked of the city's wholesale relocation to Veii.¹⁶¹ From this moment, the Gauls were seared into cultural memory as an enemy worthy of dread, and until the subjugation of Cisalpine Gaul in the late third century, the prospect of Gallic attack could prompt a *tumultus Gallicus*, when officials could suspend exemptions from military service and recruit as necessary.¹⁶² The fortifications addressed this fear. Icon-like, they defined the city, reconstituting and unifying it; with their labor, the citizens restored their identity as a community. Still, fortifications embody paradox: while defining and protecting a physical boundary, they simultaneously accentuate its perilous permeability. For Rome, past weakness necessitated present strength, and as if to highlight the walls' solidity and to overwrite memory of invasion, huge quantities of Grotta Oscura tufo, imported from the newly conquered Veii and Fidenae, were combined with local cappellaccio. Distinct for its pale yellow color, stronger and more resistant to artillery strikes, it was material proof of Rome's power to prevail.¹⁶³

Even as the walls consolidated the city, they may also have caused fractures within it. By one scholar's assessment, the labor distrainted upon the citizens for their construction may have reached five months *per capita*, on top of the seasonal demands of agriculture and warfare. This burden probably exacerbated indebtedness enough to fuel the social conflict addressed by the Licinian-Sextian laws; the conflict, in turn, may have discouraged more massive scale construction.¹⁶⁴

Still, initiatives on a smaller scale were less onerous, and at some point in the fourth or third century, the Comitium was remodeled. The speakers' platform, previously rectilinear, was replaced by a curved structure with steps on the long north side (Fig. 1.31d); parts of its tufo foundations and superstructure (probably tawny-orange, glassy Monteverde or *tufo lionato* from the west bank of the Tiber) survive, along with a drain; a Grotta Oscura pavement (Pavement iv) likely also belongs to this phase.¹⁶⁵ The redesign probably occurred with the installation of the Antiate prows and the equestrian statues of Maenius and Furius Camillus, shortly after 338, and marked the expansion of the civic body after the Latin League's demise. If later patterns are any guide, it may have been a censorial project, and though no censors are known for 337, Sp. Postumius Albinus Caudinus and Q. Publilius Philo, censors of 332 who were tasked with enrolling new citizens, make possible sponsors.

Judging by available evidence, the transition from monarchy to Republic did not result in an instantaneous surge of civic building. At first, projects of limited scope raised the tone of the Forum, readying the city for broad political engagement; otherwise, an essential continuity in political structures, coupled with the conception of government as the responsibility of a rotating set of individuals rather than a unified body, probably obviated the need for new civic architecture. With the addition of the censorship to the roster of magistrates, the monumental civic building took its first slow steps, beginning with the Villa Publica, an icon for the office itself and for a stratified society. Thereafter, civic construction was infrequent and reactive; fortifications and Comitium initiative alike were born of and responded to changes in the state's fortunes in war.

CONCLUSIONS

The scarcity of archaeological material in Rome from the first three quarters of the fifth century raises questions among historians. Some, noting a similar dearth of material elsewhere in Latium, envisage a period of widespread poverty, possibly caused or exacerbated by constant warfare.¹⁶⁶

Architecture suggests otherwise. Attested buildings are not numerous, but many more must have escaped detection thus far; those that are known indicate ongoing construction throughout the early Republic. Their monumentality meshes poorly with the notion of an impoverished state; spoils and taxes evidently kept the treasury sufficiently buoyant for public construction projects, even if the poor could barely subsist. Indeed, from the start of the Republic to the dissolution of the Latin League, Rome was subtly but distinctly transformed. Its first monumental buildings – great stone temples – rose in the principal political, religious, and commercial centers (the Forum, the Capitoline, and the Forum Boarium–Aventine zone), where they protected and solemnized nearby proceedings. For the first time, a stone pavement dignified the Forum, and the Comitium and speakers' platform were sanctified, remodeled, and expanded. With the Villa Publica, construction inched northwards into the Campus Martius, bringing the voting hub into sharper definition. After the Gallic invasion, an impressive circuit of fortifications reinforced Rome's identity.

These monuments articulated Rome's relations with its neighbors in Italy and beyond. At first, the selection of divinities for temples – such as the Castores and Ceres, Liber, and Libera – and the use of imported roof tiles, artists from Greece and Sicily, and Syracusan building modules, suggest that Rome welcomed cultural exchange, and maintained permeable cultural boundaries; as time passed, the exaltation of martial divinities, the expropriation of gods from conquered cities, and the public display of spoils on the Rostra communicated a more imperialistic attitude.

Across the board, these religious, manubial, and civic initiatives do not seem to have expressed the concerns or inter-rivalry of their sponsors. In this much, they support the notion of an ideal of *isonomia* guiding senatorial building practices, though it did not necessarily encourage austerity, as some scholars believe. These initiatives did, however, articulate power relations within Rome. Patricians vowed or commissioned all public buildings and probably used *corvée* labor for their construction. With the Villa Publica, the censors underscored their authority to stratify society, and temples, monumental and majestic, nearly uniform in design, suggested patrician solidarity at the top of the hierarchy; domineering and rigidly frontal, they articulated patrician reluctance to yield authority, even as plebeians gained access to upper magistracies.

TWO

AN AGE OF INDIVIDUALISM: *ca.* 337–218

POLITICAL FRAMEWORK

Fields of War

In the interval between the dissolution of the Latin League and the onset of the Second Punic War, Rome extended its reach across the Italian peninsula, through colonization and war. Colonization had been a key component of its defensive and expansive strategy from the earliest days of the Republic, and the foundation of Fregellae in south Latium in 328 set the neighboring Samnites on edge.¹ They encouraged Naples to attack Rome's possessions in Campania, and so began the Second Samnite War (326–304). For Rome, the war brought serious defeats at Caudine Forks near Beneventum in 321 and at Lautulae near Terracina (Tarracina) in 315, resulting in a strategy of reconsolidation, spearheaded by Ap. Claudius, when the army was enlarged and reorganized and a naval patrol established. By 312, Rome had surrounded Samnium with allies and taken control of the Tyrrhenian coastland, and by 304 the Samnites sued for peace. In the same year, Rome's brutal devastation of the Aequi prompted the Abruzzi to settle a treaty.²

In the years immediately thereafter, Rome continued to expand through Etruria and Umbria; to the south, meanwhile, a Third Samnite War (298–290) was sparked when the Samnites attacked Rome's allies in Lucania. Fearing the inevitability of Roman dominance over central Italy unless they took radical action, they formed a vast coalition with the Etruscans, the Umbrians, and the Gauls. The threat to Rome was real; and in 295, both consuls (Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus and P. Decius Mus) and an unprecedented five (or more) prorogued officers, including L. Scipio Barbatus and L. Postumius Megellus, fielded the largest army in the city's history,

and, at Sentinum in Le Marche, won Rome's hardest battle yet.³

There was other opposition besides. In 285, when the city of Thurii appealed for help against Lucania, Roman ships sailed past the gulf of Tarentum to offer support. In doing so, they breached their treaty with the Tarentines, who sought assistance from Pyrrhus of Epirus. He landed on Italian shores, Rome's first overseas adversary, with a vast professional army and twenty elephants as engines of war. Twice he inflicted defeat on Rome, but in 275, at Beneventum, M'. Curius Dentatus' troops prevailed, and captured Tarentum. With Rome thus preoccupied, the Samnites, Lucanians, and Bruttians revolted. Their defeat came in 272; further north, M. Fulvius Flaccus' conquest of Volsinii (Orvieto) in 264 marked Etruria's subjugation.⁴

In the same year, the First Punic War (264–241) broke out. With the death of Syracuse's ruler, Agathocles, in 289, his mercenaries took control of Messina and its straits. Led by Hiero, the Syracusans called on Carthage and Rome for help; first to respond, the Carthaginians joined ranks with them against Ap. Claudius Caudex when he arrived in 264. In subsequent battles, Romans fought to drive the Carthaginians from the island, and were soon enticed onto the water. Novices at naval warfare, they nevertheless crafted a fleet (261–260) and success followed with astonishing speed; all but one significant maritime engagements ended in victory.⁵ The year 254 saw the capture of Panormus (Palermo), where four years later the greatest land battle of the war took place; focus then shifted to the southwest coast where the Carthaginians based their fleet, at Lilybaeum and Drepana. There, near the Aegates Islands in 241, Q. Valerius Falto, a praetor



Fig. 2.1 Map of Rome, ca. 337–218 (Penelope Davies, Onur Öztürk, and Bogdan Perzyński)

serving under C. Lutatius Catulus, scored a spectacular victory: cutting off and defeating enemy ships laden with supplies and reinforcements, he forced the Carthaginians to evacuate the island. Follow-up campaigns cleared them from Sardinia and Corsica.⁶

In the last year of the Punic War, Rome quelled an insurrection in the Etruscan city of Falerii; two Illyrian Wars also took troops across the Adriatic in 229–228 and 220–219.⁷ In the meantime fresh tensions arose with the Gauls, who had crossed the Apennines and defeated Roman forces near Faesulae. As panic took hold in Rome at the prospect of a second invasion, the combined forces of C. Atilius Regulus and L. Aemilius Papus defeated them at Telamon near Cosa in 225. Continuing the offensive, in 223 C. Flaminius and L. Furius Philus vanquished their principal tribe, the Insubres; and a year later, M. Claudius Marcellus and Cn. Cornelius Scipio Calvus defeated them spectacularly at Clastidium before crossing the Po to conquer their capital, Mediolanum (Milan).⁸

Civic Affairs: a New Nobilitas

During the fourth century, some of the worst social tensions had eased as plebeians gained access to the curule magistracies and land was annexed for cultivation. Nevertheless, patricians clung to their monopoly of the pontifical and augural colleges, until Q. Ogulnius Gallus, a tribune of the plebs in 300, championed a law to admit plebeians (the *lex Ogulnia*).⁹ At around the same time a *plebiscitum Ovinium* allowed tribunes into the Curia to observe senate proceedings at close hand.¹⁰

Thus wealthy plebeians slowly acceded to patrician privileges, and a new *nobilitas* emerged, with new values: membership was based not only on eminent birth, as before, but also on personal distinction and wealth. This *nobilitas* was far more populous than the hereditary group it replaced, especially since plebeians from the *municipia* were eligible alongside city-Romans, and the explosion of candidates for status and office stoked furious competition. With the new criteria for prestige, families could rise and fall with an alacrity that was previously unimaginable. Renown was essential; the price of failure soared.¹¹

Additional factors exacerbated rivalry. To allow Q. Publilius Philo to complete the capture of Naples in 326, for instance, the senate instated the practice of prorogation, which allowed consuls to aspire to an extension of their command at the end of their term;¹² it also led to a concentration of authority in a small group of individuals whose extraordinary qualities it both acknowledged and highlighted. Moreover, the second half of the fourth century and the beginning of the third witnessed the extraordinary life of Alexander of Macedonia and the struggle for succession among his generals after his death. Word of his prowess and charisma echoed throughout the Mediterranean, and at this time, due at least partly to the force of his impact, larger-than-life personalities (such as Q. Fabius Maximus and L. Papirius Cursor) began to dominate Roman politics, ready to trust in their own charisma, flout instructions, and often confound the senate.

In this climate, as men strove to legitimize their status, some, especially plebeians and patricians with

New construction:

- 2.1 Temple of Quirinus (?)
- 2.2 Temple of Flora
- 2.3 Shrine of Salus
- 2.4 Temple of Fortuna
- 2.5 Temple A, Largo Argentina (Iuturna?)
- 2.6 Temple C, Largo Argentina (Feronia?)
- 2.7–2.9 Temples (?)
- 2.10 Temple of Fons
- 2.11 Temple of Hercules Magnus Custos
- 2.12 Temple of Neptune
- 2.13 Circus Flaminius
- 2.14 Temple of Bellona
- 2.15 Mint
- 2.16 Temple of Fides
- 2.17 Column of Aemilius Paulus
- 2.18 Temple of Ops
- 2.19 Carcer/Tullianum
- 2.20 Shrine of Concordia

- 2.21 Sundial of Valerius Maximus
- 2.22 Column of Duilius
- 2.23 Macellum
- 2.24 Temple of Jupiter Stator
- 2.25 Temple of Tellus
- 2.26 Temple of Janus
- 2.27 Temple of Spes
- 2.28 Temple of Aesculapius
- 2.29 Temple of Portunus
- 2.30 Temple of Victoria
- 2.31 Temple of Hercules Invictus
- 2.32 Temple of Flora
- 2.33 Temple of Vortumnus
- 2.34 Temple of Luna
- 2.35 Temple of Consus
- 2.36 Temple of Jupiter Libertas
- 2.37 Temple of Minerva
- 2.38 Temple of Summanus
- 2.39 Temple of Venus Obsequens

- 2.40 Temple of Honos
- 2.41 Temple of Tempestates
- 2.42 Tomb of the Scipios
- Via Appia
- Via Flaminia
- Via Aurelia
- Clivus Publicius*
- Aqua Appia
- Anio Vetus

Restoration:

- 1.1 Temple (Hora? Quirinus? Argei?)
- 1.15 Atrium Regium
- 1.16 *Tabernae novae*
- 1.22 Precinct of Vesta
- 1.25 Velian Shrines A and B
- 1.31 Circus Maximus

Fig. 2.1 (cont.)

less-than-illustrious lineage, deployed innovative, aggressive tactics to break into politics. These provoked reactions, and as early as the Genucian Laws of ca. 342 there were efforts to manage the rivalry. These prohibited the tenure of two offices by a single individual in one year, as well as iteration (holding the same magistracy in consecutive years, which was allowed only during crises in the Samnite and Pyrrhic Wars), and occupying the same office more than once in ten years; the *plebiscitum Ovinium* probably authorized censors to regulate the senate.¹³

As the third century progressed, patricians and wealthy plebeians coalesced into a new social and political elite. They competed for prestige, but also combined their efforts to exclude newcomers, just as patricians had once closed ranks against plebeians. Thus a new line of demarcation was drawn, between wealthy patricio-plebeians and the impoverished plebeian majority, whose numbers were probably rising thanks to a growing economy and the availability of work in construction.¹⁴ Debt still plagued the poor, who in 287 seceded to the Janiculum. Appointed dictator, Q. Hortensius proposed a law to abolish the need for senatorial authorization of bills put before the *comitia tributa* and made plebiscites binding; its effect was to widen the gulf between rich and poor, and awaken a plebeian self-consciousness, which included among its advocates Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, the Publicius brothers, and C. Flaminius.¹⁵

RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS

Between ca. 337 and 218 there was a boom in sacred building (Fig. 2.1). It concentrated in two phases: during the Third Samnite War, when several generals claimed credit for vanquishing the coalition's forces, and during the First Punic War, when plebeian command was becoming normalized. Rome's apparent invincibility as it spread through the peninsula may have persuaded people that their piety was answered by divine favor, and in this much their temples served the state; yet as plebeians struggled for parity, and competition heightened within the *nobilitas*, personal and group agendas are also discernible. New classes of vower emerged, who looked to diverse sources to fund their projects and honored a new variety of gods. Design grew innovative, and function and siting changed to answer heightening ambitions.

Motivations, Agency, and Funding

Judging by extant sources, as before the majority of vows in this period addressed military concerns, in exchange for divine aid at moments of duress (thus Bellona Vitrix, Jupiter Victor, Jupiter Stator and Pales, probably Janus, Ops Opifera, Feronia, and Hercules Magnus Custos); at the imminent or actual capture of a city (Vortumnus and Juno Curritis, probably Volcanus, possibly Mefitis); or as thank-offerings after victory (Venus Obsequens, perhaps Iuturna, Consus, and Quirinus).¹⁶ If the early Republican temple to Mars belongs in the context of the Gallic sack, from this point on no temples were vowed after failure on the battlefield; in fact, Livy's speech for Ap. Claudius in the heat of a Samnite battle in 296 suggests the deals were strictly quid pro quo: "Bellona, if today you grant victory to us, then to you I vow a temple."¹⁷

There were other significant changes besides. Agency and funding became less restricted. When C. Iunius Bubulcus Brutus vowed a temple to Salus, probably in his third consulship in 311, he became the first known consular general to pledge a temple. His achievements amply justified the honor: on the heels of the Caudine Forks disaster, where the Samnites forced Roman troops under the yoke in a ritual of humiliation, his counteroffensive took back the Roman standards and drove the enemy under the yoke in its turn. That he was not a dictator appointed in a state of emergency, as before, is a mark of the normalization of temple vowing. More than that, he is the first known plebeian to vow a temple in Rome, which he contracted as censor in 306 and dedicated as dictator in 302.¹⁸ The changes took hold: from this point until the Second Punic War, most generals who pledged temples were plebeian consuls. According to Livy, they sometimes used spoils to pay for their temples, as Sp. Carvilius Maximus did as consul of 293 for a temple to Fors Fortuna, and C. Papirius Maso, consul in 231, for a shrine (*delubrum*) to Fons; many others probably did likewise. The strategy was not new, but from the last quarter of the fourth century the correlation between temple vows and triumphs seems to have strengthened (Ap. Claudius being one of a handful of generals to build a temple without triumphing), and with it perhaps the reliance on spoils for funding.¹⁹

Consultations of the Sibylline Books, according to literary sources, led to two temple foundations, which both addressed crises in the city. In the grip of pestilence in 293, the senate charged Ogulnius Gallus with an embassy



Fig. 2.2 Temple of Portunus, end of the fourth century or the beginning of the third, actual state (Penelope Davies su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Soprintendenza Speciale per il Colosseo, il Museo Romano e l'Area archeologica di Roma)

to the sanctuary of Asclepius, the Greek medicine god, in Epidaurus. The group returned with the deity embodied in a snake, and some time after 291 a temple was dedicated to his Roman counterpart, Aesculapius.²⁰ Then, when lightning struck the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus during the Pyrrhic War in 275, and hurled a statue from the pediment into the Tiber, a temple was vowed to Summanus, the god of night lightning.²¹ Additional temples may have followed consultations: a temple to Jupiter Fulgur, probably after a lightning strike between 292 and 219, and a temple to Luna, perhaps after an eclipse; the late fourth- or early third-century Temple of Portunus, god of the port (Fig. 2.2), and a temple or shrine to the river god, Tiberinus, may have followed floods.²² Famine, the chief catalyst for Sibylline Books foundations in earlier years, seems to have receded as a motive; in fact, none of the stimuli for oracular initiatives, attested or conjectural, is overtly plebeian, and

temples no longer come across as demonstrative management of plebeian issues by the senate. With the switch from a patrician duumvirate for consulting the Sibylline Books to a patrician and plebeian decemvirate, and the patricians' loss of monopoly over priesthoods with the Ogulnian Law, religion had ceased to be a source of exclusively patrician authority.

More than that, in a striking development, the political capital to be gained from addressing plebeian issues seems to have changed hands, as aediles began to vow temples. Despite evident flexibility in the early *cursus honorum*, the aedileship was usually a junior post, to which plebeians had readier access than to a praetor- or a consulship, and advancement to higher magistracies could be facilitated by establishing a public profile while in term. One of the aediles' mandates was law enforcement, which empowered them to exact fines on lawbreakers; and by selecting laws typically transgressed by the wealthy (against illegal



Fig. 2.3 Temple of Victoria, dedicated in ca. 294, actual state, with its footprint indicated with modern bricks (Penelope Davies su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Soprintendenza Speciale per il Colosseo, il Museo Romano e l'Area archeologica di Roma)

grazing on public land, usury, and later, grain-hoarding), they could align themselves with the less affluent *populus*. They could then, apparently, spend the fines for the public good with relative freedom.²³

The pioneer of this strategy, in all likelihood, was either Cn. Flavius or L. Postumius Megellus. Flavius was a scribe in Ap. Claudius' employ, and his protégé. As censor in 312, Ap. Claudius conducted a tribal reform, distributing freedmen widely across tribes rather than confining them to the urban tribes. His motive was probably to strengthen the army, but the change also gave their votes more weight, and at the conclusion of the Samnite War, the censors of 304, Fabius Maximus Rullianus and Decius Mus, threatened to reverse it (and eventually did). Writing in the mid-first century, the Greek historian Diodorus Siculus states that, to protect their interests, the people elected Flavius curule aedile for that year, the first son of a freedman to achieve the office.²⁴ Early in his tenure, he widened access to information that had been the privilege of the pontiffs, by publicizing civil law and posting the calendrical *fasti* on boards in the Forum to allow people to determine when political and legal action was permissible. Then, in Pliny's words:

[He] made a vow to erect a temple to Concord if he succeeded in effecting a reconciliation between the people and the privileged orders; and as money was not allotted for this purpose from public funds, he drew on the fine-money collected from persons convicted of practicing usury to erect a small shrine (*aediculam*) made of bronze on the *Graecostasis*, which at that date stood above the Assembly-place.²⁵

The episode suggests that the tactic of amassing fines for aedilician construction offered unusual maneuverability;²⁶ and as in this instance, when magistrates deployed this tactic they typically did so aggressively, and sometimes antagonistically.

Unlike Flavius, Postumius Megellus was a patrician, but his family was burdened with the ignominy incurred by Sp. Postumius Albinus, the commander whose army had been forced under the yoke at Caudine Forks. Livy states that Postumius Megellus built a temple to Victoria using fines amassed as an aedile (probably before his first consulship in 305), and dedicated it as consul in 294 (Fig. 2.3). Livy does not say that he vowed the temple as aedile;²⁷ he may have done so as praetor or consul, resorting to fines collected previously. Literary sources suggest just such a scenario for Q. Fabius Maximus Gurgus who,



Fig. 2.4 Temple of Bellona (podium remains in the foreground), vowed in *ca.* 296, actual state (Penelope Davies)

in Livy's view, amassed fines from noble women convicted for adultery when he was aedile in 295. The late antique grammarian, Servius, states that he directed them to a temple to Venus Obsequens (Venus the Favorable), vowed for her intervention during his Samnite engagements as consul and proconsul in 292–291; the vow may have been associated with a triumph he received in 291 (though Postumius Megellus had driven him from his army as it besieged Cominium, depriving him of victory).²⁸ If both authors can be trusted, Fabius Maximus Gurgus' case is a striking example of competitive building: once his nemesis, Postumius Megellus, had built a temple to Victoria, and his father's rival, Ap. Claudius, had completed another to Bellona Victrix (Fig. 2.4), he spent fines from an earlier aedileship on a pseudo-manubial post-votum to stake his claim to defeating the Samnites.²⁹

Collecting enough fines to finance a temple was probably an arduous task. Shortly after Flavius' and Postumius Megellus' commissions, other aediles exercised easier options.³⁰ In 296, according to Livy, Ogulnius Gallus won election to curule aedile alongside his brother, Gnaeus, and together:

They brought a number of usurers to trial, and, confiscating their possessions, employed the share which

came to the public treasury to put bronze thresholds in the Capitol, and silver vessels for the three tables in the shrine of Jupiter, and a statue of the god in a four-horse chariot on the roof.³¹

Conflict with the enemy coalition of Samnites, Etruscans, Umbrians, and Gauls was imminent, and as fear mounted in the city these offerings to Jupiter, chief of the gods, were pious acts of prophylaxis.³² At the same time, they were a commentary on plebeian gains through the Ogulnian Law, which Quintus had championed as tribune of the plebs four years earlier. The bronze thresholds at Rome's principal temple marked passage into the realm of religion, now no longer a patrician preserve; the silver vessels implied a stake, and participation, in ritual affairs. At the same time, the use of proceeds from the confiscated property of usurers stressed the unresolved debt problem. Other aediles, beginning with L. Paetus and C. Fulvius Curvus in the same year, spent fines on bronze vessels for the Temple of Ceres, Liber, and Libera, the plebeian stronghold.³³

Still, in the second half of the third century two aediles returned to vowing temples, both apparently as popular protests against the *nobilitas*. In 246, Sempronius Gracchus, a plebeian from a non-consular branch of his

gens, apparently vowed a temple to Libertas (probably equivalent to Jupiter Libertas), who protected Romans from servitude.³⁴ For funds he probably used his share of a fine collected with his colleague, C. Fundanius Fundulus, from Claudia, Ap. Claudius' daughter, for insults against the *maiestas* of the Roman people. A counterpart to the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline, the foundation expressed plebeian self-consciousness in opposition to the *nobilitas*.³⁵ Soon thereafter, around 241–238, when *Xviri* consulting the Sibylline Books in the context of a food shortage urged games in honor of Flora to promote fecundity, unbidden, the plebeian aediles L. and M. Publicius vowed a temple to the goddess, financed with fines from a broad initiative to check illegal grazing by the wealthy. Temple and policy alike capitalized on widespread discontent as people came to terms with the loss of lives and resources after the long Punic War. Thanks to their policy, according to Ovid, they were “praised for their public spirit.”³⁶

Of restorations, few are attested, though maintenance probably occurred. The temple on the cappellaccio podium at the ex-Istituto di Geologia shows signs of a substantial rebuilding in the fourth to third century, when new terracottas were applied to its superstructure.³⁷ At the Temple of Vesta, a second foundation trench and two Grotta Oscura blocks date to the late fourth century or thereabouts;³⁸ at about the same time, Shrine A on the Velian ridge was modestly enlarged.³⁹

Honorands

The emergence of new classes of vower and sources of funding coincided with the shift in values of the new *nobilitas*, to which sponsors also responded in their choices of honorand. Some, like the patrician Fabii Maximi and Papirii Cursores, resisted change, insisting on the primacy of heredity and family ties. For his role at Sentinum in 295, Fabius Maximus Rullianus made a vow to Jupiter Victor, whom (according to Livy) the Fabii had long worshipped; it underlined the family's antiquity and its claim to the most senior of Rome's gods.⁴⁰ Associated vows soon followed: his son Fabius Maximus Gurgus vowed his temple to Venus Obsequens, intercessor with Jupiter on Aeneas' behalf, and a vow to Jupiter Stator, imputed to Romulus in the Sabine conflict, was reactivated during fighting at Luceria in 294, probably by Fabius Maximus Rullianus' plebeian son-in-law,

M. Atilius Regulus.⁴¹ Clustered in time, these vows to related honorands allowed Fabius Maximus Rullianus' relatives to profit from his spectacular prestige.⁴²

The younger L. Papirius Cursor's version of this strategy was more aggressive. In his first consulship in 293, he dedicated the temple to Quirinus, vowed by the elder L. Papirius Cursor during one of his dictatorships (in 325 or 309, both marked by significant victories against the Samnites).⁴³ He thereby evoked his illustrious father, five times consul, twice dictator. In a second consulship, in 272, he then pledged a temple to Consus, a god whose exact nature defies definition, but whose name may derive from *condere*, “to bury”



Fig. 2.5 Tomb of the Scipios, façade, ca. 298 and after, actual state (Penelope Davies)



Fig. 2.6 Tomb of the Scipios, ca. 298 and after, plan (Onur Öztürk)

or “to store grain,” and may also mean, like Romulus, “to found;” in any case, a connection with Romulus/Quirinus is consistent in sources.⁴⁴ A complement to Quirinus, the celestial Romulus, in fact, he seems to have approximated a chthonic Romulus, linked to his funerary cult.⁴⁵ As the Fabii cultivated Jupiter’s patronage, then, the Papirii aligned themselves with Romulus and the very notion of *Romanitas*. On the temple’s *dies natalis*, moreover, on the *Consualia* of August 21, the *fasti* registered a Samnite triumph for his father in 319, a triumph that was likely fabricated to establish a gentilian anniversary.⁴⁶ These schemes highlighted the consular lineage that their plebeian contemporaries lacked, a lineage that other patricians emphasized at around the same time through privately funded tombs (such as the subterranean Tomb of the Scipios of ca. 298, Figs. 2.5–6, or the built tombs outside Porta Esquilina), and through eulogies expounding on glorious antecedents.⁴⁷ They implied that charisma and talent were hereditary, and, in turn, that Romans could repay gratitude to one family member in favors to another.⁴⁸

Plebeians, and lesser known patricians, struck back. Even lacking family ties, they could invite comparison to other worthies through choice of divinity, as Fulvius Flaccus did by bringing Vortumnus from Volsinii at the subordination of Etruria in 264 and vowing a temple

in his honor; this aligned him with Furius Camillus, who had evoked Juno Regina from Veii at the outset of Etruria’s subjugation.⁴⁹ Gods from conquered cities (such as Juno Curitis, probably introduced after the conquest of Falerii in 241, and Feronia, probably from Sabine or Etruscan territory, between 293 and 217), not only underscored Rome’s expansion, but highlighted a general’s military valor.⁵⁰ So too did gods defined by martial qualities: Postumius Megellus’ Victoria and Carvilius Maximus’ Fors Fortuna, Ap. Claudius’ Bellona Victrix and possibly Minerva, the warrior goddess to whom a temple was pledged in the First Punic War by M’. Valerius Maximus Messala, consul in 263, or by a conqueror of Agrigentum the following year, or by Lutatius Cerco, consul of 241, after the fall of Falerii;⁵¹ and three manifestations of Hercules (Invictus, Magnus Custos, and probably a Hercules *ad Portam Collinam*), vowers unknown.⁵²

The most striking innovation during the Second Samnite War and after, in terms of honorands, was the introduction of divine qualities.⁵³ Initially, these applied to the *res publica* in its entirety: thus Salus, Iunius Brutus Bubulcus’ choice, denoted the state’s welfare (more than individual health, *valetudo*), and Flavius’ shrine to Concordia, possibly inspired by the cult of Homonoia introduced to Syracuse after its democratization by Timoleon in 344,



Fig. 2.7 Temple of Janus, vowed in 260, actual state (Penelope Davies)

referred to harmony in the state.⁵⁴ Postumius Megellus' Victoria applied to the *res publica* as a whole (and by at least 300 a statue of the goddess stood in the Forum); even if he vowed his temple as aedile, ahead of his consulship and triumph, his choice belongs in the broad context of Rome's success against the Samnites.⁵⁵ As for P. Sempronius Sophus, consul in 268, his Temple of Fortuna Publica Populi Romani Quiritium underlined the goddess's public aspect.⁵⁶

State interests notwithstanding, these selections could also encode group or personal agendas. Flavius' choice of Concordia, for instance, was infused with irony: patricio-plebeian conciliation was an obvious victory for plebeians, and the source of funds used – fines levied on the wealthy – gave the barb extra sting. By Livy's account, the monument, and the lowly origins of its patron, stirred resentment among the political elite, to the extent that Scipio Barbatus, the *pontifex maximus*, refused to dictate the dedication formula to Flavius, insisting that the *mos maiorum* restricted temple dedications to consuls and generals; only a popular vote prohibiting anyone from dedicating a temple or an altar without the senate's authorization or a majority of the tribunes averted an impasse.⁵⁷

Victoria, too, may have exulted in plebeian gains at home. She could also, however, as in Greece, pertain to an individual. Victory justified kingly power, and Alexander propagated a belief that, coupled with his own

capabilities, a divine gift or charisma guided his success, and Greek tyrants in Sicily followed his example. Postumius Megellus held up his Samnite victory, as consul in 305, as well as his achievements against Samnite and Etruscan forces as praetor in 295 and consul in 294 and 291, as evidence of Victoria's favor. The senate met his audacity with repeated acts of hostility;⁵⁸ nonetheless, he elicited immediate response from rivals: during his temple's construction and immediately after dedication in 294, Ap. Claudius and the extended Fabius family honored gods in a specifically victory-giving capacity, to imply victory's attendance at the moment of conquest: Bellona Victrix, Jupiter Victor, Venus Obsequens, and Jupiter Stator (who promised victory in difficult circumstances).

A great number of other gods, and divine qualities and manifestations of natural forces, brought individual sponsors to the fore. Some alluded to the nature of the battle commemorated. Thus, while engaged in Rome's first naval battle at Mylae, north of Sicily, in 260, C. Duilius, a new man, pledged a temple to Janus, god of transitional spaces such as ports and the liquid sea (Fig. 2.7), and after the barricade at the Aegetes Islands that concluded the First Punic War, fought under his aegis, Lutatius Catulus (or perhaps his brother Q. Lutatius Cerco, consul of 241) vowed a temple to the water goddess Iuturna.⁵⁹ A Temple of Neptune may have been pledged during a

naval conflict in the same war, perhaps by M. Aemilius Paullus, consul in 255 and 257, and in 252 C. Aurelius Cotta may have built the Temple of Volcanus after taking the volcanic island of Lipara.⁶⁰ Some captured defining events in battle, the implied moment, perhaps, of a god's epiphany. Fighting the Picentes in the northern Adriatic plain in 268, P. Sempronius Sophus vowed a temple to Tellus (Earth), because an earthquake shook his camp;⁶¹ L. Cornelius Scipio vowed a temple to Tempestas or Tempestates (Storm/s) in 259 when a gale almost destroyed his fleet as he drove the Carthaginians from Corsica, and Papirius Maso vowed his shrine to Fons (Spring) in thanksgiving for a miraculous discovery of water in the Corsican mountains, which delivered his army from dehydration.⁶² A. Atilius Caiatinus' Temple of Spes (Hope), perhaps for a naval triumph in 257, and a temple to Ops Opifera (Bringer of help), maybe vowed by L. Caecilius Metellus, victorious at Panormus in 250, probably also commemorated turns of fortune in battle.⁶³ In Cisalpine Gaul in 219, the praetor L. Manlius Vulso pledged a temple to Concordia when his soldiers mutinied;⁶⁴ and Atilius Caiatinus' vow to Fides (Trust), when he was consul in 258 or 254, propraetor in Sicily in 257, or dictator in 249, may have been prompted by the conduct (and fate) of his relative, C. Atilius Regulus who, when captured by the Carthaginians at Tunis during an expedition to North Africa in 256, and sent back to Rome

to negotiate, opposed Roman concessions and was murdered by the Carthaginians on his return in 250.⁶⁵

A divine quality, like other gods, could emphasize values, as Honos (political prestige, as manifested in public office) apparently did for Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus, son of the younger, unaccomplished Fabius Maximus Gurgus, after a triumph over the Ligurians in 233;⁶⁶ adopting his family's earlier emphasis on lineage, the divine quality rekindled memories of more illustrious antecedents: his grandfather, the elder Fabius Maximus Gurgus; his great-grandfather Fabius Maximus Rullianus (alternately consul and proconsul each year between 310 and 307, with Etruscan and Samnite victories, who saved Rome from imminent famine through his grain administration in 299, was elected consul in 297, 296, and 295 without submitting candidacy, and who, in 295, was one of the consuls responsible for victory at Sentinum); and his great-great-grandfather M. Fabius Ambustus (thrice consul and *princeps senatus*).⁶⁷ A response soon followed from Claudius Marcellus, who, at Clastidium in 222, faced down Viridomar, the Insubrian king, in single combat, and became the third man in received history to dedicate the *spolia opima* at the Capitoline temple of Jupiter Feretrius, attributed to Romulus.⁶⁸ To commemorate the event, he vowed to rededicate the Temple of Honos, adding Virtus as a partner. A member of an established though plebeian *gens*, he thus suggested that Honor did



Fig. 2.8 Sarcophagus of Cornelius Scapola, ca. 350–300. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini (Penelope Davies)



Fig. 2.9 Sarcophagus of Scipio Barbatus, ca. 280. Vatican Museums (Penelope Davies)

not stand alone; it was the rightful reward for unusual “manliness.”⁶⁹

These vows constructed the sponsors’ successes as the fruit of personal alliances with protective gods.⁷⁰ They captured a moment in time in a way that a votive to a broadly conceived god such as Jupiter did not; they promised a story, which viewers could retell over the course of generations, to perpetuate and perhaps embellish the memories of their vowers.

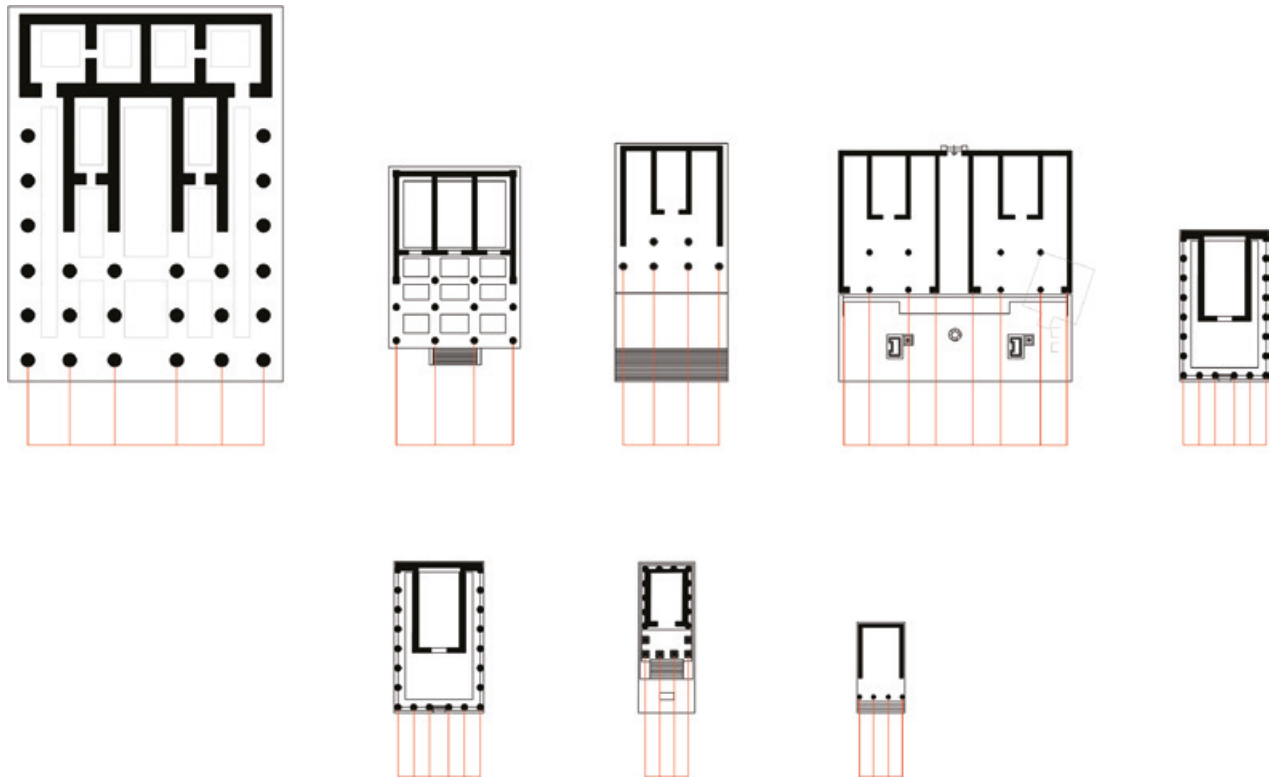
Design

Such as it is, archaeological and literary evidence suggests that most temples retained the high podium, rectilinear footprint, and gabled superstructure of their early Republican antecedents. A few temples – to Jupiter Fulgur and to Sol and Luna, both of uncertain date – may have been hypaethral, because of the god’s celestial nature, and there may have been other variations: a lateral staircase, perhaps, at the Temple of Portunus, to accommodate a viaduct in front for access to an early bridge.⁷¹

Within the rectilinear framework, however, modifications were afoot. At the southwest corner of the Palatine, an imposing system of Grotta Oscura substructures raised and amplified the earlier terrace. Nearby, excavations exposed walls framing the east and south sides of a foundation for a podium, usually identified as Postumius Megellus’ Temple of Victoria.⁷² Robber trenches indicate its full

extent on the west and north, and foundations within the podium, and imprints of blocks in cement foundations of a later phase, reveal the form of a deep porch and a single cella (Fig. 2.10). At approximately 19.35 by 33.40 meters (roughly 3 : 5), the podium’s footprint is elongated, closer to contemporaneous Greek proportions than Italic.⁷³ Moreover, though the temple had a solid rear wall, it had eight lateral columns and rear corner pilasters, making it the first known temple with lateral colonnades since the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. These implied permeability on three sides (even if the height of the podium precluded actual lateral access), and softened the forbidding frontality of earlier temples; if those temples mirrored the senate’s exclusive access to, and commanding authority over religion and matters of state, this temple, by approximating the peripteral schemes of Greek temples conceived in a world of monarchy, intimated a more immediate relationship between people and authority; deliberately or not, it expressed a shift in power relations.

In the temple’s later foundations, fragments of peperino fluted column shafts were found, and it is not inconceivable that the building incorporated Ionic features, along with Doric: the Ionic style was in use in Sicily (the late sixth- or early fifth-century Ionic Temple at Syracuse), and South Italy (at Temple D, Metaponto, of ca. 475, or the early fifth-century Ionic Temple at Locri), and by the third century in the Samnite sanctuary at Pietrabbondante.⁷⁴ In Rome, P. Cornelius Scapola’s limestone sarcophagus

**Top row, from left:**

Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, *ca.* 509: approximately 9.5–12 m
 Temple of Castor, *ca.* 484: 8 m
 Temple of Apollo Medicus, *ca.* 435: 6.5 m
 Temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta, early fourth century: 7.5 m
 Temple of Victoria, *ca.* 294: 3.2 m

Bottom row, from left:

Temple of Victoria, *ca.* 294: 3.2 m
 Temple of Portunus, late fourth/early third century: 3.6 m
 Temple A, Largo Argentina (Juturna?), *ca.* 241: 3.2 m

Fig. 2.10 Temple plans, to scale, showing interaxials (Matthew Catterall, Penelope Davies, and Onur Öztürk)

chest, found in a tomb on via Cristoforo Colombo and via Marco Polo in 1956 and dating to the second half of the fourth century, is carved with a pair of Ionic columns, while Scipio Barbatus' sarcophagus, of *ca.* 280, combines a Doric frieze on the chest with Ionic volutes on the lid (Figs. 2.8–9).⁷⁵ Less hypothetically, judging by the podium's proportions and the position of the cella wall foundations, the temple seems to have boasted the first known hexastyle façade in Rome since the Capitoline Temple;⁷⁶ and since its façade was no broader than earlier tetrastyle temples, such as the Temple of Castor, but of equal width or slightly narrower, the space between the columns was drastically reduced (Fig. 2.10). At a conservative estimate, calculated with slender columns, the intercolumniations were roughly two and a half times the lower column diameters, slightly wider than Vitruvius' eustyle design (two and a quarter column diameters), which he judged

“the most laudable, [with] principles developed with an eye to usefulness, attractiveness, and soundness ...”⁷⁷ Thicker columns would yield even narrower intercolumniations, possibly sistyle (two column diameters).⁷⁸

This abrupt swing away from broad, squat proportions toward a more slender, vertically accented appearance marks a radical shift in temple aesthetics, from the far end of the Vitruvian spectrum to at least the center, and in all likelihood, this occurred with the introduction of a stone entablature which, having less tensile strength than its wooden precursors, required narrower intercolumniations.⁷⁹ Builders probably used *lapis Albanus* quarried in the Alban hills, easily available with the construction of the Via Appia in 312; strongly grain-supported, well cemented, and with good weight-bearing capacity, it was one of the most durable *tufi*.⁸⁰ From this point on, in fact, architects deployed different varieties of tufo strategically throughout



Fig. 2.11a–b Fragments of terracotta pediment figures from the Temple of Victoria, dedicated in ca. 294. Antiquario del Palatino (Penelope Davies su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma)

their buildings according to relative strength; thus at Temple C, Largo Argentina, the nucleus of the podium was Fidene tufo and *tufò giallo della via Tiberina* from Grotta Oscura and perhaps also from Prima Porta, while the exterior of the podium and the stairs were Monteverde.⁸¹

Near the podium for the Temple of Victoria architectural terracottas were discovered, which, like those found on later sites in Rome, show that builders continued to sheath temples with terracotta decorations even when (and long after) revetments were functionally obsolete.⁸² One group of sculptural fragments, identified as a figure of Rhea Silvia holding a vessel, a bearded head of Jupiter, and an unbearded head of Dionysus (Fig. 2.11), seem to have come from a pediment,⁸³ which makes them the first known pedimental sculptures from a Republican temple; this, in turn, indicates a closed pediment of the kind employed in Greek temple design, rather than the customary open pediment.⁸⁴ The fragments may have been part of a scene from the life of Romulus; if Remus was also depicted, it would be one of the earliest representations of Romulus' twin brother.

For Rome, this temple represented a new aesthetic. Closely set columns supporting stone entablatures and closed pediments were widely employed in the Greek cities of South Italy, where Roman troops were deployed at the end of the fourth century, but in Rome they were a small revolution. Structurally, they offered greater durability. Visually, they signaled unmitigated strength; like

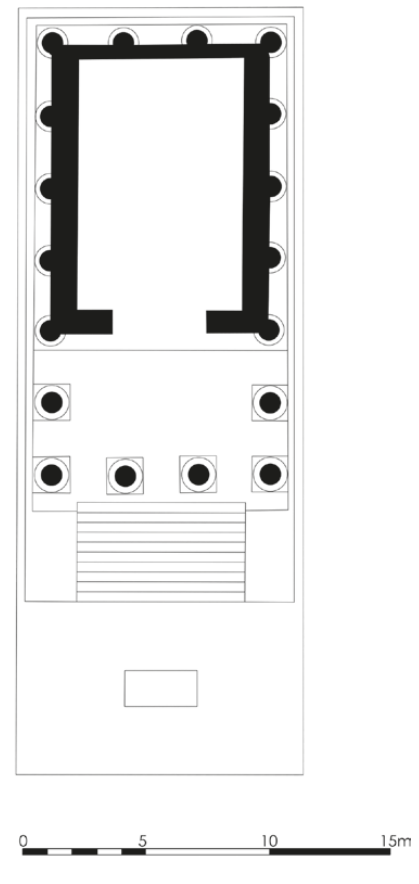


Fig. 2.12 Temple of Portunus, plan in ca. 80–70 (Onur Öztürk)



Fig. 2.13 Temple A, Largo Argentina, third century, actual state (Penelope Davies)

the very concept of Victoria, borrowed from the Greek world to promise Roman hegemony, the temple's innovative form drew on Greek design as if to cast Rome as a worthy match for Greek power in the Mediterranean. With its construction, the majesty and monumentality of the Hellenistic world came to the Palatine; for Rome, it was a modern architecture. At the height of aristocratic competition, the temple set Postumius Megellus apart; he was the usher of a new age.⁸⁵

The alacrity with which Ap. Claudius and the Fabii Maximi commissioned temples to compete with the Temple of Victoria bears witness to its general impact. Whether their temples imitated its design the record does not disclose, though in its restored form, at least, the Temple of Bellona was hexastyle on a podium of comparable proportions.⁸⁶ The new scheme's influence is evident, however, in the roughly contemporaneous Temple of Portunus (which was Ionic in later phases, and where a fragmentary upper drum of a fluted tufo column may belong to this phase), and in Temple A, Largo Argentina

(Figs. 2.2, 2.10, 2.12–2.13); the latter is variously identified, most compellingly as Lutatius Catulus' Temple of Iuturna of *ca.* 241, but other hypotheses include the Temple of Juno Curitis from Falerii of *ca.* 241 or later (perhaps evoked after subjugation by A. Manlius Torquatus or Q. Lutatius Cerco), or the Temple of Feronia, whose cult was introduced between 293 and 219 (perhaps by L. Aemilius Papus after the battle at Telamon in 225).⁸⁷ Like the Temple of Victoria, these buildings have an elongated footprint that approximates Greek temple proportions. Neither temple has lateral colonnades, though the Temple of Portunus may already have been pseudoperipteral, and both temples are tetrastyle; but at approximately half the width of early Republican temples (roughly 11 by 20 and 9.50 by 16 meters), they had radically contracted intercolumniations (3.6 meters and 3.2 meters respectively) that suggest a stone entablature.⁸⁸ When restored in the first century, the Temples of Janus and Spes (the north and south temples at S. Nicola in Carcere) also had hexastyle facades (Figs. 2.7, 2.14–15),



Fig. 2.14 Temple of Spes, vowed in ca. 257 (?), actual state (Penelope Davies)

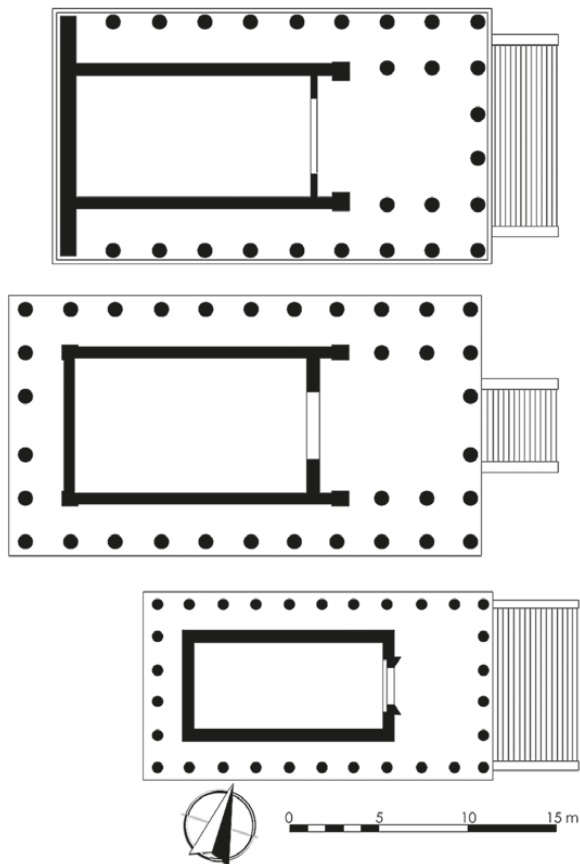


Fig. 2.15 Temples of Spes (ca. 257?), Juno Sospita (ca. 197), and Janus (ca. 260) at S. Nicola in Carcere, plan in the early imperial period (Onur Öztürk)

which may or may not have replicated their original appearance.⁸⁹ Temple C, Largo Argentina, sometimes seen as Lutatius Catulus' temple to Iuturna of ca. 241, but more often identified as a temple to Feronia, perhaps introduced by Curius Dentatus after a Sabine victory in 290,⁹⁰ may represent a transitional design phase, after the introduction of the new style but before its wholesale exploitation (Figs. 2.10 and 2.16). The podium's short, wide proportions (roughly 30.50 by 17.10 meters; 4.25 meters high) differ from the Temple of Victoria's elongated design, but neither do they conform to the Italic tradition.⁹¹ A *cyma reversa* moulding on the podium's upper cornice, commonplace in Magna Graecia from the sixth century, was the earliest of its kind in Latium or Etruria, and its single row of porch columns is consistent with a closed pediment; so too are fragments of terracotta pedimental sculptures associated with the temple.⁹²

As the shift toward a Hellenized design took hold, sponsors also began to commission a new genre of decoration for their buildings. According to Pliny:

In Rome also honour was fully attained by [the art of painting] at an early date, inasmuch as a very distinguished clan of the Fabii derived from it their surname of Pictor, "Painter," and the first holder of the name, [C. Fabius Pictor], himself painted the Temple of Salus, in the 450th year from the foundation of the City.⁹³

Pliny makes no mention of the paintings' subjects, but they may have resembled the representations of



Fig. 2.16 Temple C, Largo Argentina, third century, actual state (Penelope Davies)

soldiers, submissions of vanquished populations, and triumphal scenes that would later decorate the façade of the hypogeum of Fabius Maximus Rullianus' ally, Scipio Barbatus (Figs. 2.5, 2.17a–b),⁹⁴ or a contemporaneous fresco from a tomb on the Esquiline, a fragment of which depicts battle scenes and fortifications in four superposed registers (Fig. 2.18). That these scenes are biographical rather than generic is clear from labels naming two figures in parlay in the second and third registers, [...] *anio St(ai) f(ilio) | M Fan[io]* and *Q. Fabio*, and they may record a consignment of *dona militaria* by Fabius to a deserving soldier, Fannius (suggesting the tomb was that of a little known Fannius) or the sanctification of a treaty by M. Fannius (a Samnite) and Fabius Maximus Rullianus or Gurgus. In the latter case, the tomb may have belonged to the Fabii, and the painting, with its masterful use of highlighting and foreshortening, may reveal a glimpse of Fabius Pictor's style.⁹⁵ If his paintings in the Temple of Salus represented military scenes, they probably referred to the battle that earned Iunius Bubulcus

Brutus his Samnite triumph in 311, or to an engagement in 308 when he was *magister equitum* to the elder Papirius Cursor.⁹⁶

Of subsequent paintings, more is known. In the first century, Varro saw images of cavalry and light-armed troops at the Temple of Aesculapius, and Festus, a grammarian of the later second century CE, records representations of the *toga picta* in the Temples of Vortumnus and Consus where, "in the former, M. Fulvius Flaccus and T. Papirius Cursor, in the latter, are shown celebrating their triumphs."⁹⁷ Varro also notes a painting of Italy at Sempronius Sophus' Temple of Tellus, which may have illustrated territorial gains due to two successive Sempronii Sophi, the vower of the temple, conqueror of the Picentes, and his father, P. Sempronius Sophus, who won victories over the Samnites and the Aequi in 304. Perhaps, like the late second-century Nilotic mosaic at Praeneste (Fig. 2.19), it showed a landmass defined by mountains, seas, and rivers, and peopled by soldiers, a genre Strabo described as chorography.⁹⁸



Fig. 2.17a–b Tomb of the Scipios, façade paintings, ca. mid-second century, actual state (Penelope Davies)



Fig. 2.18 Painting fragment from a tomb on the Esquiline, ca. 300. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, inv. MC 1025/S (Archivio Fotografico dei Musei Capitolini)

The conceptual inspiration for these paintings may have derived from the Hellenistic Greek world;⁹⁹ in Rome, however, they impressed a biographical stamp onto buildings ostensibly constructed by and for the state. In an implicit bond between man and god, the general's exploits shared sacred space with the cult statue. Often, temple paintings were shut away in poor light (Fig. 2.20); but when the doors were opened for festivals or triumphs, and braziers dispelled the gloom, they recalled the glories of the past to allow successive generations to evoke and embroider on their ancestors' feats.

Function

As before, housing a cult statue was a temple's essential purpose, and with it other trappings of cult. A handle from a third-century bronze *situla*, for instance, inscribed *poplica ex aidi Sumani*, probably came from the Temple of Summanus.¹⁰⁰ More and more frequently, generals also used temples and their surrounding precincts as venues for displaying spoils (see below). A few temples may have housed the activities of state officials, as (probably) before. Livy places a meeting of the senate in the Temple of Quirinus in 435 (though this is well before the foundation date he provides, 325 or 309);¹⁰¹ and at the Temple of



Fig. 2.19 Nilotic mosaic, Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia, Praeneste, late second century (Penelope Davies)

Bellona Victrix, beyond the *pomerium* and near a *columna bellica* set up after the Pyrrhic War as the designated spot for declarations of war against non-neighboring populations, they deliberated on foreign conflicts and on the conferral of triumphs (ironically, inasmuch as Ap. Claudius appears not to have won one himself). It was there, too, that they received people who were prohibited from crossing the *pomerium*, such as magistrates with *imperium* and foreign delegations, and there that, by the end of the Republic at least, they discharged proconsuls and propraetors and saluted them upon their return.¹⁰² Iuturna's temple may have functioned as an archive for water administration, as it did by the late first century.¹⁰³

These cases apart, there is little sign that new foundations were used for magistrates' duties or senate assemblies, and in some instances, such as the Temple of Portunus or

Temple A, Largo Argentina, diminutive proportions make such practices unlikely. As a result, though they probably still served as backdrops to ritual, temples of this time were even less dynamic than before; most were probably purely iconic. Long before they started writing histories, members of the political elite, collectively, used these temples to weave a narrative of the city's fortunes into the landscape,¹⁰⁴ and their narrative was straightforward: beyond the borders was Roman conquest; defeat did not exist. For soldiers who fought the battles, temples brought a measure of glory; for the populace as a whole, they encouraged confidence in Rome's leadership and its piety. In this much, just as earlier temples legitimized patrician authority, so these foundations validated the government of the expanded *nobilitas*. A modification in building processes may have further mitigated their message for plebeians: around the end of the



Fig. 2.20 Interior of the Temple of Portunus, interior, end of the fourth century or beginning of the third, actual state (Penelope Davies su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Soprintendenza Speciale per il Colosseo, il Museo Romano e l'Area archeologica di Roma)

fourth century and the beginning of the third, Romans probably started to fund contracts with coinage, ending construction by *corvée*.¹⁰⁵ Still, if by their presence these temples represented the *nobilitas* as a group, their individualization in design and decoration suggests a fracturing of that group's solidarity: amongst themselves, its members deployed temples not to homogenize but to stand apart.

Location

As before, diverse factors contributed to temple siting, and as before, in any one case several factors may have been at play (Fig. 2.1). Some were still located for existing shrines; thus the Temple of Quirinus stood

on the god's eponymous hill, overlooking the principal artery for visitors arriving from territory once held by the Sabines;¹⁰⁶ Fabius Pictor, writing around 200, places the Temple of Jupiter Stator in a *fanum* to Jupiter at Porta Mugonia, on the north slope of the Palatine, and Dionysius sets the Temple of Victoria near, if not on, a site dedicated to the goddess, where a pre-existing cult building that may have pertained to a female deity was apparently destroyed at this time.¹⁰⁷ Similarly, according to Livy, the Temple of Fors Fortuna sat near a temple to the goddess dedicated by Servius Tullius, across the Tiber, perhaps at the sixth milestone of the via Campana;¹⁰⁸ earlier shrines may also have justified the Temple of Fides on the Capitoline and the only temple in the Subura, the Temple of Tellus, which, according to later (and probably fictive) tradition, occupied the site of Cassius' house, demolished after his execution in ca. 485.¹⁰⁹ In some such cases (Papirius Cursor's Temple of Quirinus, for example, or Atilius Regulus' (?) Temple of Jupiter Stator) continuity of site may have imputed longevity to a family's association with a god, and this was especially explicit where there were existing gentilician installations. Fabius Maximus Rullianus may have placed the Temple of Jupiter Victor at the seat of a Fabian cult on the Quirinal (where it competed with the Temple of Quirinus),¹¹⁰ and Scipio created a gentilician complex on the Via Appia by setting his Temple to Tempestates near his family's tomb, where he could anticipate burial.¹¹¹ Similarly, an early tomb of the *gens* Claudia on the slopes of the Capitoline may have inspired Ap. Claudius to place the Temple of Bellona Victrix at its foot.¹¹²

As in the early Republic, sometimes the nature of the god or the worshipping constituency influenced placement. When the senate denied Papirius Maso an intra-pomerial site for his shrine to Fons, he chose a spot with a natural spring outside Porta Fontinalis, on the saddle between the Arx and the Quirinal in the area of piazza Venezia, where a substantial tufo podium came to light; it was probably aligned with the road to the Ara Martis.¹¹³ Aptly, the Temple of Portunus stood in the harbor, where its roughly 6 meter-high podium helped to withstand floods, and the sanctuary of Tiberinus was placed on Tiber Island (Fig. 2.21).¹¹⁴ Also on the island was the Temple of Aesculapius, probably to the southeast, in the area of S. Bartolomeo, perhaps extending as far north as the later Pons Fabricius.¹¹⁵ Livy explained the choice through the cult's foundation



Fig. 2.21 Tiber Island, north end, actual state (Penelope Davies)

story, since on escaping the boat from Epidaurus the sacred snake took refuge on the island; but the island also segregated the diseased from the healthy.¹¹⁶ As for the Quirinal, which boasted temples to Salus (probably near Palazzo Quirinale), Jupiter Victor, Flora, Fortuna, and Hora Quirini as well as Quirinus himself, it was probably a hub of residential development as the population expanded, where plebeians may have sought to establish their identity.¹¹⁷

Many of these buildings served to advance their sponsors, so visibility was key, and other considerations aside most were sited for conspicuousness. Often, too, they drew meaning from nearby buildings or topographical features, which added to their narrative quality, imputed a depth of history to a man of modest lineage, or communicated relationships with other individuals. In this, once again, Flavius and Postumius Megellus seem to have led the pack. The location of Concordia's shrine in full view at the Comitium emphasized its relevance to civic issues, while also reinforcing its irony, since the Rostra took its name

from spoils of victory mounted there. The site of the Temple of Victoria, for its part, offered stunning advantages;¹¹⁸ closer to the edge of the Palatine than the building it replaced, it enjoyed an expansive view over the Circus Maximus and Forum Boarium. A dramatic pinnacle to the hill, it watched over the laboring man's world, a Palatine equivalent of the Capitoline Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus and the Aventine Temple of Diana. Adjacent to it stood an Iron Age hut that Romans conserved as Romulus' home, and set into the hillside below was the cave of the Lupercal where they imagined the infancy of Romulus and Remus, to which the temple's pedimental sculpture may have referred. These symbols of Rome's foundation myths aligned Postumius Megellus with the fundamental notion of *Romanitas*.

Thereafter, the south edge of the Circus Maximus and the north slope of the Aventine became favorites for visibility and symbolism. Outside the *pomerium*, where space was less constrained, but inside the city walls, the region was ideal; and temples clustered

there – the Temple of Summanus *ad Circum Maximum*, for instance, and the temple to Luna, facing the rear of the Temple of Ceres – formed a striking backdrop to the Circus Maximus where crowds gathered for markets and games.¹¹⁹ Earlier temples associated with the plebs made this zone especially popular with aediles; Fabius Maximus Gurgus sited his Temple of Venus Obsequens *ad Circum Maximum*, and Sempronius Gracchus' temple to Jupiter Libertas and the Publicius brothers' temple to Flora were both on the hill itself.¹²⁰ The latter probably stood at the west end of the Circus Maximus, near the sanctuary of Ceres, a fellow agrarian deity.¹²¹ Many temples in this zone were vowed in battle or honored militaristic gods: the Temple of Hercules Invictus, close to the *carceres* in the Circus Maximus, probably where *via dell'Ara Massima* and *via della Greca* intersect;¹²² the Temple of Minerva, shown on fragment 22b of the Severan marble plan of Rome known as the *Forma Urbis Romae*, next to the Temple of Diana on the Aventine;¹²³ Papirius Cursor's Temple of Consus, overlooking an altar to the god in the Circus Maximus;¹²⁴ and Fulvius Flaccus' Temple of Vortumnus, near the Temple of Juno Regina, highlighting his association with Furius Camillus. His temple shared a *dies natalis* with the Temple of Diana, ensuring a lively festival.¹²⁵

These buildings were the harbingers of a new trend. With the growing frequency of triumphs, generals began to aim for sites along the *Via Triumphalis*, inasmuch as its route is known.¹²⁶ In the Campus Martius, where the returning army made its camp and where processions began, were Temples A and C, Largo Argentina (to Iuturna and Feronia?), the Temples of Neptune, Volcanus, Jupiter Fulgur, and Iuno Curitis.¹²⁷ An added benefit, these were close to the *ovile*, where crowds assembled to vote. From there processions passed the Temples of Hercules Magnus Custos, then Bellona Victrix, next to the Temple of Apollo Medicus; these two became functional partners, bracketing the senators' deliberations on war and triumphs with the returning army's purification.¹²⁸ In the bustling port zone, Duilius celebrated triumph on the seas with his Temple of Janus, the Tiber and the shipsheds at its back; a shared *dies natalis* (August 17) linked it with the nearby Temple of Portunus.¹²⁹ Also connected to naval victory, probably, was the Temple of Spes; its placement next to the Temple of Janus cast Atilius Calatinus as Duilius' successor.¹³⁰

Upon entering the city through the *Porta Triumphalis*, probably to the north of the Temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta, processions seem to have advanced, on some occasions at least, along the *vicus Iugarius* to the Velabrum, skirting the south side of the Forum on the *vicus Tuscus* before returning to the Forum Boarium. There they turned through the Circus Maximus, fanning out and slowing before exiting near *Porta Capena* (though one hypothesis has them turning around the *metae* and returning through the Velabrum to the Forum).¹³¹ Just outside *Porta Capena* was Fabius Maximus' Temple of Honos.¹³² This site was also on the route of the *transvectio equitum*, a cavalry parade from the Temple of Mars to the Temple of Castor and the Capitol, instituted by Fabius' great, great-grandfather, Fabius Maximus Rullianus, as censor in 304, to usurp credit for strengthening the cavalry from Ap. Claudius.¹³³ In turn, the temple sapped attention from a quasi-monument to Ap. Claudius (see below) where the *Aqua Appia* entered the city and met the *Via Appia*; in this much it constituted a sort of topographical expropriation. Claudius Marcellus' reconception of the temple to honor Honos and Virtus was a masterful stroke of counter-expropriation for the Claudii.

Rounding the east side of the Palatine, probably, triumphs traversed the Forum on the *Sacra Via*. Temporary viewing stands must have been copious, but no votive temple was located in the Forum, perhaps for lack of space; or conceivably, consensus – or law – discouraged temples there due to their increasingly self-promotional character.¹³⁴ Finally the parade advanced up the *clivus Capitolinus* to the Arx, and thence to the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus.¹³⁵ In the *area Capitolina* were the Temples of Ops Opifera and Fides. Vowed for consecutive battles against Panormus, their proximity may have reflected an alliance between their patrons, probably Caecilius Metellus and Atilius Calatinus.¹³⁶ With Temples of Fides on the Capitoline and Spes in the Forum Holitorium, moreover, Atilius Calatinus established a monumental presence at the procession's entrance to the city and at its conclusion.¹³⁷

These temples on the *Via Triumphalis* elided triumphs of the past with each new celebration; past and present merged in a grand crescendo of Roman conquest under the aegis of the *nobilitas*. At the same time, static, iconic, and increasingly personalized, these

buildings glorified the individuals whose successes brought them into being, as they vied with their peers for place and prestige.

Between the Second Samnite War and the Second Punic War, vowing temples became a priority for senatorials. Shifts in agency, funding, honorands, form, decoration, and placement all seem to take root at the turn of the fourth to the third century, as plebeians and low-status patricians struggled to assert the values of a new *nobilitas* and patricians fought to retain some vestiges of the closed hereditary system. As the third century progressed and that elite coalesced in its own right into an exclusive group, aediles founded temples to express a plebeian identity. In this age of individualism, there was relatively little emphasis on restoring existing buildings. For the most part, too, sponsors were less concerned for the affairs of the *res publica* than before; recognizing that temple vows aligned them with the gods and the interests of senate and state, bestowed glory, and delivered name recognition, they increasingly used acts of piety on behalf of the state as opportunities for self-advancement. Their ambitions literally shaped the city, introducing a Greek aesthetic that distinguished modern buildings from the architecture of the past, and bringing the triumphal route to the forefront as a dominant, if meandering, axis.

SPOILS AND THE CITY

Between about 337 and 218, the nature of plunder changed: sensationalism was on the rise. Occasionally the state installed spoils in public places to honor its *triumphatores*, but as rivalry escalated at the end of the fourth century, generals took to commemorating their triumphs on their own initiative. Having a measure of control over objects pillaged under their auspices, it seems, they grew conscious of the prestige attainable through their judicious disposal, and explored strategies to maximize their self-promotional potential.

The Nature of Spoils

According to Livy, when Papirius Cursor celebrated his third triumph, in 308, his finest exhibit was captured armor; indeed, the gold-encrusted Samnite shields outshone all weaponry shown before.¹³⁸ When his son then triumphed in 293, people “compared [the spoils] for splendour and beauty with those his father had won.”¹³⁹ Pliny

also attributes a sundial of foreign manufacture to the younger Papirius Cursor; the first in the city, it may have been pillaged from a Hellenized town in Campania.¹⁴⁰ Curius Dentatus’ triumph over Tarentum and Pyrrhus of Epirus in 275, however, brought spoils of a more vivid hue. In Florus’ view:

Scarcely ever did a fairer or more glorious triumph enter the city. Up to that time the only spoils which you could have seen were the cattle of the Volscians, the flocks of the Sabines, the wagons of the Gauls, the broken arms of the Samnites; now if you looked at captives, they were Molossians, Thessalians, Macedonians, Bruttians, Apulians and Lucanians; if you looked upon the procession, you saw gold, purple, statues, pictures and all the luxury of Tarentum. But upon nothing did the Roman people look with greater pleasure than upon those huge beasts, which they had feared so much, with towers upon their backs, now following the horses which had vanquished them, with heads bowed low not wholly unconscious that they were prisoners.¹⁴¹

These works of art and luxury objects were novel for Roman parades, and for Curius Dentatus, a new man, and for his audience, their value was more than aesthetic; spoils from faraway places, they distinguished Greece and the city of Tarentum, in all its opulence, from the familiar world of Rome and central Italy. At issue was the enemy’s otherness: like the foreign captives and awesome beasts that paraded in lieu of customary livestock, the artworks were sensational for their exoticism.¹⁴² A dazzling fantasy, the procession raised its protagonist to a peerless realm; his victorious homecoming from battle with Rome’s first overseas adversary evoked tales of Alexander, and Dionysus’ mythical triumph over India.¹⁴³

A taste for sensationalism soon infused other triumphs. Even fighting close to home, generals sought out works of art and wondrous, esoteric objects. By Pliny’s account, Fulvius Flaccus marked his subjugation of Etruria in 264 with an astounding 2000 “Tuscanic” sculptures, and an image of Vortumnus, similar to Dionysus. Metrodorus of Scepsis purportedly charged that it was precisely for these statues that Fulvius Flaccus stormed Volsinii.¹⁴⁴ They peopled his triumph, a silent army of carved captives; the chorus in his Dionysiac performance, they played the role of witnesses, of justification for his momentary elevation above other Romans. A year later, M’. Valerius Maximus Messalla seized a sundial from Catania in Sicily, a wonder of a different kind: famed for marking the hours, it probably



Fig. 2.22 Bronze ram from a Roman ship, found near the Egadi (Aegates) islands, ca. 255–242 (Soprintendenza del Mare, Sicilia/RPM Nautical Foundation)

represented the cutting edge of scientific technology in the Greek world.¹⁴⁵

As in 338, ships' rams came to Rome in triumph: Duilius captured Carthaginian *rostra* at Mylae in 260 (Fig. 2.22, showing a Roman ram), as did M. Aemilius Paullus after rescuing Atilius Regulus' army from North Africa after the consul's murder.¹⁴⁶ When Claudius Marcellus triumphed over Clastidium in 222/1, in Plutarch's view a single set of spoils stood out from a glorious show:

His triumphal procession was seldom equaled in its splendour and wealth and spoils and captives of gigantic size, but besides this, the most agreeable and the rarest spectacle of all was afforded when Marcellus himself carried to the god the armour of the barbarian king. He had cut the trunk of a slender oak, straight and tall, and fashioned it into the shape of a trophy; on this he bound and fastened the spoils, arranging and adjusting each piece in due order. When the procession began to move,

he took the trophy himself and mounted the chariot, and thus a trophy-bearing figure more conspicuous and beautiful than any in his day passed in triumph through the city.¹⁴⁷

The *spolia opima* were the most coveted spoils of all.

The Disposal of Spoils

In Fabius Pictor's view, the exhibition of captured weaponry in triumph, transient as it was, delivered enviable prestige. As a young Master of the Horse in 325, he recounts, Fabius Maximus Rullianus set fire to a mountain of spoils out of anger with Papirius Cursor, "to prevent the dictator reaping the harvest of his glory and inscribing his name on the arms, or having them carried in his triumph."¹⁴⁸ Still, the installation of the Antiate prows at the Rostra revealed the more enduring benefit of long-term public display. When spoils were sufficient, some generals,

like the elder Papirius Cursor, used proceeds from their sale to finance temples, rendering the plunder to the gods, and by Livy's account, at least by the end of the fourth century, a general or a decorated soldier could mount spoils on the walls of his residence. As Pliny put it:

Outside the houses and around the doorways there were other presentations of those mighty spirits, with spoils taken from the enemy fastened to them, which even one who bought the house was not permitted to unfasten, and the mansions eternally celebrated a triumph even though they changed their masters. This acted as a mighty incentive, when every day the very walls reproached an unwarlike owner with intruding on the triumphs of another.¹⁴⁹

A fourth-century bronze cuirass, seized at the capture of Falerii, may have been displayed in this way.¹⁵⁰ Pliny stresses the value of these spoils to the community, whence the ban on removing them, but their installation also bestowed individual prestige.

Meanwhile, weapons of exceptional quality, works of art, and other curiosities lent themselves to display as earlier forms of booty had not, and toward the end of the Second Samnite War, generals began to adorn public buildings and spaces with them, especially targeting the Forum and the *area Capitolina*. Of the Samnite weaponry Papirius Cursor paraded in 308, Livy states, "so magnificent was its appearance that the shields inlaid with gold were divided up amongst the owners of the money-changers' booths to be used in decking out the Forum."¹⁵¹ This practice was current in the Greek world, but Livy considered it a groundbreaking moment for Rome:

From this is said to have come the custom of the aediles adorning the Forum whenever the *tensae*, or covered chariots of the gods were conducted through it. So the Romans made use of the splendid armour of their enemies to do honour to the gods.¹⁵²

He does not state whether the installation was Papirius Cursor's initiative or the state's, nor does he specify that it was permanent; in fact, his later comment that the weapons "were familiar to [people] from being often used in the decoration of public places" may imply that bankers stored the shields between festivals.¹⁵³ In any case, the display was an act of piety and more: in a way that dedications inside temples did not, it placed emblems of Papirius Cursor's triumph before the public eye during festivals, and on the path of future processions. Like the temples that crowded the Via Triumphalis, it elided past and present.

As competition peaked during the Third Samnite War, displays of hegemonic success grew more overtly

biographical and self-promotional. The *fasti triumphales* record a Samnite triumph, early in 293, for each of the consuls, Carvilius Maximus and the younger Papirius Cursor. Livy notes differences in how they used their spoils, highlighting in the process how charged the matter of manubial disposal had become. Carvilius Maximus, a new man, placed 380,000 pounds of bronze in the treasury, financed a temple to Fors Fortuna, and rewarded his soldiers generously.¹⁵⁴ As relayed by Pliny, he also dedicated captured weaponry to Jupiter, but with an innovative twist:

Spurius Carvilius also made the Jupiter that stands in the Capitol, after defeating the Samnites in the war which they fought under a most solemn oath; the metal was obtained from their breastplates, greaves and helmets, and the size of the figure is so great that it can be seen from the temple of Jupiter Latiaris [on Mons Albanus]. Out of the bronze filings left over Carvilius made the statue of himself that stands at the feet of the statue of Jupiter.¹⁵⁵

The sculpture's vast size (which, nevertheless, Pliny surely exaggerated) emphasized the quantity and material value of Carvilius Maximus' loot.¹⁵⁶ By recasting the weapons into a sculpture instead of displaying them in their original form, moreover, he manipulated their messaging potential, translating Samnite defeat into an epiphany of Jupiter. Then, with the subterfuge that nothing should go to waste, he became the first Roman on record to commission a sculptural portrait of himself for public display. Set in the god's shadow, the image was a personalizing device, a signature of sorts. Implying Jupiter's personal tutelage, it was also a challenge to the Fabii Maximi, who, at about the same time, claimed the god's patronage through their temple vows.

Judging by Livy's account, Carvilius Maximus' patrician co-consul, Papirius Cursor, had a different set of priorities. All his bronze and silver he directed to the treasury, inciting rancor among the soldiers, who received none of it, and among the populace at large, who were consequently taxed to pay the troops. With the rest, his chief concern was to improve his standing by emphasizing ancestral prestige. Having dedicated his father's Temple of Quirinus, he installed the sundial there, near a *pulvinar* to Sol Indiges on the hill, and adorned the sanctuary with Samnite weapons that recalled the booty seized by his father. He also displayed spoils in the Forum, where his father's Samnite shields were exhibited.¹⁵⁷ For Livy, this distribution of plunder was deliberately evocative; like the temples of his rivals, the patrician Fabii Maximi, and like his own later Temple of Consus, it implied ancestral prestige as well as the hereditary qualities and



Fig. 2.23 Votive base in the *area sacra* of S. Omobono, ca. 264 (?) (Penelope Davies)

divine protection that led a commander to victory.¹⁵⁸ So copious were his spoils, Livy adds, that “they were distributed also amongst the allies and the neighbouring colonies for their temples and public squares.” Gratitude for allegiance, a caution against insubordination, and a self-promotional move to win clients, this tactic would become widespread.¹⁵⁹

Once artworks and curiosities were introduced in quantity after the conquest of Tarentum, the instinct to use plunder to decorate public spaces intensified. A group of fragmentary peperino statue bases found at Largo Argentina may have supported spoils dedicated at Temple A or C, one a bronze statue of Hercules, another a bronze of the Sabine god Sabus, probably about a meter high (“three-footers”). Letterforms in the inscriptions suggest a date in the first half of the third century, and it is possible that they were offerings by Curius Dentatus himself.¹⁶⁰ A set of inscribed peperino blocks, naming Fulvius Flaccus and the conquest of Volsinii, were also discovered scattered throughout the sanctuary of Fortuna and Mater Matuta at S. Omobono, and probably belong to one or two rectangular bases. Another base, peperino with a *tufo del Palatino* core, was circular with a bold Ionic cyma moulding (Fig. 2.23).¹⁶¹ Together the bases may have held some of the 2,000 statues Fulvius Flaccus paraded in triumph. Acts of homage, votives of this kind became part of a temple’s ornaments and inventory; and placed in the precinct, they were more visible than offerings inside the cella. Like votive temples and the shields at the *tabernae argentariae*, Fulvius Flaccus’ statues lined the path of triumphal processions to evoke triumphs past. Moreover, if the pavement on which the round base sits was part of Furius Camillus’ restoration, the dedication

aligned the last conqueror of Etruria with the first, just as Fulvius Flaccus’ Temple of Vortumnus recalled Furius Camillus’ Temple of Juno Regina.

Dedications also continued at the Rostra. According to Pliny:

M. Varro says that the first sun-dial, erected for the use of the public (*primum statutum in publico*), was fixed upon a column near the Rostra, in the time of the first Punic war, by the consul M. Valerius Messala, and that it was brought from the capture of Catina, in Sicily: this being thirty years after the date assigned to the dial of Papirius, and the year of Rome 491 [263]. The lines in this dial did not exactly agree with the hours; it served, however, as the regulator of Roman time for ninety-nine years.¹⁶²

Mounted on a column, which both objectified it and underlined its manubial character, the sundial was not an embellishment to the Rostra, as the ships’ prows were, but an installation in its own right: it marks a step in the evolution of autonomous manubial monuments. Pliny does not say who erected it, but in the same year Valerius Maximus agitated again in the same area, being the first to show “a picture in public on a side wall of the Curia Hostilia, the subject being the battle in Sicily in which he had defeated the Carthaginians and Hieron”; it is tempting, therefore, to see the sundial monument as his initiative rather than the state’s.¹⁶³ Most pillaged items played a symbolic role in their secondary context. The sundial, however, despite its inaccuracy, remained functional in its new home, and this ensured viewers’ engagement and enhanced its effectiveness as a memory device, and maybe more besides.¹⁶⁴ From Pliny’s perspective, its public display was just as novel as the instrument itself (and implies that access to Papirius Cursor’s

sundial at the Temple of Quirinus was controlled).¹⁶⁵ This suggests that it served a populist agenda: like the calendrical *fasti* published by Flavius in the same location in 304, that is, Valerius Maximus' sundial increased access to information guarded by those in authority, by allowing the *populus* to regulate business and *contiones* (political assemblies).¹⁶⁶

Two more column monuments were quick to follow. One, in the Forum, had the Carthaginian *rostra* from Mylae attached to its shaft and a crowning statue of Duilius. The context of Pliny's description – a compendium of statue-bearing columns erected mostly by the state – suggests that it was the state's salute to its first victorious admiral.¹⁶⁷ An Augustan inscription found close to the Rostra probably accompanied it, and lists Duilius' outstanding accomplishments:

He was the first to equip and train crews and fleets of fighting ships; and with these ships he defeated in battle on the high seas the Punic fleets and likewise all the most mighty troops of the Carthaginians in the presence of Hannibal, their commander-in-chief. And by main force he captured ships with their crews, to wit: one septireme, 30 quinqueremes and triremes: 13 he sank. Gold taken: 3,600 (and more) pieces. Silver taken, together with that derived from booty: 100,000 pieces. Total sum taken, reduced to Roman money ... [2,100,000] ... He was also the first to bestow on the people a gift of booty from a sea-battle, and the first to lead native free-born Carthaginians in triumph ...¹⁶⁸

The inscription places the column near Valerius Maximus' sundial, as well as the *columna Maenia* and the Antiate prows. The two rostrate monuments – column and speaker's platform – marked important phases of Roman hegemony, first in central Italy and then on the sea.

The other column rose a mere five or six years later – agent again unspecified – in the *area Capitolina*. Embellishing it were Carthaginian rams seized by Aemilius Paullus, who had lost all but eighty of his 364 ships to storms off Camarina as he returned from rescuing Atilius Regulus' army from North Africa, and with them, by one estimate, 15 percent of the adult manpower of Italy;¹⁶⁹ but just as votive temples recorded victories, not setbacks, the monument dwelt on his expedition's success. Location underlined the message: near the Temple of Fides, which probably contrasted Atilius Regulus' integrity with the Carthaginians' perfidy, the Carthaginian spoils assured Romans of their capacity to prevail.

Between the Second Samnite War and the start of the Second Punic War, the range of spoils paraded through Rome in triumph increased. Luxury weapons, works of art, and

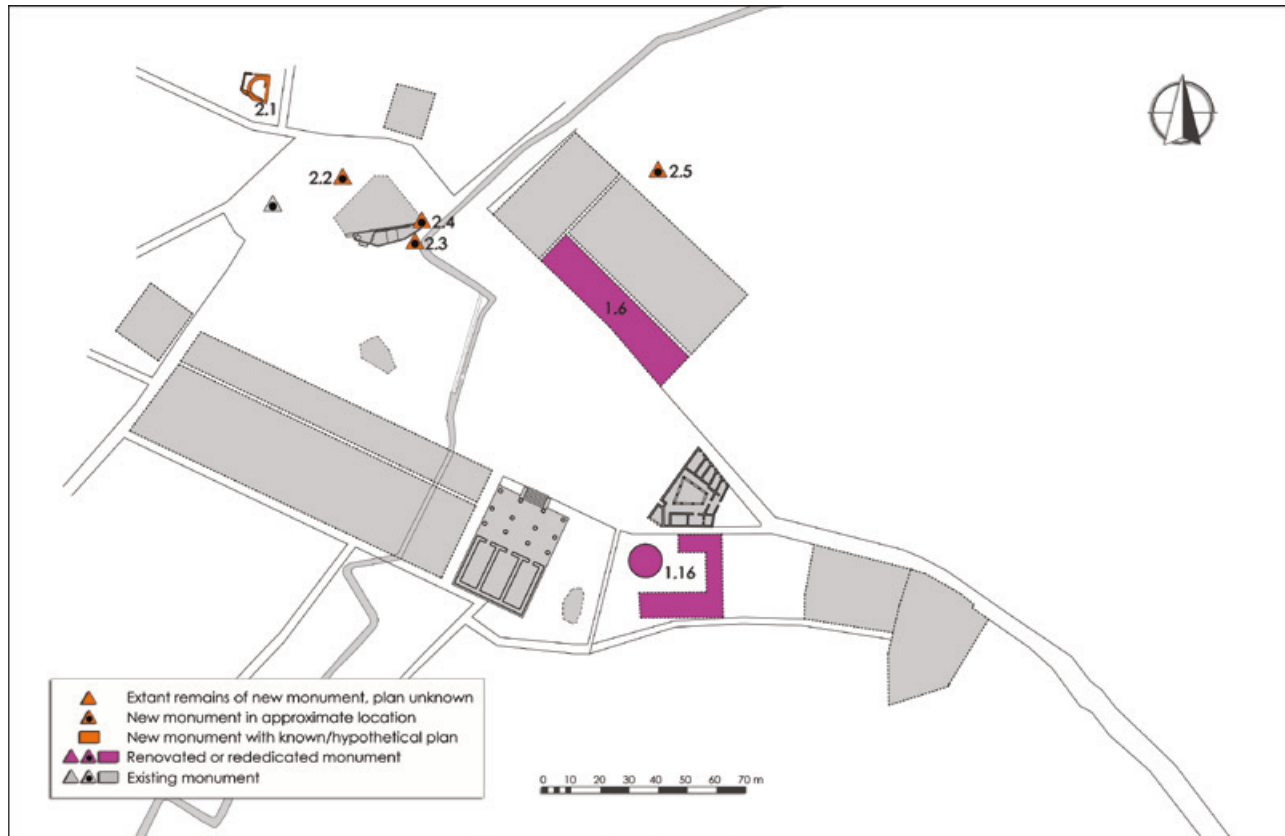
objects of esoteric interest sensationalized the ceremony, and lent themselves to permanent display, which in turn promised prestige; as a result, lasting memorials arose in temple precincts and at the Comitium. As in the early Republic, some were state initiatives in honor of its heroes; in other cases agency is unknown. But by at least the Third Samnite War, generals put their spoils on public view on their own initiative. These manubial installations described a narrative of expansion, and in this much served the state; but increasingly, individualizing details were sketched into that narrative. At first these displays embellished existing public spaces and buildings, but rapidly they gained autonomy; soon they would start to shape the city.

CIVIC DEVELOPMENT

After the Second Samnite War, the pace of civic development quickened. As before, buildings answered military and civic needs; but magistrates also began to advance their own interests through public contracts. As rivalry among the political elite intensified, and magistrates explored the self-promotional potential of temple construction and manubial display, so censors and aediles recognized the possibilities for self-advancement in their offices.

Censorial Building

Soon after the dissolution of the Latin League, so Festus states, change was afoot in the Forum. Butchers had been selling meat from shops on the northeast side of the piazza, and at this point they relocated northwards beyond the limit of the Forum (Fig. 2.24). Now vacant, the shops were refitted as *tabernae argentariae* for bankers, with wooden balconies or galleries above them.¹⁷⁰ Since Livy sets Papirius Cursor's shield installation at the *tabernae argentariae* in ca. 308, the changeover must have happened before then, and the use of the term *maeniana* to describe the balconies suggests that it was Maenius' initiative; it probably fell during his censorship in 318.¹⁷¹ By Varro's assessment, the substitution of bankers for butchers enhanced the city's image: as he put it, "for the first time the Forum's dignity grew."¹⁷² If it was Maenius' work as censor, moreover, he not only fulfilled his mandate to use state funds on public building but also, by introducing moneychangers to the Forum, highlighted Rome's sudden prosperity in such a way as to showcase the impact of his consulship. More than that, the *maeniana* provided vantage points for surveying the honors – the rostra, the equestrian statue, a column perhaps – the populace had



New construction:
2.1 Carcer/Tullianum
2.2 Shrine of Concordia

2.3 Sundial of Valerius Maximus
2.4 Column of Duilius
2.5 Macellum

Restoration:
1.6 *Tabernae novae*
1.16 Precinct of Vesta

Fig. 2.24 Forum Romanum and environs, ca. 337–218, plan. (Penelope Davies, Onur Öztürk, and Bogdan Perzyński)

voted him at the Comitium two decades earlier.¹⁷³ And whereas the Villa Publica dignified the censorship as an office, the balconies bearing his name may have been the first public project in the city to dignify the individual holding that office. If Maenius instigated the naming, then it was he, a member of the first generation of plebeian consuls, the third plebeian censor in history, who exposed the self-promotional potential of his magistracy.

His example, if such it was, proved instantly inspiring. In 313, an ambitious Ap. Claudius, a patrician from a consular but recently eclipsed family, had served as military tribune and curule aedile, but proved unable to secure a consulship.¹⁷⁴ He stood instead for the censorship following Maenius' and won election for 312. His term was unusually active and controversial, and his impact and lasting renown were due in no small measure to his innovative and manipulative use of public architecture. Two groundbreaking projects fell under his aegis: the Via Appia, Rome's first major road, and the Aqua Appia,

its first aqueduct (Fig. 2.1). The Via Appia covered a distance of approximately 212 kilometers from Porta Capena to Capua (Fig. 2.25).¹⁷⁵ Under Ap. Claudius' watch, it probably had a gravel surface on a chipped stone foundation, and in terms of surveying and engineering it was a masterpiece: two long rectilinear tracts, from Rome to Aricia (23 kilometers) and Genzano to Monte Leano (61 kilometers), distinguished it from earlier roads like the Via Ardeatina or the Via Laurentina, which meandered to follow the lie of the land, and an extended drainage channel probably accompanied its course across the Pontine marsh.¹⁷⁶ The Aqua Appia, for its part, conveyed an astounding 75,000 meters³ of water a day from a source 11,190 *passus* (approximately 16.56 kilometers) away along the Via Praenestina, purportedly discovered by Ap. Claudius' co-censor, C. Plautius Venox. For almost its entire length, it flowed underground to protect it from sabotage and illicit tapping. Approaching the city at the north edge of the Esquiline, it diverted southwest



Fig. 2.25 Via Appia, begun in 312, actual state (Penelope Davies su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Soprintendenza Speciale per il Colosseo, il Museo Romano e l'Area archeologica di Roma)

to enter Rome near Porta Capena, where, at least by the time of Frontinus, curator of aqueducts under Nerva and Trajan, substructures and arches raised it above ground for around 60 *passus* (about 90 meters); they were probably not in place in the initial construction phase.¹⁷⁷ From there it flowed to a distribution point at the Salinae (the salt flats) near Porta Trigemina on the northwest side of the Aventine.¹⁷⁸ In conjunction with this project, the *piscina publica*, a large natural pool just inside Porta Capena used for public bathing, may have been given a formal structure.¹⁷⁹ It was probably to complete these massive public works that Ap. Claudius prolonged his own (but not his colleague's) term beyond the censor's standard eighteen months.¹⁸⁰

Taken together, road and aqueduct betray the preoccupations of the age and the strategies with which magistrates confronted them. At the moment of Ap. Claudius' censorship, Rome's recently acquired hold in South Italy was

imperiled. Roman forces had suffered debilitating defeats at Caudine Forks and Lautulae, and Capua, annexed in 343/2, had defected in 314. In the same year, a conspiracy between members of the Campanian and Roman aristocracies had been unmasked.¹⁸¹ Ap. Claudius' key objective was, it seems, to regroup. His voting reform strengthened and expanded the army;¹⁸² an official inspection of the cavalry, the *recognitio equitum*, is first mentioned in his censorship, too, probably in conjunction with its augmentation from six to eighteen centuries, and he established *duoviri navales* to oversee the provision and maintenance of warships to allow a proper naval force, distinct from the army, to patrol the coastline.¹⁸³ In this drive to gain the upper hand in the war, his building projects were critical. Where the twisting course of the Via Latina made it vulnerable to enemy attack, the straight stretches of the Via Appia allowed for rapid military deployment and safe supply lines through Samnite territories, and the road linked

newly acquired territories in south Latium and Campania and secured Roman domination of previously Hellenized regions. Simultaneously, it gave visual expression to Rome's territorial expansion and power.¹⁸⁴ With its distribution point at the edge of the Aventine, meanwhile, the aqueduct supported Rome's industries: Livy places wood-workers' quarters near Porta Trigemina at least by 174,¹⁸⁵ and they, like the tanners and metal workers who may have been located there, were key to provisioning the army and the fledgling navy.

As well as contributing to the war effort, the road and aqueduct belong in the competitive climate generated by the destabilization and expansion of the *nobilitas*. They served the interests of a man with little inherited political capital who was nevertheless intent on developing a support base. They offered long months of work for construction crews, and local businesses must have prospered as work proceeded; in fact, Ap. Claudius seems to have recognized the enormous power implicit in letting contracts, as Polybius would over 150 years later:

All over Italy an immense number of contracts, far too numerous to specify, are awarded by the censors for the construction and repair of public buildings, and besides this the collection of revenues from navigable rivers, harbours, gardens, mines, lands – in a word every transaction which comes under the control of the Roman government – is farmed out to contractors. All these activities are carried on by the people, and there is scarcely a soul, one might say, who does not have some interest in these contracts and the profits which are derived from them. Some people actually purchase the contracts from the censors for themselves, others act as their partners, others provide security for the contractors, while others may pledge their property to the treasury for this purpose.¹⁸⁶

The Via Appia traversed newly established tribes and colonies in southern Latium and Campania that were pools of potential clients. Many of them, and others who benefited from the road's construction, could vote in Rome; now distributed across the rustic tribes, their votes carried enough weight to justify the journey. Others in *municipia sine suffragio* such as Fundi and Formiae could deploy their wealth and contacts to enhance the censor's prestige. The road also promised ease of access to Rome that could prove profitable as the city's agrarian economy gradually industrialized.¹⁸⁷ As for the Aqua Appia, it catered specifically to those engaged in commerce: nothing suggests that existing water supplies – from wells, cisterns, and the Tiber – were inadequate for drinking and general domestic use.¹⁸⁸

Like Postumius Megellus' Temple of Victoria vowed less than a decade later, both initiatives seem to have owed conceptual debts to the Greek world of South Italy and beyond. The *groma* allowed engineers to project straight lines with relative accuracy, but in designing the Via Appia's linear tracts they may also have relied on the geometric theories of Pythagoras, who lived in Croton from 530 until his death, and Archytas of Tarentum (428–347);¹⁸⁹ and in the aqueduct, local drainage technologies (such as the *cuniculi* used in Latium and the underground drainage channels of Etruria, ancestors of Rome's Cloaca Maxima) and military tunneling techniques were adapted to endow Rome with the kind of water supply enjoyed by Hellenistic *metropoleis* such as Priene, Magnesia on the Meander, Ephesus, and Alexandria. Closer to hand, Syracuse had no fewer than three underground aqueducts.¹⁹⁰ In this much, road and aqueduct alike reflect the interests of the political class in expanding their cultural horizons to embrace the practices of the wider Mediterranean,¹⁹¹ and they sharpened Rome's image at a time of shifting alliances with the opulent cities of South Italy. Like Postumius Megellus after him, Ap. Claudius heralded a new age of modern living.

There was more. In several ways, his conduct approximated the euergetism of Hellenistic dynasts, who were often the benefactors behind utilitarian building projects that improved working conditions and standards of living, including expensive water-distribution projects (the Galermi in Syracuse, of Dionysius I [432–367] or Timoleon [344–338]),¹⁹² and thoroughfares (Philip II's road in Macedonia, the later Via Egnatia).¹⁹³ Unlike Rome's last great civic construction initiative, the fortification walls, these projects were probably not built by *corvée* but contracted, using the first issue of silver coinage struck under Roman authority,¹⁹⁴ and the release of the citizenry from labor obligations must have heightened the projects' euergetic quality. Though the money came from state coffers, if Diodorus Siculus can be believed Ap. Claudius spent it with a free hand: for the Aqua Appia he used the funds without a senatorial decree, and for the Via Appia he depleted the treasury. Moreover, the resultant road was not named for its function (like the Via Salaria, from the salt mines), its location (like the Via Latina through Latium) or, like later roads, for its destination (Via Ficulensis to Ficulea, for instance), but – like the aqueduct, and a Forum Appii on the road's course – for the censor himself. Like cities founded by Philip of Macedon

and Alexander, both initiatives took his *praenomen*, Appius, rather than his *nomen*. For Diodorus Siculus, indeed, the state-financed road was a “deathless” monument to a single man.¹⁹⁵ And if the arches supporting the aqueduct at Porta Capena were integral to its original design, as seems likely, the two projects – road and aqueduct – met visibly there to stamp the region with the censor’s name.

Ap. Claudius’ censorship broached new territory, in his aggressive exploitation of the mandate of his magistracy to amass political capital as in engineering expertise. Military concerns notwithstanding, his public works were innovative strategies for earning gratitude from potential clients to gain ground in consular elections; though patrician, he recognized and played to the electoral strength of the plebeian bloc.¹⁹⁶ The impact of his conduct on his peers is hard to gauge; in Livy’s and Diodorus Siculus’ accounts, which cast him in the role of a Gracchan demagogue, his colleagues met his measures with exasperation verging on animosity. Families who had staked a claim on a Campanian clientage since the mid-fourth century were probably irked, and when Decius Mus, whose *gens* likely originated in Capua, lingered in Rome during his consulship in 312 because of illness, he may have entertained false hopes of gaining a measure of credit for Ap. Claudius’ projects.¹⁹⁷ In 311, the senate refused to recognize the men he admitted to their number; Fabius Maximus Rullianus opposed his prorogation in 307 and, as censor with Decius Mus in 304, modified his tribal reform by restricting the *forensem turbam* (forum crowd) to the four urban tribes.¹⁹⁸ Still, whatever the attitude of Ap. Claudius’ peers, Diodorus Siculus claims that the *humiles* came out in his support in great numbers in subsequent years.¹⁹⁹ His innovative strategy propelled him through a stellar career and augmented the power and prestige of the censorship irrevocably.²⁰⁰ Tellingly, Livy notes that already in 307 the censors M. Valerius Maximus and Iunius Bubulcus let contracts for roads, among them presumably the Via Tiburtina/Valeria, which may have led from Porta Viminalis and Porta Esquilina into the central Apennines.²⁰¹ And when, in 241, another censor, C. Aurelius Cotta, probably contracted for the Via Aurelia, across the Tiber on a precursor to the Pons Aemilia and over the Janiculum to the recent colonies of Cosa, Alsium, and Fregenae, he too was following in Ap. Claudius’ footsteps (Fig. 2.1).²⁰²

With the lacuna in Livy’s text between 292 and 218, the record of censorial buildings in the third century is almost certainly incomplete. Two censorial initiatives are mentioned in other literary sources, both the work of plebeians, and neither of them, unlike Ap.

Claudius’ projects, responding to a civic or military crisis. According to Frontinus, when Curius Dentatus was censor alongside Papirius Cursor the younger in 272, he “contracted to have the waters of what is now called Old Anio (*Anio Vetus*) brought into the City, with the proceeds of the booty captured from Pyrrhus.”²⁰³ Frontinus calculated the length of this aqueduct, initially called the aqua Aniensis, at 43,000 *passus* (approximately 63.64 kilometers) and its capacity at 180,000 meters³, tripling Rome’s water supply. Originating at the Anio River in Tibur (Tivoli), it flowed for most of its course in underground tufo channels; for a brief 221 *passus* (just over 325 meters), substructures lifted it above ground.²⁰⁴ At the fourth milestone of the Via Latina, silt collected in a settling tank, and thence the aqueduct ran to the Spes Vetus on the Esquiline and its terminus inside Porta Esquilina; subsidiary pipes distributed the water from there. It ran at a higher elevation than the Aqua Appia, maintaining elevation by hugging the hillsides on its way into Rome (Fig. 2.1), but was still too low to supply the entire city.²⁰⁵

In terms of concept and engineering, the Anio Vetus owes an obvious debt to the Aqua Appia, and attests to the success of Ap. Claudius’ strategy. The aqueduct, in fact, gave physical form to the interplay between the two men; for it was an elderly, blind Ap. Claudius (Caecus) who, in a lengthy oration to the senate, spoke out against a pact with Pyrrhus, and insisted instead on the war that Curius Dentatus would subsequently win.²⁰⁶ Still, in terms of length, capacity, and monumentality the Anio Vetus far outshone its predecessor. For Curius Dentatus, moreover, the censorship was not the springboard to public life that it had been for Ap. Claudius, but the pinnacle of a magnificent career: he had celebrated Samnite and Sabine triumphs as consul in 290; in 283 he had probably been the first praetor to win an *ovatio*, and after repelling Pyrrhus from Italian soil, had won a third consulship for 274, during which he defeated the Lucanians.²⁰⁷ By the time of his censorship he was probably less concerned with soliciting votes than with enhancing his (plebeian) family’s name for posterity – which may have motivated the distribution of water to a residential region favored by emergent plebeians. He was the first to use *manubiae* on a civic project, and the expenditure of resources that he had deposited in the treasury himself underlined his contribution to the *res publica*. This in turn may have helped forestall any senatorial interference in the wake of Ap. Claudius’ conduct.

Named a *Ilvir aquae perducendae* by the senate in 272 to dedicate the monument, he died five days later, leaving the unfinished project in the hands of his colleague, M. Fulvius Flaccus;²⁰⁸ had he survived, it might have borne his name.

Half a century later, C. Flaminius, a new man, used a censorship to further a more immediate agenda. His term came at the height of a career built on advocating for plebeian issues, and antagonizing his peers. As a tribune of the plebs in 232, he had won popular support by championing a *lex Flaminia* for the distribution of farmland in Picenum, on the Adriatic coast, to Roman citizens, enacted by plebiscite against fierce senatorial opposition.²⁰⁹ His defiance continued unabated: during a consulship in 223, on the cusp of a conflict with the Insubres, he and his colleague, L. Furius Philus, received instructions from the senate to stand down, which they declined to read until after engaging, and prevailing over, the enemy. They proclaimed a new province of Cisalpine Gaul, and the people voted them a triumph, the senate having presumably refused them. Flaminius was elected to a censorship for 220.²¹⁰

During his tenure, the agrarian law remained controversial. Nevertheless, he contracted for a road from the Capitoline to the very region addressed by the law, and with its name, the Via Flaminia, underlined his role in the issue.²¹¹ According to Livy, he also formalized a long open space on the Campus Martius that ran roughly parallel to the Tiber, already known as the Circus Flaminius (Fig. 1.32). An enclosure wall may have defined its limits, and by the first century at least it contained *metae* and a sundial, though there is no evidence for the extensive racing appurtenances of the Circus Maximus.²¹² The venture tied Flaminius' name to an entire zone of the city, a tactic ancient writers found sufficiently remarkable to merit explanation: Plutarch assumed that a distant ancestor had gifted the land to the city, and Varro that the circus took its name from the *prata Flaminia*, probably associated with the *flamines*. Even if Varro was right, Flaminius may have exploited a false etymological link between the zone and his *gens*.²¹³

The initiative is redolent of the censor's populist agenda. Its location near the start of the triumphal route recalled his triumph and the people's role in granting it, and of two sets of games long associated with the zone, one was a minor quinquennial festival, the *ludi Tauri*, while the other, the *ludi plebei*, was held annually after 220 as a plebeian counterpart to the patrician *ludi Romani*

in the Circus Maximus (and Cicero considered it to be among Rome's oldest games). By defining an arena for plebeian games, Flaminius helped define a plebeian identity, separate from the *populus* as a whole.²¹⁴ Both before and after its articulation as a circus, in fact, other uses of the area – markets, banks, funeral orations, and *contiones* run by the tribunes of the plebs – all point to plebeian activities; and set apart from the Forum, where the senate had its base, and from the rest of the Campus Martius, site of patrician-dominated institutions, the Circus may have functioned chiefly as a plebeian assembly place.²¹⁵ At one and the same time, it rewarded and courted political support; and though Flaminius' popularity with his senatorial colleagues seems not to have improved, the electorate voted him a second consulship for 217, in the face of the Genucian Law.²¹⁶

Censorial Building?

A number of other civic projects, which all, in diverse ways, attest to intensifying interactions with the wider Mediterranean world, can be tentatively assigned to this period, and emerging sponsorship patterns suggest that they were magistrates' initiatives. Their scale, albeit modest by later standards, makes it possible that some or all of them were censorial projects.

It is likely, for instance, given Rome's burgeoning naval power, and the construction of the Temple of Portunus, that work was undertaken on port amenities on the east bank of the Tiber. Moreover, beneath Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola's staircase to the convent of S. Maria in Aracoeli on the Arx, a set of marble weights was discovered with a fragmentary touchstone used for testing noble metals, and nearby, northwest of the later Temple of Veiovis, a hoard of coins. These finds suggest that Rome's first mint, dating to the early third century, was located in the vicinity; by Livy's day, at least, it was close to the Temple of Juno Moneta, who offered her protection to the coining process.²¹⁷

In the same vicinity, at the southeastern foot of the Arx, an architecture of punishment seems to have evolved in the first half of the third century. Still in evidence beneath S. Giuseppe dei Fagnani, a subterranean prison or *carcer* was constructed (Figs. 2.24 and 2.26), in the form of a circular chamber roughly 7 meters in diameter, with courses of *lapis Albanus* overlapping in a beehive formation; they may have met in a false dome, though a flat ceiling set on beams is also possible. At a



Fig. 2.26 Carcer, first half of the third century, actual state (Penelope Davies su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Soprintendenza Speciale per il Colosseo, il Museo Romano e l'Area archeologica di Roma)

later point a rectangular room covered with a vault was built above it.²¹⁸ Romans attributed the initial foundation of the prison to Servius Tullius, though its name, the Tullianum, probably derived from a spring of water on the site, and the circular chamber may have been adapted from a gallery in nearby quarries, the Lautumiae.²¹⁹ Sallust, a first-century historian, described it as a desperate place – “neglect, darkness, and stench make it hideous and fearsome to behold” – and within its walls a M. Claudius was apparently executed in 236; probably a legate, he may have been accused of treason for a bad treaty with the Corsicans. In 204, Q. Pleminius was incarcerated there for misconduct on legation in Locri, and in later years enemy kings spent their last days – and often met their deaths – inside it.²²⁰ Slightly further north, near Porta Fontinalis on the saddle between the Arx and the Quirinal, literary sources also locate an Atrium Libertatis, which housed the censors’ lists of citizens and manumitted slaves. Livy places Tarentine and Turine hostages there in 212, and similar uses are attested in later years. Its proximity to the Lautumiae and the Carcer suggest an association with penal processes.²²¹

Finally, though a date in the regal period is preferable (see above), Livy’s failure to mention the Atrium Regium

until his account of a fire in 210 makes it possible that its construction coincided with the city’s early engagements with Hellenistic monarchies, at the onset of diplomatic relations after the Pyrrhic War or when, on attending the *ludi Romani* in 237, Hieron II became the first Hellenistic king to visit Rome (Fig. 1.5).²²²

Aediles

By Livy’s account, in 329 the Circus Maximus received its first starting gates or *carceres* – probably unroofed wooden stalls with mechanisms to ensure fairness in races (Fig. 1.33).²²³ Since the *ludi Romani* held in the Circus fell under the aediles’ jurisdiction, it is likely that an aedile was responsible, conceivably C. Valerius, the only one recorded for the year.²²⁴ Whoever the sponsor, he gained public exposure by combining two of his mandates, building maintenance and entertainment. Soon thereafter comes a clearer indication that aediles, like censors, and like Postumius Megellus and Flavius with their religious construction, were exploring the office’s promotional potential. Livy records that, as curule aediles in 296, Q. and Cn. Ogulnius, whose funds from fines on usurers paid for an embellishment of the



Fig. 2.27 Didrachm minted in 269–266, with a reverse image of a she-wolf suckling twins (Ira and Larry Goldberg Coins & Collectibles, Los Angeles)

Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, “also made a paved walk of squared stone from Porta Capena to the temple of Mars,” probably the first phase of the Via Appia’s resurfacing with *tufó* or *silex*. Moreover, they erected “a representation of the infant Founders of the City being suckled by the wolf”;²²⁵ whether they set up the entire group or added figures of Romulus and Remus to an existing sculpture of a she-wolf is not clear. The work is featured on silver *didrachmai* minted during Q. Ogulnius’ consulship in 269 (Fig. 2.27), and it is not inconceivable that it should be identified with the famed Capitoline she-wolf, though current scholarship favors a medieval date (Fig. 2.28).²²⁶

In the year of the Ogulnii’s aedileship, coalition forces were assembling against Rome. Conflict on an unprecedented scale appeared imminent, and they may have envisaged these initiatives, like their contributions at the Temple of Jupiter, as prophylactic: the road facilitated access to the war god’s temple, vowed during an earlier confrontation with one of the coalition groups, the Gauls, while the sculpture exalted the city’s founding.²²⁷ Yet as with their religious initiatives, local politics were probably also at play. The sculptural group likely stood at the *figus Ruminalis* near the Comitium or at the Lupercal below the Temple of Victoria, on the south slope of the Palatine, both sites that were steeped in plebeian associations.²²⁸ Moreover, unless the pediment of the Temple of Victoria featured Remus, it is the earliest known reference to Romulus’ twin brother; either way, Rome’s foundation story seems to have been modified at this time to replace a single founder with

joint founders of equal status, in celebration of the parity between patricians and plebeians gained through the Ogulnian Law Quintus championed as tribune.²²⁹ That the aediles, like Romulus and Remus, were brothers was an added bonus. The road, in turn, was a form of topographical antagonism: the aediles targeted the stretch of the Via Appia that intersected with the Aqua Appia of Ap. Claudius, consul that year (Fig. 2.1); their work was an improvement on, and a literal paving over of, the earlier gravel surface – a pointed retaliation, perhaps, for attempts by Ap. Claudius to stifle the *lex Ogulnia*.²³⁰ Moreover, since their tract was the first leg of the *transvectio equitum*, with the commission the Ogulnii cast their weight behind Ap. Claudius’ rival, Fabius Maximus Rullianus, who had instituted the parade as censor in 304 to overshadow Ap. Claudius’ refinement of the cavalry.²³¹

Plebeian aediles in 238, L. and M. Publicius expanded on this Ogulnian initiative. Using fines levied on illegal lessors of public grazing land, they sponsored the first paved street inside city walls, a monumental path to their Temple of Flora, built in the same year. In doing so, as Ovid put it, they transformed “steep rock” into “a serviceable track,” traversing the merchant district from Porta Trigemina up the north slope of the Aventine.²³² There, at the foot of the hill, the Aqua Appia had its distribution point (Fig. 2.1), and its constant run-off must at times have made the area a mire of mud; once paved, however, the water would flush it to provide a cleaner, more efficient place of commerce.²³³ Known as the *clivus Publicius*, the road was named for its sponsors, but unlike the Via



Fig. 2.28 Bronze sculpture of a she-wolf (with twins added in 1471–1473 CE). Rome, Musei Capitolini, MC1181 (Penelope Davies)

Appia, it took the *nomen* they shared. Varro records similar projects by Pullius and Conoscius, who are otherwise unknown.²³⁴

Scant though it is, available evidence characterizes the interval between the start of the Second Samnite War and the Second Punic War as a period of awakening in terms of civic development. As with temple construction, a surge of innovation seems to coincide with the reckoning between patricians and plebeians, as the *nobilitas* reconfigured itself and its values. Maenius may have led the charge, by introducing the possibility that his censorship could serve his *gens* as well as the state, and through censorial initiatives, Ap. Claudius masterfully combined his efforts to safeguard and augment Rome's standing in the Italian peninsula with overt self-promotion. Subsequent censors and aediles followed suit to capitalize on the authority of their magistracies. Sophisticated strategies for self-advancement developed, and with them, magistrates cemented a place in history and/or won and rewarded popularity at the polls. In fact, just as patricians ceased using temples to impose their collective authority on plebeians, magistrates started to engage in civic initiatives that acknowledged the value of the popular vote: censors favored utilitarian projects focused on popular needs, while aediles embellished and improved public spaces with particular attention to non-elite zones.

The electoral weight of the crowd was thereby translated into a monumentalization of the city's non-elite districts.

CONCLUSIONS

Between the dissolution of the Latin League and the start of the Second Punic War, public building intensified. As before, the bulk of construction was religious, but large-scale civic enterprises also took off in earnest and manubial monuments began to make an appearance in the cityscape. An initial surge of building occurred during the Second and Third Samnite Wars, when challenges to Roman hegemony in Italy coincided with the final throes of the patricio-plebeian struggle, transforming and expanding the *nobilitas*, and setting elite values in flux. A second wave followed during and after the First Punic War, which gave plebeian commanders a chance to excel. Together, military and gentilician competition fed an instinct to build for self-promotion. Generals turned battlefield successes into opportunities to raise temples in commemoration of their feats, and used spoils to prolong the honor of their triumphs; recognizing the potential of their mandates, meanwhile, censors and aediles spent state funds on contracts for urban improvements that simultaneously raised their prestige.

In the context of shifting aristocratic values, members of the new elite used buildings to communicate agendas

and claims to prestige. When plebeians acceded to curule magistracies, and even when they gained entry to the priesthoods, die-hard patricians clung to the vestiges of the earlier system of authority, rooted in heredity and in their monopoly over state religion. Thus the Fabii and the Papirii expended their energies and resources not on civic buildings but on temples that honored prominent gods of state (Jupiter, Quirinus), with whom, by association and location, they implied a special, long-term kinship; they also chose gods who promoted heredity as the principal criterion for prestige (Honos, Consus). This message the younger Papirius Cursor reiterated by disposing of his *manubiae* in imitation of his father.

The majority of magistrates who sponsored buildings, however, whether patrician or plebeian, lacked the ancestral strength of the Fabii and the Papirii, and their projects stressed instead the value of their own contributions to the *res publica*. To this end, monuments became increasingly individualized. Postumius Megellus staked his claim against the Fabii, the Papirii, and Ap. Claudius with, perhaps, Rome's first temple in the modern Greek aesthetic, the Temple of Victoria, and generals honored gods such as Hercules whose qualities they emulated, or, like Tellus and Fons, who bespoke the particulars of a battle won; paintings contributed further to the narrative quality of their buildings. As Carvilius Maximus demonstrated on the Capitoline, spoils could be personalized by the addition of a portrait, and named censorial projects such as the Aqua Appia and Via Appia were the ultimate in individualization.

Strategies for self- or group advancement grew increasingly sophisticated. At varying levels of monumentality, Maenius, Ap. Claudius, the Ogulnii, Curius Dentatus, the Publicii, and Flaminius all gained visibility and prestige through acts of utilitarian euergetism after the fashion of Hellenistic dynasts; their ventures acknowledged and played to the voting weight of the plebeian bloc. Symbolism grew acute: with a series of minor interventions funded by fines on patricians, for instance, Flavius, the Ogulnii, and the Publicii articulated a range of plebeian concerns and rejoiced in plebeian gains. Strategies of appropriation and counter-appropriation also gave physical expression to antipathies and alliances between members of the political elite. Thus, as the Fabii claimed Jupiter's favor through temple construction, Carvilius Maximus voiced a counterclaim through his use of spoils; as Postumius Megellus professed a tie to Victoria, Ap. Claudius and the Fabii gave victory epithets to

their gods. Sensitivity to location heightened, too. For temples or for spoils, proximity to the Via Triumphalis ensured a place among the great generals of history and re-exaltation with every triumph, and the narrative of one temple's foundation gave meaning to another's: the Temple of Spes drew on the naval character of the neighboring Temple of Janus, just as the Temple of Janus drew on the Temple of Portunus and the harbor. And place could be expropriated: through the Aqua Appia and the Via Appia, the Temple of Honos, and the Temples of Honos and Virtus that replaced it, the Claudii and the Fabii staked claim and counterclaim to the zone around Porta Capena, where the triumph and plebeian concerns drew together. The Ogulnii and Publicii joined the fray with their paving initiatives.

The evolving cityscape eloquently expressed the Roman Republic's premise – and its paradox. Extreme ambition would be punished as an aspiration to kingship, and those who most successfully exploited state successes, honors, and resources to further their own ambitions, such as Flavius, Postumius Megellus, Ap. Claudius, and Flaminius, experienced constant opposition from their peers in the senate. Yet the fruits of their ambitions – temples, manubial monuments, aqueducts, and roads, *inter alia* – set the city on course to grand urban development that fed its identity and its image abroad. Their monuments propitiated the gods and responded with splendor to divine protection as Rome spread its reach through Italy; though initiatives such as the Via Appia and the Aqua Appia responded to a state crisis, taken together, Roman monuments – religious and manubial – refuted the possibility and even the reality of defeat. The political elite treated the world beyond Rome's borders as a source of inspiration and innovation with which to enrich the city; from the Greek world, in all likelihood, they introduced mathematical theory that enhanced engineering, a modern architectural style, and state-of-the-art time-keeping technology. As cultural inclusivity yielded to a more imperialistic attitude, individuals' ambitions crafted Rome into a city of triumph; they defined the course of the triumphal way with temples and votive spoils, articulated the Circus Maximus and the Circus Flaminius, and embellished the Forum as a civic center. And at the same time, it was the ambitions of individual magistrates looking for votes and prestige that raised working and living standards, especially in areas frequented by plebeians such as the Aventine, the Esquiline, and the Circus Flaminius.

THREE

A STATE OF FEAR, AND NEW HORIZONS: *ca. 217–134*

POLITICAL FRAMEWORK

The Second Punic War: Fields of Battle

With the Second Punic War, Rome's string of successes came to a shuddering halt. Driven from Sicily and Sardinia, the Carthaginians turned their attention to mineral-rich Spain, where a treaty with Rome confined them to the area south of the river Ebro. They attacked Saguntum, a city under Roman protection, and on receiving Rome's ultimatum to desist, Hannibal, their general, led his army and a troop of elephants on an extraordinary march across the Pyrenees and the Alps into northern Italy.¹ Apparently unstoppable, late in 218 he overwhelmed the armies of Ti. Sempronius Longus and P. Cornelius Scipio at the river Trebia, before moving south into Etruria in 217, where he ambushed Flaminius' troops at Lake Trasimene and defeated them catastrophically; Flaminius himself was killed in the conflict.² Another year, another rout: in 216 Hannibal demolished L. Aemilius Paullus' and C. Terentius Varro's armies at Cannae, in Apulia, in Rome's most devastating setback to date.³ Cannae and Capua defected to Carthage, as did Syracuse in 214; by the time Tarentum followed suit in early 212, nearly half of Rome's allies had joined the Carthaginians, and remaining alliances in Etruria and Umbria were fraying. Hannibal had also sealed a pact against Rome with Philip v of Macedonia.⁴

As the war dragged on, success and failure went hand-in-hand. In 212, Claudius Marcellus recaptured Syracuse after a long siege.⁵ The following year Hannibal pitched camp outside the gates of Rome, hoping to draw its forces back from South Italy; resisting his ploy, Q. Fulvius Flaccus and Ap. Claudius Pulcher retook Capua.⁶ The same year, news arrived from Spain that Hannibal's brother, Hasdrubal

Barca, had defeated the armies of P. Cornelius Scipio and Cn. Cornelius Scipio Calvus and that both generals had perished; as proconsul in 210 and after, an underage P. Cornelius Scipio avenged his father and uncle by driving the Carthaginians from Spain. A year later, Fabius Maximus Verrucosus won back Tarentum. Still, as casualties mounted, morale sank among the allies; nearly half the Latin states refused to provide contingents to the Roman army.⁷

In 207 Hasdrubal followed his brother over the Alps into Italy with reinforcements and siege equipment, but at this point the tide turned for Rome.⁸ Meeting him at the Metaurus river in Le Marche, C. Claudius Nero and M. Livius Salinator defeated him in one of the war's deciding battles, though both sides sustained terrible losses.⁹ Still underage, Scipio was elected consul, raised an army in Sicily, and in 204 sailed for North Africa, to draw the conflict away from Italy. Carthage recalled Hannibal and, in 202, after sixteen years of relentless threat, Scipio squared off with Carthaginian forces in a closely fought battle at Zama, and prevailed.¹⁰

The Second Punic War: in Rome

At home, war with Carthage was all consuming. Rome's misfortunes intimated a rupture in the *pax deorum*, and as the city's fate hung in the balance, terrible omens proliferated; a succession of fires and floods ravaged the landscape, further proof of the gods' disfavor.¹¹ Money grew desperately short and manpower dwindled. A state of fear set in.¹² Romans took drastic prophylactic actions: as in 228, when a Gallic invasion had threatened, in 216 they buried two Greeks and two Gauls alive in the Forum Boarium; they convicted two Vestal Virgins of unchastity

and buried one alive; the other killed herself.¹³ A sumptuary law, the *lex Oppia* of 215, was passed to rein in women's clothing and behavior, and in matters of religion Romans retrenched, practicing extreme formalism in the hope of regaining divine favor.¹⁴

To deal with the crisis, the senate entrusted commands to underage men and *privati*, and ad hoc promagistracies proliferated. As in the Second and Third Samnite Wars, larger-than-life personalities emerged, such as Fabius Maximus Verrucosus and Claudius Marcellus, who in different ways engaged Hannibal's forces on Italian soil, and Scipio, conqueror at Zama; amid failures and successes, the climate was ripe for heroes. To raise their acclaim, elite families started to publish the funeral orations of their illustrious dead, and authors began to eulogize generals for their feats: around this time Fabius Pictor penned a history of his *gens* and Cn. Naevius immortalized Claudius Marcellus' exploits at the Po with a play, the *Clastidium*.¹⁵ After Zama, glory was in the air: the first to be honored with the name of the nation he conquered, Scipio took the *cognomen* Africanus, and people proposed statues of him in public places, all of which he declined.¹⁶

Beyond the Second Punic War: Fields of Battle

While preoccupied with Carthage, Rome also became enmeshed in the power struggles of the wider Mediterranean. Philip V had begun to expand his interests into Illyria, Epirus, and the Straits of Otranto, and concerned for the cities of South Italy, Rome forged an alliance against him with the Aetolian League of central Greece; it nevertheless made terms with Philip in the Peace of Phoenice (the First Macedonian War, 214–205).¹⁷ Another bout of unrest erupted (the Second Macedonian War, 200–197) when ambassadors from Pergamon and Rhodes persuaded the senate of the dangers of a pact between Philip and the Seleucid king, Antiochus III.¹⁸ Diplomacy failed, and T. Quinctius Flaminius led forces into Thessaly, where they inflicted shattering defeat on Philip's army at Cynoscephalae in 197. At the Isthmian Games in 196 Quinctius Flaminius declared the Greek states liberated from Macedonian dominion; two years later Roman troops withdrew.¹⁹

Dissatisfied with their share in the settlements, in 192 the Aetolians allied with Antiochus to counter-liberate the Greek states from what they characterized as Roman oppression. Antiochus moved into Asia Minor and the

Hellespont, prompting the Aetolian War (191–189). M'. Acilius Glabrio defeated him at Thermopylae in eastern central Greece in 191 and drove him into Asia Minor; deployed there for the first time, Roman troops prevailed over the Seleucid army at Magnesia in 190 and, back in Aetolia, subdued Ambracia and other cities of the League.²⁰ Succeeding Philip in 179, his son Perseus moved to broaden his influence in the region and for a third time Rome engaged forces with Macedonia (172–168), ending with L. Aemilius Paullus' decisive victory at Pydna in 168.²¹ The senate declared the Antigonid monarchy dissolved and separated the region into four independent states.²²

In 149, stability in the Greek world was again imperiled. Andrisus, ruler of Adramyttium, pronounced himself Perseus' son and the Antigonid monarchy restored, and as Macedonia fell under his control, he set his sights on Thessaly. Diplomacy failed to contain him, as did a legion under the command of P. Juventius (the Fourth Macedonian War), but in 148, Q. Caecilius Metellus crushed him at Pydna, and for the first time, the senate determined to keep a military presence in the area and to exact a permanent tribute.²³ In the midst of the turmoil, the Achaeans tried to coerce Sparta back into their league, and fearing an upset in the Macedonian settlement, Rome diverted Caecilius Metellus to the Peloponnese. Assuming command as consul of 146, L. Mummius defeated them and, as an admonition to other states, razed their leading city, Corinth, to the ground.²⁴

In the meantime, Rome was also focused on securing northern Italy and Spain. Hamilcar, a Carthaginian officer, incited Gallic and Ligurian tribes to challenge Rome's authority in the upper Apennines and Maritime Alps, and almost a decade of conflict there ended with the ruthless subjugation of the Boii in 191 by P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica; more difficult and less decisive, war with the Ligures dragged on until mid-century.²⁵ On either side of the Ebro in eastern Spain, now cleared of Carthaginian occupation, soon after 198 Rome established the provinces of Hispania Citerior and Hispania Ulterior, and the Celtiberians in central Spain, the Cantabrians and Gallaecians in the northwest, and the Lusitanians in Portugal rose up in revolt. M. Porcius Cato crushed them brutally but temporarily in 195; insurrections simmered until Ti. Sempronius Gracchus negotiated their submission in 179, and in 177–175 subjugated Sardinia and Corsica with a similar strategy.²⁶ In 153, two Celtiberian tribes reneged on their treaty; a new peace

achieved, L. Licinius Lucullus, consul of 151, nevertheless reopened hostilities with a vicious campaign.²⁷ War with the Lusitanians continued until 138. After a long struggle, and with the help of the Numidian cavalry commanded by Jugurtha, P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus concluded the wars with the Celtiberians of Numantia in 133, and leveled their city.²⁸

In the interim, tensions were reignited in North Africa. In 151, Rome's ally, Massinissa of Numidia, attacked a town in Carthaginian territory, prompting a counter-offensive from Carthage without clearing its intentions with Rome, as stipulated by the treaty of 202. Rome declared a Third Punic War (149–146), and a siege of the city began. Proconsul in 146, Scipio Aemilianus razed Carthage to the ground, in a definitive physical and symbolic reduction of a long-feared enemy.²⁹

After the Second Punic War: in Rome

The expansion of Rome's interests into Greece and Asia Minor brought radical change. In the train of returning armies, new ideas and attitudes filtered into the city. In the eastern Mediterranean, men like Flamininus and Aemilius Paullus enjoyed the status of Hellenistic monarchs; in Spain, Scipio Africanus was hailed as a king.³⁰ For them and for others, this level of acclaim engendered high expectations of prestige and admiration at home. Spectacular triumphs with extravagant displays of spoils served this end, as did victory games that exalted *triumphatores* in a regal manner.³¹ By the 180s, memories of the hardships of the Second Punic War years started to dim, and as business opportunities abroad enriched the equestrian class and Rome's coffers grew flush from spoils and indemnities, the populace could credit its commanders with the new-found wealth; some generals and their associates bought further popularity by offering the people a share in the state's economic fortune. Thus after Manlius Vulso's triumph in 187,

[his friends] were able to curry favour with the people as well [as Manlius Vulso]; at their instance a decree of the senate was passed that, with regard to the tax which had been paid by the people into the treasury, whatever portion of this was in arrears should be paid out of the money which had been carried in the triumph.³²

Twenty years later, in Cicero's words, Aemilius Paullus "brought into [the] treasury so much money that the spoils of a single general did away with the need for a tax on property in Rome for all time to come."³³

As the returns on the consulship grew more apparent, in terms of prestige and personal revenue, competition for the office escalated, and rivalry for the censorship, a path to long-term glory, kept pace.³⁴ From the end of the third century, praetors began to command in the field with increasing autonomy from the consuls and they too could earn triumphs. This adjustment to the command structure, designed to manage the many fronts of war, exacerbated matters: with an eye on a consulship, praetors stood to gain from exploiting their successes aggressively, especially when, in 197, their number increased from four (from 227) to six, and the office may have become a prerequisite for a consulship.³⁵ In turn, enhanced competition for the consulship put pressure on those in the lower magistracies to excel, and this across-the-board intensification of rivalry resulted in new strategies for winning votes. Electoral bribery (*ambitus*) reared its head and, because hospitality entailed an obligation of repayment, people spent lavishly on banquets and entertainments.³⁶ For many aristocratic families, long-standing bonds of patronage had ensured a measure of control over clients in public and private life, and guaranteed their votes; *ambitus* weakened those bonds, allowing those without clients to break the stranglehold of the political elite on the voting bloc. For the electorate, in turn, bribery was as liberating as it was profitable;³⁷ for those who deployed aggressive tactics, support at the polls was obtainable.

The heightened stature of generals returning from campaign put their peers on alert, and the senate repeatedly obstructed them over their triumphs and in their subsequent magistracies.³⁸ At the same time, the new attitudes seeping into Rome posed a challenge to political equilibrium. Later authors relay a sense of unease in moralizing tones: Greek culture, they claim, was a corrupting force, responsible at least in part for the erosion of Republican ideals.³⁹ If, for Livy, the onset of Rome's Hellenization came with Claudius Marcellus' ovation over Syracuse, Pliny, who equated the trend toward Hellenization with a sudden, debilitating taste for luxury, laid special blame at the feet of the Scipios, Manlius Vulso, and Mummius; Velleius Paterculus, a turn-of-the-era historian, stressed that a love of luxury in turn bred a lassitude that dulled Rome's military edge.⁴⁰ The senate's response was to take measures to circumscribe and protect an ill-defined "Romanness," in religion as in matters of life-style, to reassert political and social order and to control entry to the senatorial class by outsiders. One voice was louder than the rest: elected censor in 184 against fierce competition, Cato, a new man



Fig. 3.1 Map of Rome, ca. 217–134 (Penelope Davies, Onur Öztürk, and Bogdan Perzyński)

with old-fashioned values, spoke out against practices he deemed a threat to the dignity of the Republic and the laws and consensus at its heart; he took all classes equally to task, purging the senate list, raising taxes, and seeking out malefactors for prosecution.⁴¹

The years immediately thereafter saw a rash of restrictive measures, and their frequent reiteration suggests that equilibrium was elusive. A *lex de ambitu* of 181 curbed bribery, with a follow-up law in 159; laws in 182 and 162 controlled banquets, and in a related issue a *lex annalis* of 180 limited expenditures on games to prevent aediles from buying votes through lavish entertainments.⁴² For Livy and others, these restrictions aimed to preserve ancient virtue and check luxury among the elite; but they also stalled the ascent of wealthy commoners and lesser aristocrats, while reinforcing traditional systems of patronage.⁴³ Additional laws mitigated some of the causes of rivalry: a *lex Baebia* of 181 trimmed the praetors from six to four in alternate years; a *lex Villia* of ca. 180 instituted a mandatory two-year gap between patrician magistracies (the *biennium*), and the same law probably set minimum ages for curule office.⁴⁴ Taken together, these regulations acknowledged shifts in public life: aspiring magistrates were pushing the limits of behavior acceptable to those already in power, and traditional patronage networks were fraying.

If the upper echelons prospered, the condition of those in the lower rungs of society is hard to chronicle.

The urban population probably soared around mid-century, due, perhaps, to a virtual cessation of Roman colonization after the founding of Luna in 177, to the relocation of small farmers as the wealthy invested in rural properties for large slave-run estates, or to growing numbers of manumitted slaves.⁴⁵ At the same time, under-employment probably spiked when large armies made their way back from Greece and Carthage and when public works slowed after the completion of the Aqua Marcia in the late 140s.⁴⁶ On one issue the populace raised its voice. As war with Spain dragged on, men grew resistant to military service, and this posed a new challenge to senatorial authority.⁴⁷ When Licinius Lucullus proposed a levy in 151, tribunes cast him into prison along with his co-consul, A. Postumius Albinus; a similar event occurred in 138, and the years between 151 and 134 saw recurrent strife between tribunes and the senatorial majority.⁴⁸ Among several failed tribunician ventures were significant successes, such as improved army conditions, the institution of a permanent court in 149 to try magistrates accused of extortion by allies and subject peoples and, in 139–137, the secret ballot.⁴⁹ Though tribunes did not enjoy high status, lacked comprehensive policy-driven programs, and seem, on the whole, to have championed the designs of others, measures to rein them in nevertheless bear witness to their growing autonomy, and their defiance of the senate's authority was a sign of its weakening hold.⁵⁰ Transformation was in the air.

New construction:	3.24 Basilica Porcia	3.47 <i>Porticus extra portam Trigeminam inter lignarios</i>
3.1 Temple of Venus Erycina	3.25 Macellum	3.48 Temple of Hercules (<i>Aemiliana</i>)
3.2 Temple under the Theater-Portico	3.26 Basilica Fulvia	3.49 Temple of Iuventas
Complex of Pompey	3.28 Porticus from the Temple of Saturn	3.50 <i>Fornix</i> of Stertinius
3.3 Temple D, Largo Argentina (Nymphs?)	to the senators' assembly room on	Aqua Marcia
3.4 Temple on via delle Botteghe Oscure	the Capitoline	Road from Porta Capena to the Forum Boarium
(Lares Permarini?)	3.29 Southwest Building	
3.5 <i>Porticus extra portam Fontinalem</i>	3.30 Basilica Sempronia	Restoration:
3.6 Atrium Libertatis	3.31 Temple of Faunus	1.5 Villa Publica
3.7 Temple of Mars	3.32 Temple of Veiovis	1.7 Temple of Apollo Medicus
3.8 <i>Porticus post navalia et ad fanum Herculis</i>	3.33 Temple of Jupiter Iurarius	1.9 Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus
3.9 Porticus of Octavius	3.34 <i>Porticus post Spei ad Tiberim et ad aedem</i>	1.17 Regia
3.10 Temple of Hercules Musarum	<i>Apollonis</i>	1.20 Temple of Castor
3.11 Temple of Juno Regina	3.35 Temple of Pietas	1.21 Lacus Iuturnae
3.12 Temple of Jupiter Stator	3.36 Temple of Juno Sospita	1.26 Temple of Mater Matuta
3.13 Porticus of Metellus	3.37 Tiber embankments	1.27 Temple of Fortuna
3.14 Temple of Fortuna Equestris	3.38 <i>Fornices</i> of Stertinius	1.29 Ara Maxima
3.15 Temple of Diana	3.39 Monument of Scipio Aemilianus?	2.5 Temple A, Largo Argentina (Iuturna?)
3.16 Temple of Mens?	3.40 Temple of Felicitas	2.6 Temple C, Largo Argentina (Feronia?)
3.17 Temple of Venus Erycina?	3.41 Pons Aemilia	2.27 Temple of Spes
3.18 Structure above the Aequialium	3.42 Round Temple by the Tiber (Hercules	2.29 Temple of Portunus
3.19 Porticus of Scipio Nasica	Victor?)	2.40 Temples of Honos and Virtus
3.20 <i>Fornix</i> of Scipio Africanus	3.43 Temple of Magna Mater	3.27 Temple of Penates
3.21 <i>Fornix</i> of Calpurnius	3.44 Temple of Victoria Virgo?	Fortification walls
3.22 Temple of Veiovis	3.45 <i>Porticus extra portam Trigeminam (I)</i>	Cloaca Maxima
3.23 Temple of Concordia	3.46 <i>Porticus extra portam Trigeminam (II)</i>	Via Appia

Fig. 3.1 (cont.)

RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS

Hannibal's invasion engendered change. Across the board, public building projects grew scarce, and in the direst years, the senate resumed control of temple initiatives through the Sibylline Books. At high points in the conflict a few generals vowed temples, but it was not until victory at Zama and deployment to battlefronts in Greece, Asia Minor, Spain, and Gaul that religious construction resumed, and did so apace: more new temples were erected in the first half of the second century than in any other period of the Republic, and many others were restored. Honorand choices were conservative, but not so design: innovation flourished, for new construction and restorations alike, serving the goals of ambitious individuals on the one hand, and the conservative core of the senate on the other (Fig. 3.1).

Agents and Honorands: the Second Punic War

On the heels of the disasters at Trebia and Lake Trasimene, the senate appointed Fabius Maximus Verrucosus dictator. He declared that the reason for Flaminius' defeat was his dereliction of sacred duties, and, in Livy's words, exhorted his colleagues "to enquire of the gods themselves how the displeasure of the gods might be appeased, prevailed with them to do what is rarely done except when dreadful prodigies have been announced, and order the *Xviri* to consult the Sibylline Books." The Books urged a litany of propitiations that Romans executed to the letter and with zeal: a reiteration of a pre-war vow to Mars, games for Jupiter, a supplication and a *lectisternium*, and, in the event that they proved victorious against Hannibal and the Gauls and that the Republic returned to its pre-war state, a Sacred Spring (a sacrifice of all animals born that season). And in the first known instance since the Pyrrhic War, the Books advocated temples, in honor of Venus Erycina and Mens (Thought).⁵¹

As fear steadily mounted, with catastrophe at Cannae, fires, floods, and sinister omens, the senate insisted on punctiliousness with regard to sacred architecture, often designating special officers to shoulder necessary responsibilities. Outstanding temple vows were scrutinized. Thus in 217, Livy says,

[Romans] were troubled, too, that the contract for the temple of Concord, which the praetor Lucius Manlius had vowed two years before in Gaul, during the mutiny of the soldiers, had hitherto not been let. Accordingly the city praetor, Marcus Aemilius, appointed for the purpose two commissioners, Gaius Pupius and Caeso Quinctius Flamininus, who arranged to have the temple built on the citadel.

The following year, the senate appointed M. and C. Atilius *Iviri* to consecrate it.⁵² Meanwhile the pontiffs opposed Claudius Marcellus' vow of 222 to rededicate the Temple of Honos at Porta Capena as a temple to Honos and Virtus, citing reasons of propriety:

[In 208] Marcellus was detained by religious scruples one after another, as they were impressed on his mind. One of them was that, although he had vowed at Clastidium, in the Gallic War, a temple to Honour and Manliness, the dedication of the temple was being blocked by the pontiffs. These said that one cella was not properly dedicated to more than a single divinity, since, if it should be struck by lightning, or some portent should occur in it, expiation would be difficult, because it could not be known to which god sacrifice should be offered; for, with the exception of certain deities, sacrifice of a single victim to two gods was not proper. Accordingly a temple of Valour was added, its construction being hastened. Even so, the temples were not dedicated by Marcellus in person.⁵³

Claudius Marcellus died on the battlefield in 208, and his homonymous son dedicated the temples three years later.⁵⁴ The senate also attended diligently to damaged buildings. In 213, a fire blazed for a day and two nights, and devoured the Forum Boarium and the commercial district. In 212:

Two boards of three [were elected], one to recover sacred vessels and register temple gifts, the other to rebuild the Temple of Fortune and that of Mater Matuta inside Porta Carmentalis, and that of Hope outside the gate – temples that had been destroyed by fire the preceding year.⁵⁵

A thin tufo paving at S. Omobono, and tufo foundations for columns inside the temples, may belong to this restoration.⁵⁶

When, despite all these acts of contrition, and despite a positive turn in the city's fortunes at Metaurus, Rome was still unable to drive Hannibal out of Italy, when frequent showers of stones (meteorites, perhaps) pelted the city, and, further afield, the Peace of Phoenice went against Roman interests, according to Livy another consultation of the Sibylline Books in 205 persuaded the senate to introduce Cybele (Magna Mater) from Asia Minor.⁵⁷ Detailed to collect her, ambassadors paused first at Delphi, where the oracle assured them of the assistance of King Attalus of Pergamon; on their arrival in his court he escorted them to Cybele's sanctuary and offered them a sacred black stone representing the goddess, which they transported to Rome. Pending a temple's construction, it was stored in the Temple of Victoria (Fig. 3.2).⁵⁸



Fig. 3.2 Temple of Magna Mater, vowed in 205, podium on the right, actual state. In the foreground: foundations sometimes associated with the Temple of Victoria Virgo, vowed in 195 (Penelope Davies su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Soprintendenza Speciale per il Colosseo, il Museo Romano e l'Area archeologica di Roma)

These new foundations probably served the war effort. Mens was deliberative; it was Thought, so Fabius Maximus put about, that had abandoned Flaminius at Lake Trasimene; Thought was his own strategy for victory.⁵⁹ As impetuous as Mens was calm, Venus Erycina was the principal deity of Eryx, on the west coast of Sicily, her sanctuary the most famous on the island. During the final phase of the First Punic War, Roman troops had garrisoned within its massive stone walls, which, despite seizing the city for his base of operations, Hannibal's father, Hamilcar Barca, had proven unable to capture. It was to Eryx that the Carthaginian admiral, Hanno, had been headed with supplies when Valerius Falto cut off his fleet in 241 and decided the war. In past engagements, then, Venus Erycina seemed to smile on Rome despite prior allegiance to Carthage, and if appropriately honored in a second Punic war might do so again.⁶⁰

The introduction of her cult also played into a diplomatic strategy. One tradition, preserved by Diodorus Siculus, held that Aeneas of Troy had founded her sanctuary:

Aeneas, the son of Aphrodite, when at a later time he was on his way to Italy and came to anchor off the island, embellished the sanctuary, since it was that of his own mother, with many votive offerings; after him the Sicilians paid honour to the goddess for many generations and kept continually embellishing it with both magnificent sacrifices and votive offerings; and after that time

the Carthaginians, when they had become the masters of a part of Sicily, never failed to hold the goddess in special honour. And last of all the Romans, when they had subdued all Sicily, surpassed all people who had preceded them in the honours they paid to her. And it was with good reason that they did so, for since they traced back their ancestry to her and for this reason were successful in their undertakings, they were but requiting her who was the cause of their aggrandisement with such expressions of gratitude and honours as they owed to her.⁶¹

Since at least the second half of the fourth century, Rome's political elite had professed descent from Aeneas, and by emphasizing this during the Second Punic War, they could claim a common heritage with the cities of northwest Sicily, and elicit aid from Greeks throughout the Mediterranean against a shared enemy.⁶² A similar strategy probably inspired the introduction of Magna Mater, whom Romans assimilated with Rhea Silvia and subsumed into their mythical origins: from her home, variously located near Troy, on Mount Ida, at Pergamon or Pessinus, Cybele had witnessed Rome's beginnings; a call for her help and an appeal to the Pergamenes, who characterized her as a protector of cities, alerted the Greeks to be at the ready. In the aftermath of the Peace of Phoenice, moreover, reverence of Cybele may have reassured nearby Greek states of Rome's loyalty, while warning Philip of its continued interest in the region.⁶³

Though they were senatorial initiatives, these vows were still enmeshed in gentilician rivalries. Fabius Maximus vowed the Temple of Venus Erycina himself “because the Books of Fate had given out that he whose authority in the state was paramount should make the vow,”⁶⁴ and it conveniently evoked his grandfather’s introduction of Venus (Obsequens) at an earlier zenith of the family’s history.⁶⁵ In 215 he also leant on the senate for permission to dedicate the temple, which he received as a *Ilvir*.⁶⁶ Mens, in turn, legitimized his novel delaying tactic for dealing with Hannibal, which was radically at odds with Claudius Marcellus’ offensive approach. When, despite the initial misgivings of many of his peers, it had proven effective, he took the *cognomen* Cunctator (the Delayer).⁶⁷ The vow to Mens fell to T. Otacilius Crassus, who also dedicated it two years later as *Ilvir*, praetor of the fleet in Sicily, and scion of a plebeian *gens* from Benevento, he was Fabius Maximus’ protégé and relative by marriage.⁶⁸ For their part, the Cornelii Scipiones, who had grown in stature from Scipio Africanus’ campaigns against Hasdrubal in Spain, gained further prestige at the arrival of Magna Mater: in Livy’s account, when the Sibylline Books urged Romans to designate their *vir optimus* to greet the sacred stone, they singled out a young P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, son of Scipio Calvus and cousin of Scipio Africanus.⁶⁹ In the meantime, the Fabii and the Scipiones also worked to contain Claudius Marcellus. Himself a prominent member of the pontifical college, Fabius Maximus probably colluded with other priests to delay the temple to Honos and Virtus, which threatened to replace his own Temple of Honos.⁷⁰ And Ovid’s elaboration on Magna Mater’s *adventus*, though purportedly honoring Claudia Quinta, may also preserve vestiges of a Claudian controversy; accused of indecency, she used her belt to pull free the beached ship that bore the sacred stone, while beseeching the goddess to confirm her chastity.⁷¹

Alongside these oracular initiatives, a handful of generals vowed temples for battlefield successes. Ovid believed that Claudius Marcellus conquered Eryx as well as Syracuse, and pledged a second temple to Venus Erycina, a match, perhaps, for his rival’s.⁷² At the battle of Metaurus, Livius Salinator vowed a temple to Iuventas, personifying youth;⁷³ and in the event that he prevailed against Hannibal near Croton in 204, P. Sempronius Tuditanus promised a temple to Fortuna Primigenia, the chief goddess of Praeneste.⁷⁴ With these vows, Livius Salinator and Sempronius Tuditanus acknowledged the role of underage and allied recruits in securing their victories; for as in the

Second Samnite War, a debilitating manpower shortage, coupled with the allies’ reluctance to supply soldiers, had resulted in recruitment problems, forcing Rome to dip into untapped resources such as youths in their boyhood togas, slaves, and criminals, and to request soldiers from maritime colonies exempt from the levy.⁷⁵

No aediles vowed temples during the Second Punic War. Still, they remained active in the religious sphere: like Paetus and Fulvius Curvus in 296, the plebeian aediles of 210 (Q. Catius and L. Porcius Licinus) and 208 (C. Mamilius and M. Caecilius) converted revenue from fines into votive dedications at the Temple of Ceres, opting for statues rather than bowls, and in 204, the curule aediles C. Livius and M. Servilius Geminus placed a gilded *quadriga* on the Capitol.⁷⁶

Of the temples vowed during the war, none but the Temples of Venus Erycina and Mens is known to have been dedicated until after Hannibal’s defeat. Money may not have been entirely at issue: during the last decade of the third century, Rome had begun to mint silver *denarii*, possibly thanks to income from Spanish mines, and Livy even cites 204 as a year of modest financial recovery, when the senate started to reimburse private citizens for sums borrowed in 210.⁷⁷ Indeed as a censor that year, Livius Salinator let a contract for his temple to Iuventas and, with his colleague Claudius Nero, for the temple to Magna Mater.⁷⁸ It was probably the manpower shortage that hampered construction; not until 191 were these temples inaugurated (Iuventas by C. Licinius Lucullus as *Ilvir*, Magna Mater by M. Iunius Brutus), and the temple to Fortuna Primigenia only a few years earlier (in 194, by *Ilvir* Q. Marcius Ralla).⁷⁹

Agents and Honorands: after Zama

Beginning in the 190s, as new vows added to the backlog, Rome was awash with temple construction and embellishment.⁸⁰ The commotion of building activity, a mark of normalcy, must have stabilized morale; and just as it signaled the senate’s restored confidence, so it probably inspired trust in the senate’s government.

In a clear sign of the crisis receding, the senate apparently ceased initiating temple vows through the Sibylline Books. Conversely, immediately after Zama came a spike in aedilician spending on architecture and its ornamentation. Plebeian aediles of 197, Acilius Glabrio and C. Laelius offered three bronze statues at the Temple of Ceres, Liber, and Libera; those of the following year, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus and C. Scribonius Curio, spent



Fig. 3.3 Temple of Veiovis on the Capitoline, vowed in 196, porch columns (left) and entrance (right), actual state. Rome, Musei Capitolini (Penelope Davies)

finis on illegal grazers on a temple to Faunus, which Domitius Ahenobarbus dedicated two years later as a praetor.⁸¹ In 194, M. Aemilius Lepidus and L. Aemilius Paulus set up gilded shields on the roof of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, again from fines on grazers, and M. Tuccius and P. Iunius Brutus used fines levied on usurers to mount gilded *quadrigae* on the Capitoline and twelve gilded shields in the cella of Jupiter.⁸² Five years later, the curule aediles P. Claudius Pulcher and S. Sulpicius Galba installed a dozen more gilded shields there from fines on grain-hoarders; their plebeian colleague, Fulvius Flaccus, dedicated two gilded statues at the Temple of Ceres, Liber, and Libera.⁸³

There are probably several factors to explain the aediles' heightened activity in this discreet period. One was a glut of entertainments during the Second Punic War. To existing games (*ludi Romani*, *ludi plebei*, *ludi Floreales*, and periodic *ludi Tarentini*), *ludi Apollinares* were added in 212 and celebrated each year until becoming annual in 208. First attested in 202/201, *ludi Cereales* may have begun a little earlier, and copious ad hoc games and *instaurationes* (repetitions of *ludi* necessitated by procedural irregularities or inauspicious signs) further boosted the numbers.⁸⁴ Still more games followed the war: *ludi Megalenses* for Magna Mater from 194 or 191, and *ludi Iuventatis*, established with the Temple of Iuventas in 191.⁸⁵ All of these, save the praetors' *ludi Apollinares*, fell to the aediles to

provide, resulting in heightened stature and a new habit of public exposure.⁸⁶ Changes to the command structure in 197 probably also tightened competition across all the magistracies, making aediles anxious to exploit opportunities for display; and a relative scarcity of censorial building suggests that confidence in the treasury's recovery was slow to heal, leaving aediles, with their independent source of public income, uniquely poised to spend. As before, targeted policing could elicit favor from the populace at large, on whom the war had exacted its cruelest toll, and whose old concerns – disruption of agriculture, and debt – had resurfaced:⁸⁷ thus aediles pursued those whose misconduct exacerbated non-elite problems, and especially honored the nature god Faunus, who could oversee the regulation of pastureland.

The Temple of Faunus aside, and perhaps a temple to the Nymphs, vowed sometime after 167 in association with water provision and the Aqua Marcia,⁸⁸ all known foundations from the end of the Second Punic War and the age of the Gracchi were battlefield vows. An abrupt shift in emphasis differentiates these temples from those founded in the lead-up to the Hannibalic war: instead of introducing new cults, generals turned to established Italic gods (albeit sometimes in a fresh capacity), many of them already worshipped in Rome.⁸⁹ Thus, while fighting Gauls in 200, L. Furius Purpureo likely vowed a temple to Jupiter Iurarius (dedicated by *Ilvir* C. Servilius in 194), and another

(or two) in 196 to Veiovis or Vediovis (dedicated in 192 by *Ilvir* Marcius Ralla) (Fig. 3.3);⁹⁰ Veiovis' characterization as a lesser manifestation of Jupiter may explain his attraction for Furius Purpureo, who was first to triumph in the lesser role of praetor. In 197, during a conflict with the Insubri, C. Cornelius Cethegus vowed a temple to Juno Sospita, chief goddess of Lavinium, already attested by antefixes on the Palatine, and dedicated it as censor in 194; to mark his Spanish campaign in 195 Cato promised a temple to Victoria Virgo, which he dedicated in 193; and as he routed Antiochus' fleet near Myonnesus in 190, M. Aemilius Regillus, praetor of the armada, turned to the tutelary Lares, whom he characterized as Permarini, guardians of sailors and the sea.⁹¹ In a battle against the Ligurians in 187, Aemilius Lepidus vowed Rome's second temple to Diana, and a second to Juno Regina, dedicating them, as well as his relative's temple to the Lares Permarini, during his censorship in 179;⁹² and in 184, in another conflict with the Ligurians, Porcius Licinus pledged a temple to Venus Erycina, perhaps the third in Rome, which his homonymous son probably dedicated as *Ilvir*. Having deployed unconventional cavalry tactics to defeat the Celtiberians in 180, Fulvius Flaccus vowed a temple to Fortuna Equestris, which evoked the involvement of his ancestor, Fulvius Flaccus, at the Temple of Fortuna at S. Omobono in ca. 264; he dedicated it in the second year of his censorship in 173.⁹³ A temple to Fortuna Respiciens may also have been built (below), probably after 167, since it is missing from Livy's text.⁹⁴ Apparently three temples honored Hercules: a first as Hercules Musarum (of the Muses) after M. Fulvius Nobilior's conquest of Ambracia, city of Herakles, in 189;⁹⁵ a second after Scipio Aemilianus' razing of Carthage in 146, known as the *aedes Aemiliana Herculis*;⁹⁶ and a third as Hercules Victor after Mummius' destruction of Corinth in the same year.⁹⁷ To celebrate the conquest of Macedonia in 148, Caecilius Metellus vowed a second temple to Jupiter Stator, a cult previously associated with the Fabii and a challenge to the Scipiones' long-cultivated affinity with Jupiter Optimus Maximus; and when D. Iunius Brutus Callaicus triumphed over northwestern Spain and Lusitania in 136–135, he vowed a second temple to Mars, recalling a tradition that his ancestor, Iunius Brutus, had been instrumental in re-establishing the Ara Martis at the start of the Republic.⁹⁸ Few generals selected new divine qualities; those who did acknowledge the vicissitudes of fortune that Rome had learnt to its cost to respect: at Thermopylae in 191, Acilius Glabrio vowed a temple to Pietas, Pietas, dedicated by his son as *Ilvir* in 181, and fighting the

Celtiberians in 151, Licinius Lucullus vowed a temple to Felicitas (Chance).⁹⁹

The patterns of agency and honorand suggest that, as well as bestowing prestige on the sponsor's family, these vows played a role in negotiating the challenges Rome faced during the Second Punic War and in the half-century or so thereafter. Commanders retreated from the earlier practice of honoring deities and divine qualities that blatantly individualized temples; conspicuously missing, too, were gods from overseas, even those, like Magna Mater, whom Rome could claim as part of its nascent history. Choosing instead to honor Italian divinities with a history of showing favor, they emphasized the state over the individual. Some, like Juno Sospita, were favorites of the Latin and Italian allies, who had fought with Rome against Hannibal, and the adoption of their cults fostered community.¹⁰⁰ The majority of vowers were generals charged with controlling Gaul and Spain, most of them from old patrician families, and others, such as Cato, conservative by inclination; in their eyes, established honorands may have served to exalt a Republican propriety in the face of sensationalist *triumphatores* returning from eastern campaigns.

The emphasis on known divinities also hints at a preoccupation with a new problem. With growing hegemony and exposure to foreign influences, Romans were forced to navigate a path between maintaining a measure of permeability in their cultural boundaries, on the one hand, and, on the other, preserving the national identity that underpinned their vision of the *res publica*. Conservatives credited much of Rome's past success to a distinctively Roman piety, rooted in long tradition, which Acilius Glabrio honored in his temple,¹⁰¹ and as public life came under scrutiny in the 180s and after, a string of suppressive measures suggests a fresh groundswell of senatorial control and traditional moralism in matters of religion. The most conspicuous episode, in 186, was the senate's prohibition of Bacchanalian celebrations, first in Rome and then throughout the peninsula, but it was not an isolated incident.¹⁰² In 181, a scribe purportedly unearthed a chest on the Janiculum, once the property of Numa, and the senate called for the seven Latin books of pontifical law and seven Greek books on Pythagorean philosophy it contained to be publicly incinerated, for fear that they were "subversive of religion."¹⁰³ And over the next several years, practitioners of foreign religions were expelled from the city, as were philosophers and rhetors.¹⁰⁴ In the meantime, Cato and the early annalists took to penning Rome's history in

Latin rather than Greek, recording their own versions of the ancient rites.¹⁰⁵ *Romanitas* was circumscribed.

Fulvius Nobilior's temple to Hercules of the Muses strikes a special note in the context of these negotiations on foreign influence. Hercules was not an unprecedented choice for a general's votive temple, but his coupling with the Greek goddesses of inspiration was novel, and drew conspicuously on Hellenic culture, which Fulvius Nobilior purportedly embraced: for his triumphal games he brought Greek actors to Rome and commissioned the first athletic contests in a Greek style, merging the Greek and Roman worlds just as Ennius, who accompanied Fulvius Nobilior's forces on the Ambracian campaign, introduced the dactylic hexameter of Greek epic into Roman verse in his *Annales*.¹⁰⁶ Like Claudius Marcellus before him, Fulvius Nobilior seems to have advocated that Romans should absorb Greek culture into their own, allowing Roman military values to coexist with an artistic sensibility they stereotyped as Greek; indeed the third-century CE panegyrist, Eumenius, credited Fulvius Nobilior with adding the arts to masculine virtue, just as Ennius transformed warfare into art in the *Ambracia*.¹⁰⁷ The fusion was fleeting: by 146, Scipio Aemilianus and Mummius had restored Hercules to his fully martial character.

Hand in hand with new vows, and at the instigation of diverse magistrates, came an extensive set of temple restorations and embellishments, which is consistent with an emphasis on piety and tradition; and many more must have escaped the archaeological and literary record. Livy records that Aemilius Lepidus, as censor in 179, let a contract "for the cleaning and whitening of the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline and of the columns around it,"¹⁰⁸ while in the same year, according to Festus, new steps were erected in front of the Temple of the Penates on the Velian, of unknown foundation date; funded with money realized from the sale of property belonging to a pair of brigands, Numerius Equitius Cuppes and Manius Macellus, the work should probably be attributed to aediles.¹⁰⁹ A renovation at the Temple of Apollo Medicus probably dates to the first half or the middle of the second century.¹¹⁰ A second phase of construction seems to have occurred at the precinct of Portunus, where the terrain was raised and retaining walls erected to accommodate a new ground level in the port zone (Fig. 2.2),¹¹¹ and at the Temple of Castor a substantial restoration took place between 200 and 117 (Fig. 1.10).¹¹² Ample platforms of *tuffo lionato* from Aniene were built in front of Temples A and C, Largo Argentina, with broad steps for access, and new altars



Figs. 3.4a–b Altar at Temple D, Largo Argentina, ca. 180 or 151, actual state (Penelope Davies)

set perpendicular to the temples (Figs. 3.4a–b and 3.5). In a further building phase at Temple A, perhaps precipitated by fire damage, the upper part of the podium was encased in a new podium with upper and lower *cyma reversa* mouldings.¹¹³ Beneath S. Maria in Cosmedin, a colossal podium of Aniene tuffo reveted with travertine may represent a monumentalization of the Ara Maxima, perhaps by Scipio Aemilianus;¹¹⁴ the Regia was probably restored after a fire in 148;¹¹⁵ and some time after 146 Caecilius Metellus restored Aemilius Lepidus' Temple of Juno Regina, which may have suffered lightning damage in 156.¹¹⁶ Mummius contracted to gild the ceiling of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus in his censorship in 142 – raising eyebrows at the first occurrence of such a luxury in Rome – and Pliny places the city's first *opus scutulatum* pavement in the same temple after the start of the Third Punic War, perhaps also at Mummius' instigation.¹¹⁷ At the Temple of Veiovis on the Capitoline a renovation occurred around the third quarter of the century;¹¹⁸ and modifications at the Regia seem to have provided a small tribunal facing the Forum.¹¹⁹



Fig. 3.5 Altar at Temple A, Largo Argentina, *ca.* 180 or 151, actual state (Penelope Davies)

Location

All the foundations following consultations of the Sibylline Books were on the Capitoline and Palatine hills (Fig. 3.1). The temples to Venus Erycina and Mens probably stood in the *area Capitolina* (possibly the temples shown on fragments 31a–c of the marble plan: Figs. 1.26 and 3.8).¹²⁰ Side by side, according to Varro, and separated by a small channel, they were a by-the-book commentary on Claudius Marcellus' problematic proposal for a single temple to Honos and Virtus.¹²¹ Nearby, on the Arx, was the Temple of Concordia, vowed by Manlius Vulso but overseen by *Ilviri* at the senate's insistence; it may have watched over the Via Flaminia to Gallic territory from the citadel's peak, to the north of S. Maria in Aracoeli, where an ashlar wall was revealed in 1889, or beneath the Ara della Patria;¹²² less likely hypotheses place it on the foundations in the Ara Coeli garden (Fig. 1.19) or at the foot of the Arx on the site of a later temple to Concordia (Fig. 4.2).¹²³ The Temple of Magna Mater stood adjacent and at a slight angle to the Temple of Victoria on the southwest corner of the Palatine, and a wall defined a sanctuary around the two buildings.¹²⁴ These hills were Rome's oldest settlement sites, and together represented its foundational heart; prestigious and conservative selections, probably governed by religious propriety, they also

signaled the acceptance of Magna Mater and Venus Erycina as fully Roman divinities.

More variety is apparent in individuals' foundations, both during and after the Punic War. The Temple of Faunus occupied a site on Tiber Island between the Ospedale Fatebenefratelli and the river, where stone blocks from a later phase survive. By this time Romans probably conceived of the island as a non-elite zone, crowded with the sick seeking cures at the Temple of Aesculapius, and this gave the aediles' populist strategy extra punch. Close by, too, was Furius Purpureo's putative temple to Jupiter Iurarius.¹²⁵ Cato's temple to Victoria Virgo stood on the Palatine, its great antiquity as a settlement site consistent with his conservatism,¹²⁶ while for their temples of Venus Erycina and Fortuna Primigenia, Porcius Licinus and Sempronius Tuditanus may have chosen the Quirinal (where unidentified podia are sometimes linked with them);¹²⁷ plebeians both, they may have chosen the region for its increasingly plebeian character.

An overwhelming concentration of temples lined the Via Triumphalis, which suggests that, in terms of function, most of them served to assert individual prestige, as before the Second Punic War. Some were clustered with existing temples, but new nodes also developed as space grew sparse and as the cityscape evolved to offer fresh



Fig. 3.6 Temple in via delle Botteghe Oscure, second century, actual state (Penelope Davies)

prospects for visibility. At the start of the route were the Temples of the Lares Permarini and the Nymphs (probably the temple in via delle Botteghe Oscure, Fig. 3.6, and Temple D, Largo Argentina, Fig. 3.7, though possibly the other way round).¹²⁸ For Aemilius Regillus' Temple of the Lares Permarini, this part of the Campus Martius was especially advantageous since the Porticus Aemilia, just built by Aemilius Lepidus and Aemilius Paullus, aediles of 193 (see below), debouched nearby; in fact, the area acquired a sufficiently gentilian character to merit the toponym *Aemiliana*.¹²⁹ Literary sources place the Temple of Fortuna Equestris near the later Theater of Pompey, and architectural terracottas from an unidentified temple, probably dating to the first half of the second century, also came to light in the Theater's concrete fabric.¹³⁰ The Circus Flaminius became a new hub, guaranteed

a steady crowd by year-round plebeian activity. First to preside over its raised north side were the competing monuments of mutual antagonists Fulvius Nobilior and Aemilius Lepidus: the Temple of Hercules Musarum was located by sixteenth-century excavations near the monastery of S. Ambrogio, and appears next to the Temple of Juno Regina on the marble plan (fragment 31bb and a Renaissance drawing of a lost fragment: Figs. 3.8–3.9a).¹³¹ The Temple of Diana must have stood nearby, as did the Temple of Mars, identified near S. Salvatore in Campo in the nineteenth century.¹³² In the Forum Holitorium, the route passed the temple to Pietas, traces of which were found to the west of the Temple of Janus (Fig. 3.10), and remains of a first construction phase at the central temple at S. Nicola in Carcere probably honored Juno Sospita (Fig. 2.15).¹³³ Temples also began to hug the north and east borders of the Forum Boarium (Fig. 1.27): the Temple of Felicitas where parades crossed the Velabrum, veering south from the Forum (its later fabric possibly surviving beneath S. Giorgio in Velabro);¹³⁴ and facing the oncoming procession, in a zone long associated with Hercules, near the Ara Maxima by Porta Trigemina, the Round Temple by the Tiber, probably Mummius' temple to Hercules Victor. Scipio Aemilianus' temple to Hercules, identified with remains of a circular building unearthed northeast of S. Maria in Cosmedin during the reign of Sixtus IV, and subsequently demolished,¹³⁵ was also near the port area, now closely associated with Aemilian initiatives (see below). The Temple of Iuventas took its place with earlier triumphal temples on the Aventine side of the Circus Maximus, an apt site for celebrating non-elite recruits, and a substructure on the east slope of the Palatine probably supported a temple (to Fortuna Respicien?) overlooking the Via Triumphalis as it moved from the Circus Maximus to the Sacra Via.¹³⁶ As before, there were no votive temples in the Forum. On the saddle between the Capitoline and the Arx are traces of a first phase of the temple to Veiovis, oriented southwest to face the road connecting the Capitolium and the Asylum;¹³⁷ just outside the *area Capitolina*, the spot may have seemed fitting for a lesser manifestation of Jupiter.

Design: Assertions of Individuality

Even if individualization is not so evident in honorand choice, other means of personalization flourished. There were still inscriptions, which could be lengthy and detailed. Livy's transcription of a text at the Temple of the



Fig. 3.7 Temple D, Largo Argentina, second century, actual state (Penelope Davies)

Lares Permarini (duplicated for additional impact at the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus) contains a wealth of information about the victory commemorated and Aemilius Regillus' role in achieving it:

Above the doors of the temple [of the Lares Permarini] a tablet was fixed bearing this inscription: "For finishing a great war, for subduing kings, this battle, fought for the purpose of winning peace, (gave victory) to Lucius Aemilius, the son of Marcus Aemilius ... as he left the field. Under his auspices and command, with his good fortune and generalship, in the area bounded by Ephesus, Samos and Chios, under the eyes of Antiochos himself, of all his army, his cavalry and his elephants, the fleet of king Antiochos, hitherto undefeated, was routed, shattered and put to flight, and there on that day forty-two ships were taken with all their crews. As a result of the finishing of this battle King Antiochos was defeated and his naval empire ... (overthrown). By reason of this victory he vowed a temple to the Lares of the Sea." A tablet to the same effect was set up in the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline above the doors.¹³⁸

Restorations were recorded, too.¹³⁹ Just below the focus of sacrifice on the altar at Temple C, Largo Argentina, bold letters name an *A. POSTVMIVS A. F A. N. ALBINVS DVOVIR LEGE PLAETORIA* (Fig. 3.4b), perhaps Aulus Postumius, consul in 180 (or his son, consul in 151); the *lex plaetoria* may have vested authority in the *Ilviri* to restore the altars of traditional cults.¹⁴⁰

In the renovated Temple of Apollo Medicus, where a new mosaic pavement was laid, an inscription framed by a rectangular border ran from the door to the base of the cult statue, stating in black tesserae against a white background that curule aediles financed and oversaw the work with money from fines: [...] *DILES. CVRVLES. MOLTATICO* [...] *OD. DEDERE. ESDEM. PROBAVERVNT* (Fig. 3.11).¹⁴¹ As on the altar, the inscription's placement made for conspicuous self-advertisement.

There were other kinds of text as well. Fulvius Nobilior installed a copy of the *Fasti* at the Temple of Hercules Musarum, as likely as not painted; it was probably the first calendar to list temple dedications along with the names of consuls and censors, a symbolic digest of Rome's history as recorded by the monuments of its heroes, and a distinguished lineage for his own intervention.¹⁴² Somewhat later, Cicero records, Iunius Brutus Callaicus "adorned the approaches to his temples and monuments with the verses of Attius," glorifying his noble descent and his deeds.¹⁴³

In some temples, non-figural paintings embellished the walls (as in the Temple of Castor, where fragments of First Style decoration survive), and in others the practice of personalization through figural paintings continued. Scipio Aemilianus probably hired M. Pacuvius for paintings at his Temple of Hercules.¹⁴⁴ Better known as a tragic poet, Pacuvius had already penned the *Paulus*, a *fabula praetexta*

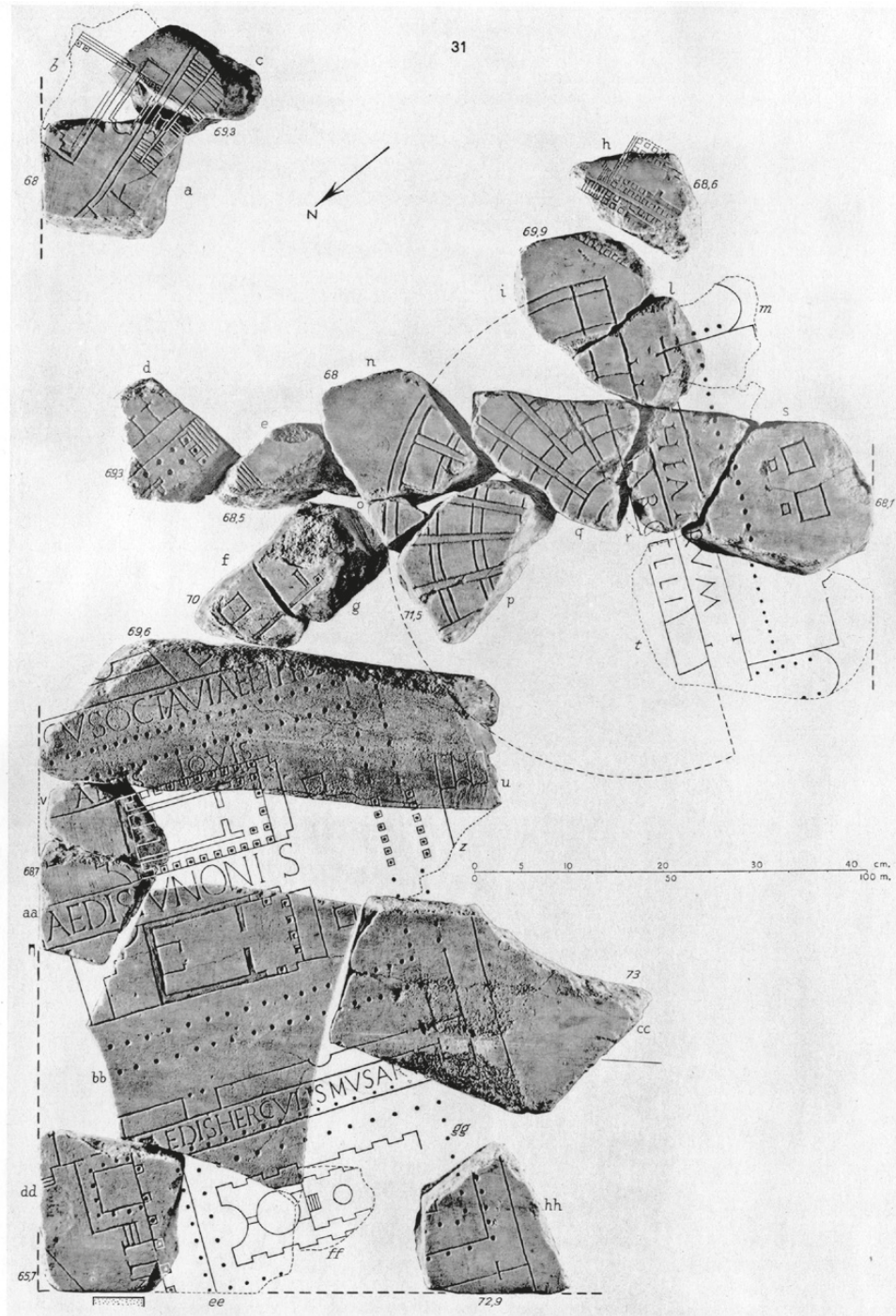


Fig. 3.8 *Forma Urbis Romae*, showing the edge of the Capitoline, the Forum Holitorium temples, the Temple of Apollo Sosianus (Medicus), the later Theater of Marcellus, the Porticus Octaviae (Metelli) with the Temples of Juno Regina and Jupiter Stator, and the Temple of Hercules Musarum. From Carettoni *et al.* 1960, plate 29 (© Roma, Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali)



Figs. 3.9a–b *Forma Urbis Romae*, fragments 31bb and 31dd, showing the Temple of Hercules Musarum and its precinct (Digital Forma Urbis Romae Project, Stanford University)

celebrating the victory of Scipio Aemilianus' natural father, Aemilius Paullus, at Pydna.¹⁴⁵ His images probably depicted the conquest of Carthage, to counter the bird's-eye views of the city that Hostilius Mancinus displayed in the Forum to boast of his exploits there.¹⁴⁶ The Sempronii preferred to decorate existing temples: when Ti. Sempronius Gracchus returned to Rome after defeating Carthaginian forces at Beneventum in 214, he commissioned a painting for his father's Temple of Jupiter Libertas



Fig. 3.10 Temple of Pietas, vowed in 191, excavation of the foundation and podium (Pier Luigi Tucci)

on the Aventine, depicting his volunteer army of slaves (a response to dwindling manpower) feasting in the streets as guests of the grateful Beneventans;¹⁴⁷ and in 174, having settled terms with Spain, Corsica, and Sardinia, his nephew Ti. Sempronius Gracchus installed a map of Sardinia in the Temple of Mater Matuta, which in turn recalled the image of Italy at Sempronius Gracchus' Temple of Tellus of *ca.* 268.¹⁴⁸ Sculpted portraits also played a role: Acilius Glabrio's son set a gilded bronze equestrian statue of his father alongside the Temple of Pietas when he dedicated it in 181, purportedly the first in Rome.¹⁴⁹ His filial piety appropriated Roman *pietas* as a family virtue, perhaps in response to his father's prosecution for extortion.¹⁵⁰

The most conspicuous innovations were in building design. For many temples of this time, evidence for design is non-existent, or so limited as to suggest little more than the familiar rectilinear footprint and high podium.¹⁵¹ In terms of materials, local tufo probably continued to dominate, as well as terracotta ornaments, as evidenced by a set of pedimental sculptures discovered



Fig. 3.11 Mosaic inscription in the Temple of Apollo Medicus, first half or middle of the second century (Penelope Davies)



Fig. 3.12 Terracotta pediment found on via S. Gregorio, end of the second century? Rome, Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Clementino Caffarelli, Sala del Frontone (Archivio Fotografico dei Musei Capitolini)



Fig. 3.13 Figure of Mars from the pediment found on via S. Gregorio, end of the second century? Rome, Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Clementino Caffarelli, Sala del Frontone (Penelope Davies)

on via di S. Gregorio during sewer repairs in 1878 (Figs. 3.12–13). Judging by the *sima* terracottas, these decorated a temple roughly 20 meters wide and 51 meters high. Mars dominates the scene, apparently a *suovetaurilia* (a sacrifice of a pig, a sheep, and a bull); two goddesses flanking him may be Fortuna Respiciens and Juno, and smaller figures to the sides include a togate male (perhaps the presiding magistrate), a male in tunic and mantle, and several *victimarii* (attendants to the sacrificial animals). Molded in such high relief as to be almost in the round, the figures were painted, finished with a high polish, and applied to a black background, leaning forward for easy legibility. Subject and material are Italic; the style – the classicizing treatment of the drapery, the faces, and the musculature – bespeaks Greek influence, as does Mars’ Hellenistic breastplate (Fig. 3.13). An acroterion crowning

the pediment represented Hercules saving Hesione from Poseidon’s sea-monster.¹⁵²

Still, styles were changing. Whenever it was first introduced – as early as the end of the fourth century, or as late as the first half of the second – the Ionic style was probably becoming more common.¹⁵³ Moreover, judging by a fragment of a capital found in the Circus Flaminius, carved in a style characteristic of Sicilian architecture, an early second-century phase of a temple there (perhaps that of Apollo Medicus, Juno Regina, or Diana) may have been Corinthian.¹⁵⁴ Horizontal proportions were becoming more elongated (width to length approximately 1 : 2), and as evidenced by Furius Purpureo’s Temple of Veiovis on the Arx, new types of ground plan emerged: by the time of a mid-second-century restoration at least, and perhaps from its inception, its cella was almost twice as wide as it was long (15 by 8.80 meters), set perpendicular to a narrow tetrastyle pronaos (Fig. 3.14).¹⁵⁵ This transverse cella scheme, apparently also used for the temple restored by Servilius on Tiber Island, is attested only three times in Republican Rome, and is usually understood as a means of maximizing a temple’s footprint on a restricted site.¹⁵⁶

In some cases, ideology may have inspired innovative design. When describing Cato’s Temple of Victoria Virgo, for instance, Livy uses the term *aedicula* (rather than *aedes*), a term that implies diminutive size; moreover, known to have been on the Palatine, the building may have sat on unusually small foundations between the Temples of Victoria and Magna Mater (Fig. 3.2).¹⁵⁷ Modest scale, possibly exaggerated by its position between two substantial temples, fits the mood of austerity that Cato advocated after the Second Punic War.¹⁵⁸ If Postumius Megellus’ Temple of Victoria, which shared its *dies natalis* with the Temple of Victoria Virgo, had initiated a discourse on monumentality in sacred architecture, the Temple of Victoria Virgo voiced an antithetical retort.

Cato’s temple was poised at the edge of – and, if properly understood, may have been a reaction to – a growing conundrum for the political elite. As Roman forces crossed Greece and Asia Minor, they gained their first close-up experience of Greek architecture and urbanism. They moved through cities and sanctuaries with histories of monumental marble building, often the outcome of regal patronage, which encouraged a scale of building and urban planning that was not only alien to Rome, but incompatible with Republican ideals and inconceivable given Republican constraints. While senators strove to define

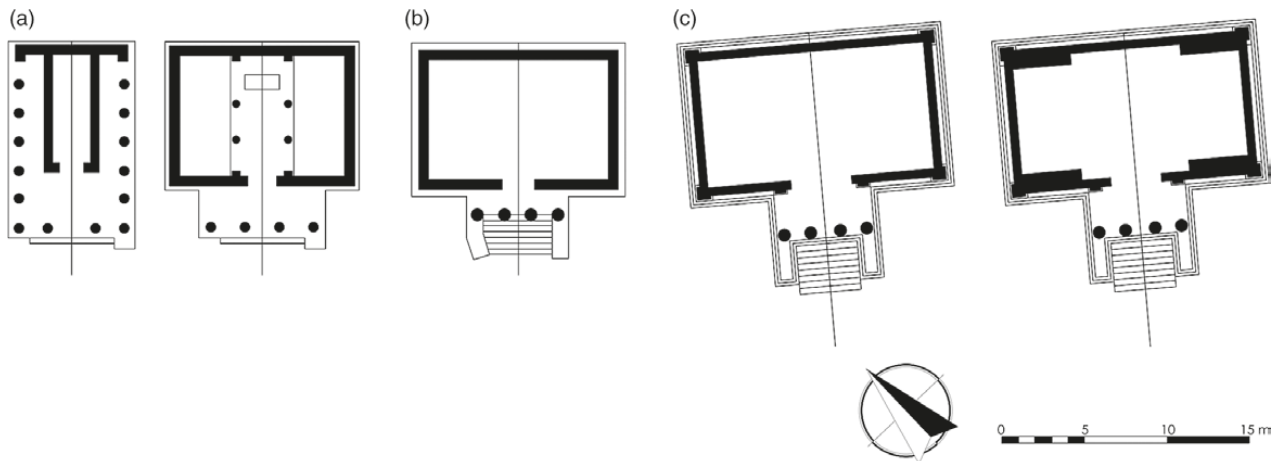


Fig. 3.14 Temple of Veiovis, plan in (a) ca. 196, (b) ca. mid-second century, (c) ca. 80–70 (Onur Öztürk, after Colini 1943)

Roman behaviors and customs to the virtual exclusion of non-Italic elements, some of them were nevertheless drawn to these Greek models for their novelty, magnificence, and power, and incorporated overtly Greek concepts into the design of their temples and the cult statues within.

Fulvius Nobilior was one such man. The campaign against the Aetolian League in 189 took him to Ambra-cia, once the royal capital of Pyrrhus, and back in Rome, his temple to Hercules Musarum celebrated its capture. As depicted on the *Forma Urbis* drawing (Fig. 3.8), the building had a circular cella, and part of a curved cappellaccio foundation, discovered in excavations, meshes with this evidence.¹⁵⁹ After the Temple of Vesta, which probably evoked early Italic hut design, the Temple of Hercules Musarum is the earliest known circular temple in Rome. The inspiration probably came from the *tholoi* of Greece and Macedonia where heroes were enshrined, such as Philip II's heroön at Olympia, built soon after 338; for Hercules, the consummate hero, the choice was apt.¹⁶⁰ Still, the marble plan and an extant section of a tufo podium also indicate a rectilinear porch, and this departure from the fully peripteral prototypes in the eastern Mediterranean gave the building a typically Roman frontality.¹⁶¹ In its entirety, then, the building fused architectural traditions; in form as in honorand, it embodied an acculturative reaction to the Greek world.¹⁶² Other features of the sanctuary supported this merger. According to Servius, Fulvius Nobilior moved an archaic bronze shrine to the precinct, which honored four nymphs, the Camenae; it may be indicated as a circle in the temple's forecourt on the Renaissance drawing. First installed on the Caelian by Numa, it was struck by lightning and

relocated to the Temple of Honos and Virtus at Porta Capena, near a spring and a grove dedicated to one of the nymphs, Egeria.¹⁶³ Romans credited the Camenae with the gift of literary inspiration, and their presence alongside their Greek counterparts at the Temple of Hercules Musarum implied that literature and the arts were as deeply rooted in Rome as they were in Greece.

When it came time for Fulvius Nobilior's grandson, Fulvius Flaccus, to design a votive temple, his blending of cultures took on a more imperialistic hue. Most temples were probably roofed in terracotta, though some may have had brass tiles;¹⁶⁴ Fulvius Flaccus had other plans. Lacking the plunder to distinguish his temple, in Livy's words:

Quintus Fulvius Flaccus as censor [in 174] was building the temple to Fortuna Equestris which he had vowed while praetor in Spain during the Celtiberian war, striving zealously that there should be no temple in Rome larger or more splendid. Considering that it would add great beauty to the temple if the roof tiles were of marble, he set out for Bruttium and stripped the temple of Juno Lacinia of its tiles up to half their number, thinking that these would be sufficient to cover the building which was now being erected.¹⁶⁵

Vitruvius registers the temple as sistyle (intercolumniations equal to two column diameters), sufficient to support the weight of the tiles, and crowned in marble, it would have stood out in the cityscape, gleaming, beacon-like, with the sun's reflected light. Yet, incensed, the senate insisted that the tiles be returned to Croton.¹⁶⁶ The expropriation occurred against a backdrop of debate about the pillaging of sanctuaries and the proper treatment of foreign gods (see below), and this must

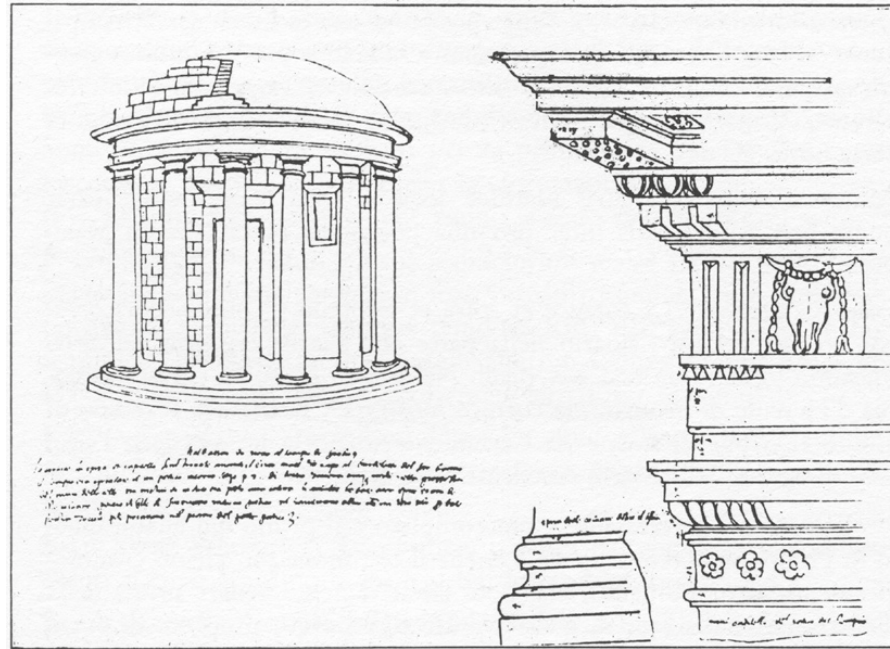


Fig. 3.15 Drawings by Baldassare Peruzzi (1481–1536) showing a round temple near the Circus Maximus (Filippo Coarelli 1988a, fig. 14)

have fuelled their outrage (though, in the end, conservation of the Temple of Juno at Croton was not a priority: contractors reported that the tiles lay neglected in the sanctuary, since no workman could devise a scheme to restore them).¹⁶⁷ That Fulvius Flaccus was treating an allied city as an enemy,¹⁶⁸ and that, as censor, he should have been above reproach, must have angered them too, as well as the artifice of the marble masquerading as *manubiae*. The boldness of his step along the path to Hellenization and the kind of public extravagance that Velleius Paterculus would later decry doubtless contributed to the affront.¹⁶⁹ Whatever the senate's reasoning, its decision had the dual effect of containing the ambitions of a populist censor and controlling the influx of Greek concepts.

In the space of three decades, things changed. The 140s saw fierce competition between Scipio Aemilianus, Caecilius Metellus, and Mummius, each of whom merited the city's acclaim. Their *cognomina* expose their jostling: for the conquest of Carthage, Scipio Aemilianus revived Africanus, epithet of his adoptive grandfather, Hannibal's conqueror; for his victory over Macedonia, Caecilius Metellus usurped Macedonicus from Scipio Aemilianus' biological father, Aemilius Paullus; and

Mummius, victor over the Achaean League, adopted Achaicus, becoming the first *novus homo* to take a *cognomen* for military services.¹⁷⁰ The only patrician among them, with an accomplished lineage to boot, Scipio Aemilianus nurtured an image of cultural and artistic sensibility. His rivals had more to prove. Caecilius Metellus was a praetor when he conquered Macedonia, with the consulship still ahead of him. It was under his command as propraetor that the subsequent war against the Achaean League began, and his troops who deployed to Isthmia from Boeotia. By some accounts, they had all but suppressed the opposition when Mummius arrived to take over. In Rome, Caecilius Metellus fought to position himself as the rightful conqueror of Achaia and advance to consul, while Scipio Aemilianus and Mummius apparently backed efforts to thwart him. As for Mummius, since 200, only sixteen new men had achieved consulships, which marked out his accomplishment. Nevertheless, hostile sources echo Caecilius Metellus' view that in his eagerness for glory and spoils he rushed to Corinth to reap the fruits of Caecilius Metellus' war, and to detract from his acclaim Scipio Aemilianus, in turn, cast him as a vulgar parvenu.¹⁷¹ Their rivalry permeated their building projects.



Fig. 3.16 Porticus Metelli, post-146, hypothetical reconstruction (John Burge)

Reconstructions and sketches of architectural fragments attributed to Baldassare Peruzzi and Pirro Ligorio are associated with Scipio Aemilianus' putative temple to Hercules, and suggest two different schemes: a tetrastyle pronaos fronting a circular peristyle, with alternating curved and rectangular niches on the inner wall,¹⁷² or a circular temple with Tuscan columns on a low *crepis* (Fig. 3.15).¹⁷³ The drawings date long after the temple's destruction, and may record an imperial restoration;¹⁷⁴ still, should they reflect the essential design of the Republican building, either scheme suggests that Scipio Aemilianus looked to the acculturative concept of Fulvius Nobilior's Temple of Hercules Musarum.

Caecilius Metellus' votive temple, by contrast, was the very image of imperialism and, decades after Fulvius Flaccus' thwarted roof-tile expropriation, no senatorial resistance is recorded.¹⁷⁵ It was Caecilius Metellus, as Velleius Paterculus has it, who, with his Temple of Jupiter Stator, erected the first marble temple in Rome (Fig. 3.16). For its construction he hired Hermodorus, an architect from Salamis on Cyprus, who, steeped in the building traditions of the Hellenistic east, was accustomed to working with marble.

He was probably an authoritative practitioner of the Ionic style as refined by Pytheos, the fourth-century architect of the Temple of Athena at Priene and author of a treatise condemning the Doric style. For Pytheos, perfection resided in a systemic use of proportional relationships in the component elements of a building, an ideal that others (such as the fourth-century architect Satyros, and Hermogenes, who flourished around 200) subsequently honed.¹⁷⁶ As Vitruvius describes it, the Temple of Jupiter Stator was a canonical example of Hellenistic Ionic architecture, fully peripteral and hexastyle with eleven lateral columns.¹⁷⁷ In its initial state it probably had a rear colonnade, though the *Forma Urbis*, reflecting an imperial modification to make room for the Curia Octaviae, shows a frontal staircase and a solid rear wall (Figs. 3.8–9a).¹⁷⁸ As if to underscore the temple's Greekness, when Caecilius Metellus restored the adjacent Temple of Juno Regina, he retained its traditional prostyle scheme; the *Forma Urbis* even represents it as tetrastyle, though this is probably an engraver's slip.¹⁷⁹ Framed in a portico (see below), the temples evoked the chief Olympian gods at their mythical home in Macedonia, Caecilius Metellus' battle front.¹⁸⁰



Fig. 3.17 Round Temple by the Tiber (Temple of Hercules Victor, vowed in *ca.* 146?), actual state (Penelope Davies su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Soprintendenza Speciale per il Colosseo, il Museo Romano e l'Area archeologica di Roma)

From the moment of Claudius Marcellus' ovation in 212, Greek stone – lustrous, translucent white marble – had begun to seduce the Roman imagination. Its bright luminosity spoke of luxury and foreign lands, conquest and cultural advance, and tufo, wood, and terracotta would become the materials of the homeland and the past. In later years, Vitruvius would impute to marble a magnificence and expense that bestowed authority;¹⁸¹ and indeed the Temple of Jupiter Stator must have been exorbitantly expensive. Moreover, where earlier temples had been constructed from the proceeds of spoils, this was literally built out of spoils: material proof of Caecilius Metellus' conquest and the benefit it brought the *res publica*, Greek landscape was subsumed into Rome.¹⁸² Where Fulvius Nobilior's temple represented a merging of cultures, that of Caecilius Metellus bespoke Roman authority over Greek culture, and access to, if not also control over, its resources, and this was no coincidence: it was after Caecilius Metellus'

intervention in Greece that, for the first time, Rome installed a governing presence there.¹⁸³ Thanks to material, the temple's Greek quality was systemic and distinctive; and with this fully peripteral marble temple in the Greek style, the model for power suggested by the Temple of Victoria was fleshed out: implied access on all sides made it visually permeable, open to all without the mediation of a senate – a fitting design for a man in pursuit of the people's unbridled acclaim.

A second temple in a Greek style soon followed, the so-called Round Temple by the Tiber (Fig. 3.17).¹⁸⁴ A pure circle in plan (56 Roman feet or about 16.5 meters in diameter), without a frontal porch, it stands on a low Greek *crepidoma* (a platform with encircling steps) instead of a high podium, despite proximity to the river (Figs. 3.18–20). Its twenty columns (eleven of them later replacements) are tightly set in a pycnostyle design, with intercolumniations measuring one and a half column diameters. Slender, attenuated, their shafts support vegetal



Fig. 3.18 Round Temple by the Tiber (Temple of Hercules Victor, vowed in *ca.* 146?), *crepidoma*, actual state (Penelope Davies su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Soprintendenza Speciale per il Colosseo, il Museo Romano e l'Area archeologica di Roma)

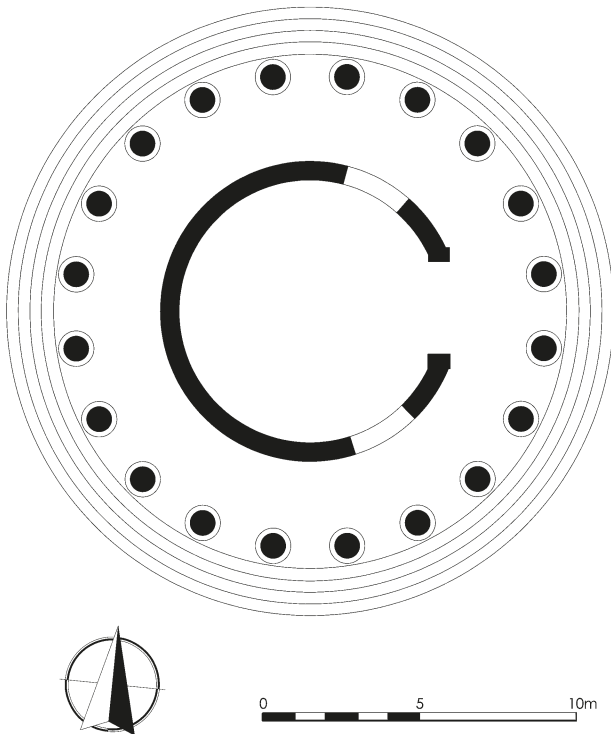


Fig. 3.19 Round Temple by the Tiber (Temple of Hercules Victor, vowed in *ca.* 146?), plan (Onur Öztürk after Rakob and Heilmeyer 1973, pl. 1)

Corinthian capitals. Coffers in the peristyle ceiling were ornamented with mouldings and rosettes, as in Greek temples (Fig. 3.21),¹⁸⁵ and a pair of windows flanking the doorway infused the cella with light, which reflected off the stuccoed travertine walls (Fig. 3.22); a vivid contrast to the darkness inside earlier cult buildings (Fig. 2.20), this was consistent with Greek practice from the time of the Parthenon. Columns and exterior revetment were crafted of shimmering Pentelic marble, quarried close to Athens.

This building must post-date the Temple of Jupiter Stator, reputedly the first marble temple in Rome. One view, based on a monument (of unknown type) to Hercules Olivarius listed in the Regionary Catalogs, and an inscription found near the temple in the nineteenth century naming a cult statue by Scopas Minor, holds that M. Octavius Herennus, a wealthy oil merchant mentioned by Servius and Macrobius (in the fifth century CE), dedicated the temple toward the end of the second century.¹⁸⁶ Yet this costly temple was almost certainly a public building, not the work of a *privatus*; set on the triumphal route it was likely vowed by a *triumphator*, and a compelling argument identifies it as Mummius' Temple of Hercules Victor.¹⁸⁷

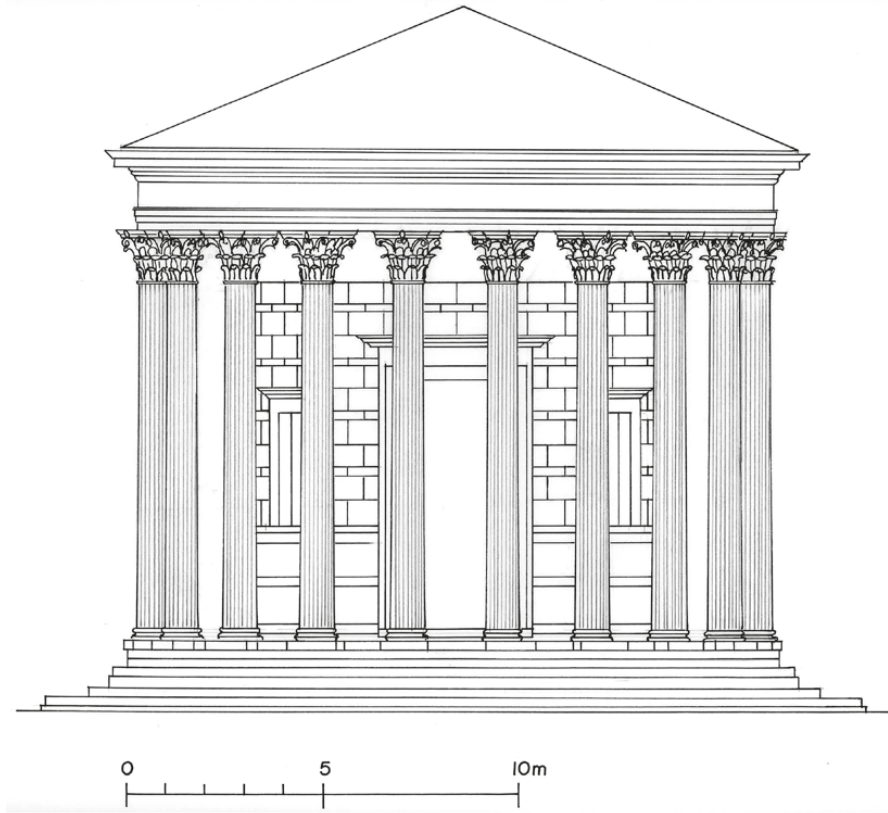


Fig. 3.20 Round Temple by the Tiber (Temple of Hercules Victor, vowed in *ca.* 146?) elevation. (John Stamper)



Fig. 3.21 Round Temple by the Tiber (Temple of Hercules Victor, vowed in *ca.* 146?), coffer from the peristyle ceiling. Vatican Museums (Penelope Davies)

The column capitals, fashioned out of two blocks of marble and ornamented with crisply delineated acanthus leaves and *cauliculi*, fit a Hellenistic tradition that peaked in the reign of Antiochus IV (175–164), and other features – the flat edges on the flutes, the use of a single block of marble for the attic base, plinth, and foot of the column shaft (Fig. 3.23), the integration of the column bases into the top step of the *crepidoma*, and the construction technique of the cella wall – find parallels in Hermogenes’ oeuvre and argue for a date in the second half of the second century.¹⁸⁸ The temple’s attenuated proportions suggest the touch of Hermodorus or at least his school, as does a systemic play of ratios in plan and elevation.¹⁸⁹ If this identification is correct, both the material – Greek marble – and the style – Corinthian – described the geographical source of Mummius’ prestige. He responded to Caecilius Metellus in kind.

At the moment of their wholesale introduction to Rome with Caecilius Metellus, Greek design and materials represented conquest in the region from which they derived. Almost instantaneously, however,



Fig. 3.22 Interior of the Round Temple by the Tiber (Temple of Hercules Victor, vowed in ca. 146), (Penelope Davies su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Soprintendenza Speciale per il Colosseo, il Museo Romano e l'Area archeologica di Roma)



Fig. 3.23 Round Temple by the Tiber (Temple of Hercules Victor, vowed in ca. 146?), column shafts and bases (Penelope Davies su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Soprintendenza Speciale per il Colosseo, il Museo Romano e l'Area archeologica di Roma)

they seem to have become the mark of a lavish triumph, regardless of the theater of war. When Iunius Brutus Callaicus commissioned his Temple of Mars in 136–135, he hired Hermodorus for a Greek design, even though his campaign was in northwest Spain and Lusitania. Traces of its podium suggest a peripteral scheme on a concrete foundation, with either a podium and a frontal staircase or a *crepidoma* encircled by at least six steps (not indicated on fragment 338a and Renaissance drawing 338b of the *Forma Urbis*, which may represent the temple: Figs. 3.24–25).¹⁹⁰ The façade was hexastyle, set even closer than Vitruvius' pycnostyle scheme, with possibly nine lateral columns to conform to the canons of late Hellenism. Associated fragments of fluted column drums and bases, and perhaps parts of an architrave, are crafted of Pentelic marble (Fig. 3.26). The simple torus of the column bases, characteristic of archaic Asia Minor, may have been selected for its similarity to Tuscan design as Greek schemes settled into Rome.¹⁹¹

The spirit of appropriation embodied in these marble temples may also have percolated into remodeling initiatives. The *opus scutulatum* pavement at the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, with chips of colored stone set into a white or black tessellate background (as seen in a first-century domestic example: Fig. 3.27), attested to Rome's authority over quarries far beyond the city's

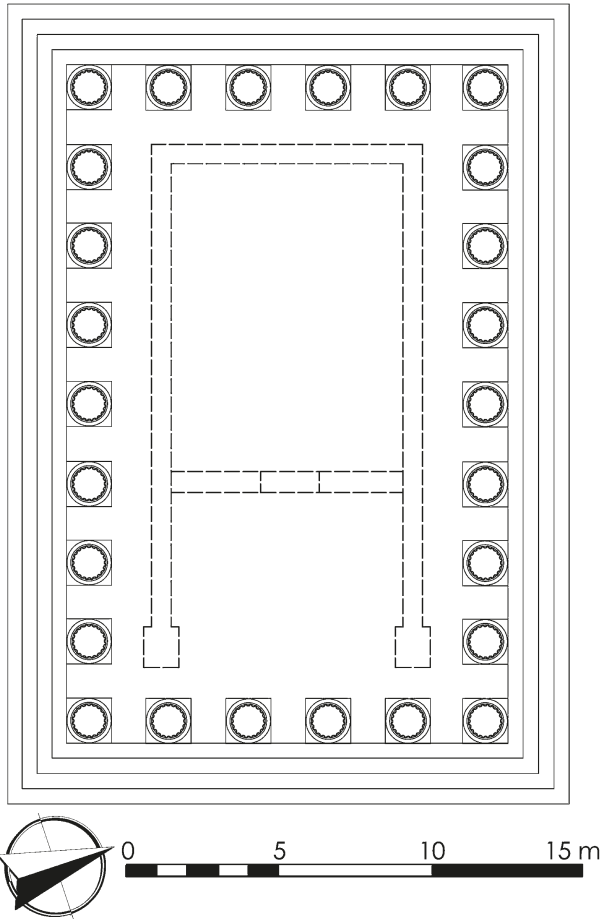


Fig. 3.24 Temple of Mars, vowed in ca. 136–135, plan (Onur Öztürk, after D. Kosmopoulos and F. Fiano)



Fig. 3.25 *Forma Urbis Romae*, fragment 238a, possibly showing the Temple of Mars (Digital *Forma Urbis Romae* Project, Stanford University)

one-time boundaries, a celebration of the expanding empire.

Design: Assertions of Senatorial Control

Most often, innovative design accrued prestige and popular acclaim for its sponsor. In two known instances, a new foundation and a restoration, innovation may have been conceived with a different aim: to assert senatorial control over religious and political life in the face of perceived challenges to the *res publica* or to the senate's authority therein. The instinct to control went hand-in-hand with a heightened interest in architectural dynamics, with a view to managing physical movement.

This first seems evident at the end of the Second Punic War in the Temple of Magna Mater. It stood on a vast podium, which soared, in a restored phase at least, an astounding 8 meters above the ground. In front, a long staircase extended into a monumental platform, paved with Monte Verde slabs on layers of cappellaccio and Grotta Oscura; Grotta Oscura and Fidene substructures probably belong to this phase as well, as does a water basin at the southeast corner of the building, presumably used for cult purposes.¹⁹² High on the Palatine, where flooding was not a factor, the podium and platform were probably connected with the plays that were staged over the course of up to six days during the *ludi Megalenses*, the cult's annual festival, starting in 191 with a premier of Plautus' *Pseudolus*.¹⁹³

By Livy's account, plays or *ludi scaenici* made their debut in Rome in 364, perhaps in connection with the *ludi romani*, as a divine propitiation in face of a plague. At this time, they probably consisted of short plays, mimes, and Atellane farces; it was not until 240 that the Tarentine playwright, Livius Andronicus, introduced fully fledged drama to Rome's religious festivals, and evidence for *ludi scaenici*, as for other *ludi*, escalates strikingly during the Second Punic War and afterwards.¹⁹⁴ In 214, four days were devoted to dramatic productions, and the *ludi Apollinares* may have featured plays from 212 or shortly thereafter; in about 206, moreover, an actors' guild was established under Minerva's auspices on the Aventine, a sign of drama's institutionalization.¹⁹⁵ By one estimate, by the time Plautus inaugurated the *Stichus* at the *ludi plebeii* of 200, theatrical productions were already staged on eleven days of the year, not counting ad hoc games and frequent *instaurationes*; by the mid-second century



Fig. 3.26 Temple of Mars, vowed in ca. 136–135, detail of a column shaft (Pier Luigi Tucci)

they may have occupied as many as twenty.¹⁹⁶ During the war, when the state relied heavily on the compliance of the hard-worn plebs, religious festivals improved morale, and forestalled popular discontent; to this extent, too, they garnered support for their sponsors. Cheaper than animal fights, scenic games prolonged the festivals, thereby augmenting the city's divine propitiations and at the same time making it easier for citizens outside Rome to justify a journey to the capital; this enhanced their sense of community, and increased participation in elections.¹⁹⁷

For most plays, the sponsor probably called on censors to let contracts for temporary seating and wooden stages, or let contracts himself; the first mention of such structures comes in Livy's account of Aemilius Lepidus' censorship in 179.¹⁹⁸ At the sanctuary of Magna Mater, the stage was probably erected at the south edge of the platform, and the precinct's layout allowed some spectators to watch from the temple's staircase, others from the smaller, angled steps of the Temple of Victoria; others still could watch from the platform.¹⁹⁹ If this assessment is accurate, it is the first known permanent accommodation for entertainments. The novelty probably had less to do with audience comfort than with senatorial control: in the year of the temple's inauguration, either at the *ludi Megalenses* (as Valerius Maximus would have it, in the



Fig. 3.27 *Opus scutulatum* mosaic from a house beneath S. Pietro in Vincoli, first century (Penelope Davies)

age of Tiberius) or at the Roman Games (Livy's view), the censors instructed the aediles to segregate senators from the crowd, presumably placing them at the front, to articulate social order; until this time, spectators had mingled indiscriminately at entertainments.²⁰⁰ Already in 196, moreover, when work on the temple was under way, a new college of priests was established. These *triumviri epulones* were specialists in the complex rituals of games, and probably served as a check on the activities – and ambitions – of the sponsoring magistrates.²⁰¹ Taken together, the sanctuary's innovative design, the segregation of senatorials, and the establishment of an oversight committee suggest a broad acknowledgement of the escalating role of games in culture and politics; more than that, as maneuvers to assert status in the crowd and control over magistrates sponsoring *ludi*, the measures may betray the senate's fledgling apprehension with regard to non-elite gatherings and the power they might confer on those presiding.

A second case may have been conceived to shore up the senate's authority in the face of a different challenge: the tribunes' increased activism on behalf of the people. At the Temple of Castor, where a new building phase took place (Phase IA), the principal modification was to create Rome's first *templum rostratum*. The façade columns were removed, as were the four uppermost courses of masonry supporting them; repaved with peperino slabs, the lowered podium was then adapted into a platform roughly 11 meters wide and up to 6.50 meters deep (Figs. 3.28–29). It was probably in this phase that staircases set perpendicular to the tribunal replaced the frontal steps, and two or three additional steps led from the tribunal to the porch. Once the podium had been reinforced with concrete, a new hexastyle façade was erected in lieu of the original second row of columns, and the third row from Phase I was also dismantled. Few other changes seem to have been made to the exterior; revetments from the archaic phase, found in the filling of the Phase II podium, seem to have been reused, so the temple retained its Italic appearance. Inside, however, the cella was refurbished. Fragments of ceiling stucco and First Style painted wall stuccoes found in the fill of a subsequent restoration probably belong to this phase; so too do white palombino *tesserae* for a floor mosaic, and fragments of terracotta revetment that probably formed

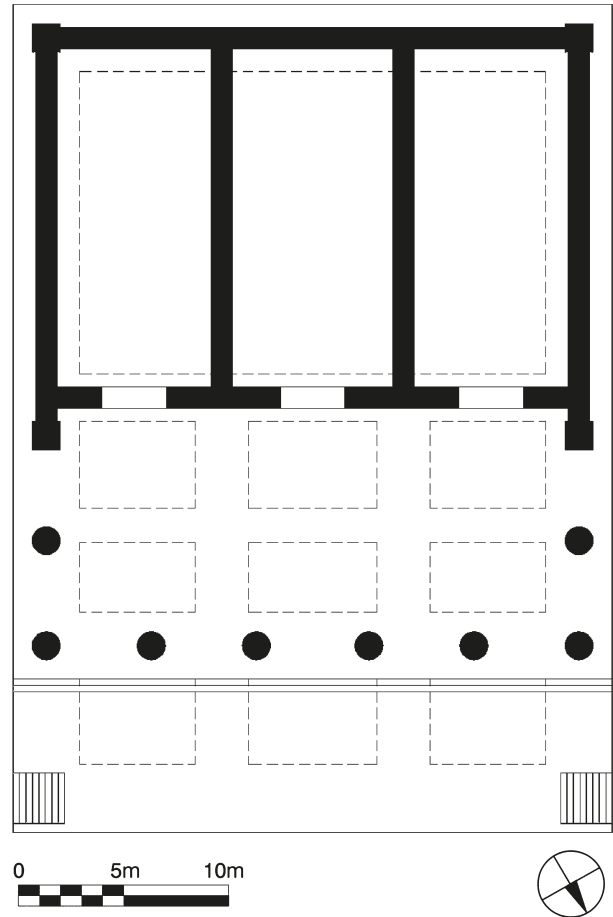


Fig. 3.28 Temple of Castor, Phase IA, *ca.* mid-second century, plan (John Burge)

a doorframe, embellished with palmettes and lotus flowers painted red, yellow, and blue (Figs. 3.30a–b and 3.31).²⁰² In style, these decorative elements suit a date around the middle or second half of the second century, and it is possible that the temple sustained fire damage in 178 or 148.²⁰³

In a concurrent project, if not slightly later, an adjacent pool, the Lacus Iuturnae, was defined with a rectangular concrete basin, bordered in tufo and faced with *opus incertum* and waterproof cocciopesto (Fig. 3.32).²⁰⁴ Either in this phase or in a subsequent restoration, a Greek marble statuary group representing the Dioscuri with their horses was placed in the pool, probably on a podium to rise above the water as if “at sea,” as the Christian apologist Minucius Felix later observed (Figs. 3.33a–d).²⁰⁵ Fragments of the statues survive, one of them a second-century original, the other probably an Augustan



Fig. 3.29 Temple of Castor, Phase IA, *ca.* mid-second century, hypothetical reconstruction (John Burge)

replacement. Their archaizing style – linear, abstract carving, frontal disposition – complemented the archaic appearance of the temple, and evoked traditions of the distant past.²⁰⁶

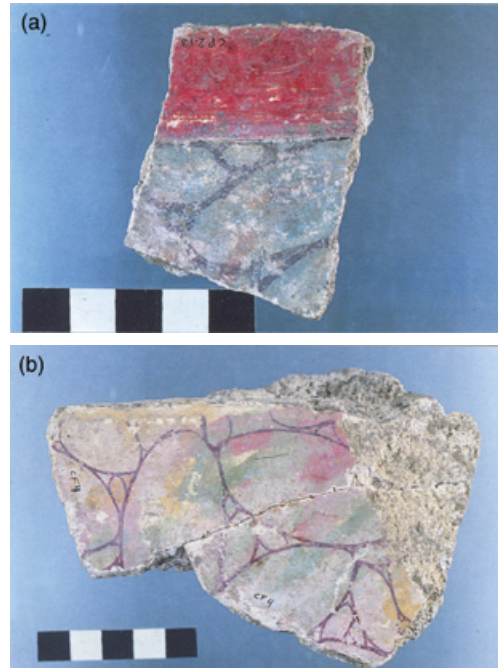
By virtue of its honorands, the Temple of Castor was associated with the equestrian and senatorial classes. By at least 156, senators seem to have used it for assemblies; in 168, Aemilius Paullus' victory at Pydna may have been declared from its podium, and Scipio Aemilianus made a speech *pro aede Castoris* (in or before the temple of Castor) as censor in 142 or in 135.²⁰⁷ The restoration is sometimes attributed to Aemilius Paullus, whose victory some Romans believed the Dioscuri announced at the Lacus Iuturnae;²⁰⁸ but a more likely scenario is that the work addressed shifts in the dynamics of the Forum and in voting procedures in the third quarter of the second century. While speaking about a bill proposing elective priesthoods in lieu of co-optation, C. Licinius Crassus, a tribune of 145, either turned his back on the Comitium to address to the crowd in the Forum, or led the crowd out of the Comitium to vote in the

Forum.²⁰⁹ Either way, his act was perceived as radical, and from that moment on, the Comitium began to recede as a political space in favor of the piazza. More change was quick to follow. Up to this point, all elections had been oral: citizens uttered their votes to a *rogator* who marked up tablets accordingly. The publicity of the system encouraged intimidation and falsification, especially since patrons expected clients to vote to instruction (or, seen through Cicero's eyes, to heed the advice of the better informed), and to address this, A. Gabinius, a tribune of 139, championed a secret ballot for electoral assemblies; in 137, another tribune, L. Cassius Longinus Ravilla, spearheaded its extension to judicial assemblies. These laws, enacted against fierce senatorial opposition, demanded a reconceptualization of the voting process, with new apparatus and space to collect, guard, and count ballots.²¹⁰ Literary and numismatic images indicate that citizens stepped onto *pontes* or bridges to cast their votes (Fig. 3.34), and it was this process that the reconfigured Temple of Castor may have been designed to manage: voters could ascend on one

side, place their ballots in urns on the tribunal, and return to ground level on the other.²¹¹ The temple's archaic appearance shrouded the process in tradition, while the steps up to the temple proper, along with the hexastyle façade, made the cella visually less accessible than before, cutting voters off from senatorial activity inside. If, from one perspective, the temple's reconstruction dignified the role of the populace in legislative decisions, and may have helped to raise their political consciousness,²¹² from another, as tribunes' motions gathered steam and weakened the hold of the political elite on the plebs in elections, physical accommodation of the revised voting procedure equated symbolic control; through the temple's remodeling, the senate may have hoped to regain a measure of supervision over, and authority in, the electoral process.

Design: the Concrete Revolution

While the senate was focused on managing the debilitating potential of foreign luxury, the greatest threat to its control over Republican building practices resulted, ironically, from the use of an Italic material: *opus caementicium*, or concrete. Probably developed in the first half of the second century, at first it found favor for substructures (for instance, in retaining walls at the Porticus of Metellus), and for walls in elite houses.²¹³ In short order, though, it was put to grander purpose. Probably some time after mid-century, a series of parallel chambers was built on the east slope of the Palatine. Five rooms are preserved over a length of 21 meters; an additional two chambers may have taken it to a total of 27–32 meters. The walls are reveted with irregularly shaped pieces of Aniene tufo, and lining the intrados of the vaults are longitudinally placed blocks of Grotta Oscura (Figs. 3.35–37). A narrow corridor to the rear may have served as insulation or for water collection, making the structure at least 50 meters deep. Together, the chambers and corridor supported an ample platform, on which archaeologists place a temple, possibly dedicated to Fortuna Respiciens and decorated with the terracotta pediment discovered on via di S. Gregorio (Figs. 3.12–13). If properly dated, the building constitutes the earliest known concrete barrel-vaulted substructure in Rome. Entrusted with the new task of spanning open space, concrete allowed architects to recast the hill's form, creating a building site where nature had not complied. This, in turn, let them place a temple in stunning isolation over the triumphal



Figs. 3.30a–b Painted stucco fragments from the Temple of Castor, *ca.* mid-second century (Nielsen and Poulsen 1992, plate VII 1–2)

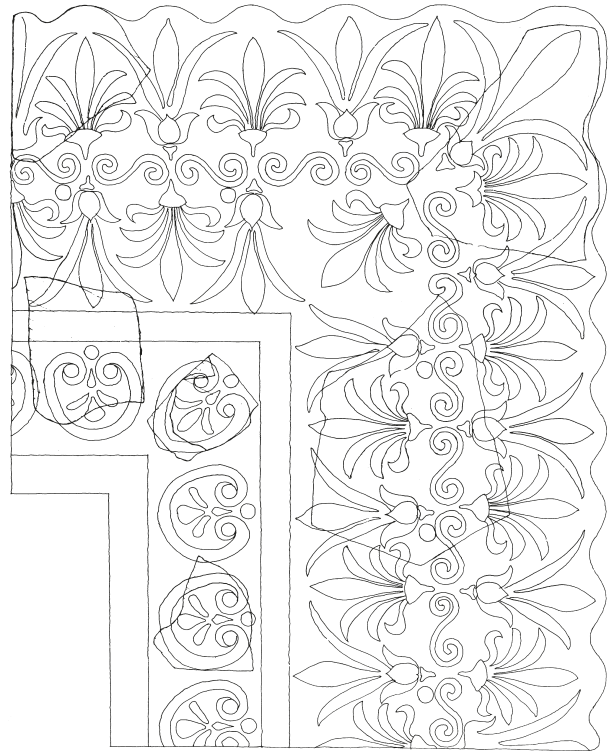


Fig. 3.31 Terracotta doorframe from the Temple of Castor, *ca.* mid-second century, reconstruction drawing (Nielsen and Poulsen 1992, fig. 171)



Fig. 3.32 Lacus Iuturnae, actual state (Penelope Davies su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Soprintendenza Speciale per il Colosseo, il Museo Romano e l'Area archeologica di Roma)

procession as it rounded the eastern Palatine; for Tertulian, indeed, it occupied a unique place in the dynamics of the triumph, for it was in front of this building, if correctly identified, that the *triumphator* paused and a slave stationed with him in his chariot cautioned, “Look behind you; remember you are mortal.”²¹⁴ Conceptually, the structure was indebted to Greek schemes designed for visibility, such as the platforms at Delphi that raised buildings above the Sacred Way (Fig. 3.38), or the platform at the Sanctuary of Athena Lindia on Rhodes (Fig. 3.39).²¹⁵

For the history of Republican architecture, the introduction of concrete is immeasurably important; visually lackluster, as deployed in Rome, it was nevertheless a game-changer. Its virtue resided in economy and speed of usage: its component elements – fist-sized pieces of aggregate and mortar strengthened by pozzolana from the Colli Albani area²¹⁶ – were easily available and inexpensive, and relatively unskilled laborers (who were at once cheap and grateful for employment) could work it faster than masons could cut and dress stone. Scholars recognize that its malleability gradually liberated architects to dream; yet as used in Republican Rome, its more radical significance, and the likely reason for its rapid ascent as a material for public architecture, is that, quick and economical, in one sweep it neutralized the primary determinants on magistrates’ construction ambitions: time and money. So even despite their short terms of office and senatorial oversight of funds, on appreciating concrete’s architectonic

strengths, magistrates could conceive of not just buildings of moderate size but monumental, self-aggrandizing urban initiatives. Only on being freed from Republican constraints, that is, could they exploit the material’s malleability. As the substructure on the Palatine demonstrates, with concrete they could redesign landscape; and they could work on a scale that, though feasible using cut stone, would have been prohibitively time-consuming and expensive for a Republican magistrate. An Italic fabric, concrete nevertheless allowed magistrates to think – and build – more like Hellenistic kings. With no change to the restrictions on architectural sponsorship, their ambitions would adapt to new possibilities; and while

the city gained monumentality, concrete enabled built transgression against the state.

Surviving evidence suggests that between 218 and 134 the city’s tensions played out in its sacred architecture. In terms of vows, it was a period of religious formalism: during the Second Punic War and immediately after, the senate encouraged extreme piety; then, as *Romanitas* itself grew hard to define, they urged a nationalistic stance. Conservatism extended to siting, inasmuch as the Via Triumphalis remained popular, but not always to design and decoration. With conquest abroad, funds became available for lavish embellishments inside and out, and a spirit of experimentation – both subtle and overt – was on the rise. For those aiming to impress, the Greek world suggested models; at first Fulvius Nobilior fused Greek design with Roman, but others, such as Caecilius Metellus and Mummius, soon imported it wholesale in a more imperialistic fashion. Conceived in the context of monarchy, Greek design answered and projected a new vision of power, where the relationship between the people and their benefactor was unmediated. The senate apparently responded: its centrality in the power structure jeopardized, it maneuvered to shore up its authority through novel temple designs to control public behavior at theatrical games and elections.

As much as design, material was a powerful medium of innovation. Marble made a spectacular debut; after mid-century entire buildings in the luminous white



Figs. 3.33a–d Statues of the Dioscuri and their horses, *ca.* mid-second century (?), from the Lacus Iuturnae (Soprintendenza speciale per il Colosseo, il Museo Nazionale Romano e l'Area archeologica di Roma)

stone must have signaled a staggering change in the city's potential opulence – an opulence predicated, literally, upon Rome's expanded horizons. And using concrete, Romans took their first steps of freedom from the time constraints and financial oversight built into their

magistracies. Merging this visually lackluster Italic fabric with Greek models of patronage and Greek architectural forms and urbanistic concepts, they embarked on ambitious adaptations of the landscape for visibility and impact.



Fig. 3.34 *Denarius* minted by P. Nerva in 113–112 with a reverse image of voting *pontes* (Classical Numismatic Group, www.cngcoins.com)



Fig. 3.35 Substructure for the Temple of Fortuna Respiciens (?), end of the second century, actual state (Penelope Davies su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Soprintendenza Speciale per il Colosseo, il Museo Romano e l'Area archeologica di Roma)



Fig. 3.36 Substructure for the Temple of Fortuna Respiciens (?), end of the second century, view of the intrados (Penelope Davies su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Soprintendenza Speciale per il Colosseo, il Museo Romano e l'Area archeologica di Roma)

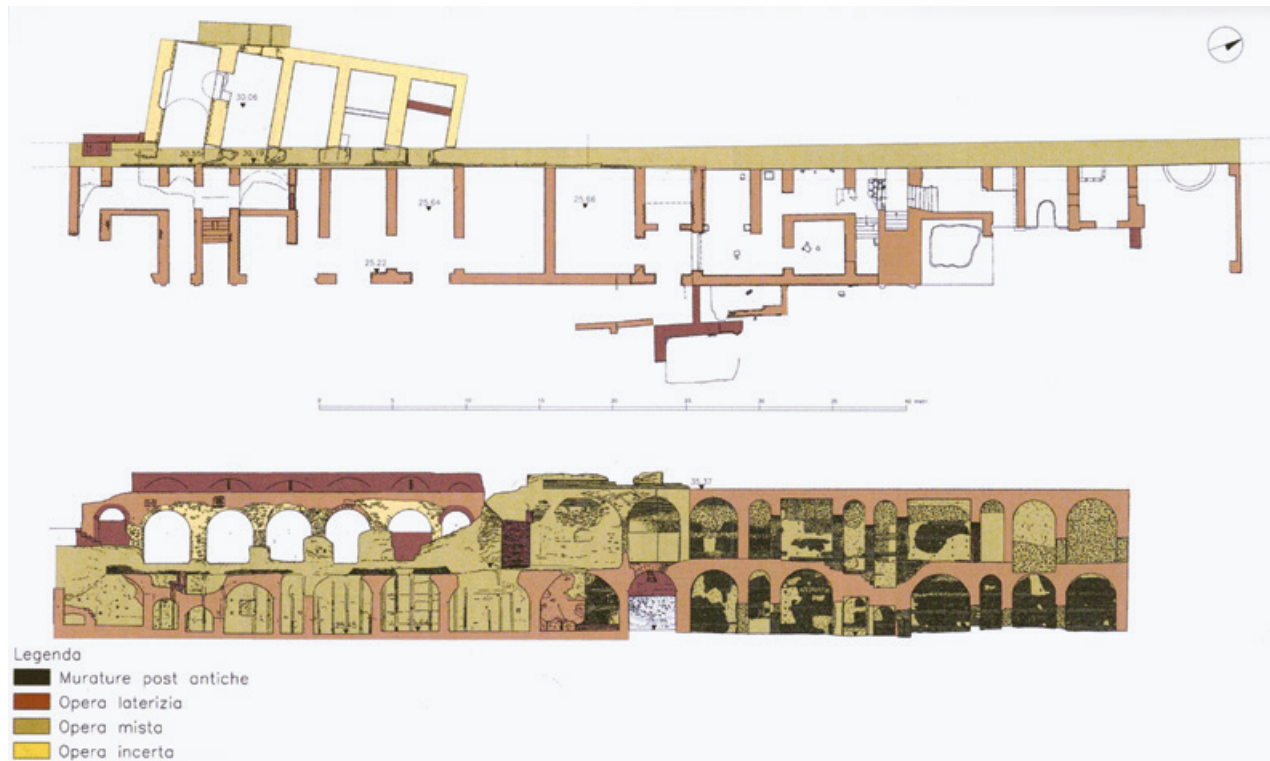


Fig. 3.37 Substructure for the Temple of Fortuna Respiciens (?), end of the second century, plan and elevation (Lucilla Anselmino)



Fig. 3.38 Temple of Apollo at Delphi, restored in the fourth century (Penelope Davies)



Fig. 3.39 Sanctuary of Athena Lindaia at Lindos, Rhodes, fourth to second century (Penelope Davies)

SPOILS AND THE CITY

Claudius Marcellus' victory over Syracuse set a new benchmark in Roman pillaging. The sheer quantity of spoils displayed in his ovation was astounding. It raised the bar for those who followed, and fostered an appreciation for Greek art in Rome that only intensified as armies moved through Greece and Asia Minor. Plunder from these regions, and mineral wealth from Spain, restored the treasury and changed tastes; at the same time, they brought commanders a high degree of visibility and prestige, which, in turn, provoked efforts among their peers to hold them in check. Debates over their plundering practices and the manner in which they disposed of their spoils raged in political circles, with dramatic repercussions.

The Nature of Spoils

For Rome, Claudius Marcellus' capture of Syracuse in 212 was a welcome respite in a war that was going catastrophically. His soldiers despoiled the city thoroughly; its wealth, coupled with desire for vengeance on an ally turned enemy, was probably a motivation for conquest. He may also have hoped for spoils to ornament the Temples of Honos and Virtus, should they come to fruition.²¹⁷ Livy noted the splendor:

Together with a representation of captured Syracuse were carried catapults and *ballistae* and all the other engines of war, and the adornments of a long peace and of royal wealth, a quantity of silverware and bronze ware, other furnishings and costly fabrics, and many notable statues, with which Syracuse had been adorned more highly than most cities of Greece. As a sign of triumph over Carthaginians as well, eight elephants were in the procession.²¹⁸

By the time of Livy's writing, little remained of these spoils, and literary sources itemize only two objects: a pair of planetary spheres, one of them an intricate orrery that charted the movements of the sun, moon, and planets in relation to the earth. Once the property of Hieron's military advisor, Archimedes, the spheres had stunning sensationalist value, both as scientific instruments and, along with the engines of war, as mementoes of a scientist whose inventions had long kept Roman forces at bay, and whose death at the hands of a callous soldier Claudius Marcellus reputedly mourned.²¹⁹ Still, sources

suggest that the lasting impact of the procession was due in large measure to the horde of Greek artworks.

The ovation raised the bar. In Livy's and Plutarch's accounts, when Fabius Maximus Verrucosus recaptured Tarentum in 209 his booty was nearly as plentiful, and included a famed bronze statue of a seated Hercules by Lysippus from the acropolis.²²⁰ In his triumph over Hannibal in 201, Scipio Africanus, in turn, paraded gold, silver and bullion, elephants, and "wagons laden with spoils"; there were "towers representing the captured cities, and pictures showing the exploits of the war."²²¹ Soon, with the first Greek triumph at the end of the Second Macedonian War in 194, artworks from the Greek mainland arrived:

[Flamininus'] triumph lasted three days. On the first day the procession showed the arms, weapons, and statues of bronze and marble, more of which had been captured from Philip than received from the cities of Greece; and on the second day the gold and silver, wrought, unwrought, and minted. Of unwrought silver he had 43,270 lbs; of wrought silver there were many vases of all varieties, most of them embossed and some of remarkable workmanship; there were besides many fashioned from bronze, and in addition ten shields of silver. Of minted silver there were 84,000 Attic coins called "tetradrachma," and the weight of silver in them is about equivalent to three *denarii* each. There were 3,714 lbs of gold, one shield made completely of gold, and 14,514 gold coins with the image of Philip upon them. On the third day 114 golden crowns, gifts from the cities, were carried past.²²²

Most of the art was seized from the king's camp, but there were objects from elsewhere too: in Eretria, Flamininus found "pictures of antique craftsmanship," and an inscribed abacus fragment discovered in Praeneste originated in Leucas, off the west coast of Akarnania.²²³ L. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus' triumph over Antiochus in 189 was "more dazzling to the eyes than that of his brother Africanus," with copious piles of weapons and gold and silver in various forms, 134 representations of conquered towns and 1,231 ivory tusks.²²⁴ In his Ambra-cian triumph in 187, Fulvius Nobilior displayed the riches of a city Pyrrhus had lavished with fine works of art, some perhaps spoils from Athens; there were crowds of sculptures, both marble and bronze:

Golden crowns of 112 lbs in weight were carried before his car; he displayed also 83,000 lbs of silver, 243 lbs of gold, 118,000 Attic four-drachma pieces, 12,322 coins

called “Philippei,” bronze statues to the number of 785 and 230 of marble, weapons, javelins and other spoils taken from the enemy, in great quantities, besides catapults, ballistae, and every variety of artillery.²²⁵

Fulvius Nobilior’s rival, Aemilius Lepidus, declared the artworks the reason for his attack on the city.²²⁶ Still, within the year, Manlius Vulso’s spoils from Gauls in Asia Minor were valued nearly ten times higher; he introduced Romans to furniture so luxurious that people were still talking about it in Late Antiquity.²²⁷ Aemilius Paullus, for his part, amassed huge quantities of valuable objects in 168:

The eyes of the crowd which came were no more drawn to the stage spectacle, the contests of men, or the racing of horses, than to the collected loot of Macedonia, set out on exhibition, statues, paintings, rare stuffs, and vessels made of gold, silver, bronze and ivory, manufactured with great pains in the palace at Pella, so as to serve not only for immediate show, as did the objects with which the palace at Alexandra was crammed, but for continuous use. This booty was loaded on the fleet and given to Gnaeus Octavius to transport to Rome.²²⁸

Other plunder he sailed home: crowds thronged the banks of the Tiber to glimpse his entrance into Rome on Perseus’ 120-year-old flagship, an immense royal galley that offset the disastrous legacy of his antecedent, Aemilius Paullus, with his losses off the coast of Camarina in *ca.* 260. Propelled by sixteen banks of oars, the galley was laced with spoils, among them the first royal textiles exhibited in Rome. So plentiful was the booty, in fact, that it took a full three days to parade it; the first alone witnessed 250 wagonloads of statues, some of them colossal, and paintings.²²⁹ Even so, the second-century CE historian Appian claims that Scipio Aemilianus returned from Carthage in 146 to receive “the most glorious triumph that had ever been known, splendid with gold and gorged with statues and votive offerings that the Carthaginians had gathered from all parts of the world through all time, the fruit of their countless victories;” by all accounts Mummius’ triumph surpassed even his.²³⁰ As for Caecilius Metellus, he brought a magnificent crowd of bronze sculptures by Lysippus from Macedonia, representing Alexander the Great and the twenty-five companions who perished in the Battle of Granikos. A bronze horse and a sandaled



Fig. 3.40 Bronze horse found on vicolo dell Palme, fourth century? Rome, Musei Capitolini, Palazzo dei Conservatori, inv. MC 1064/S (Archivio Fotografico dei Musei Capitolini)

foot discovered on vicolo delle Palme in Trastevere may have belonged to this *turma Alexandri* (Fig. 3.40).²³¹

Mere highlights of a broader narrative of triumphs, these examples suffice to illustrate the trends: triumphs and ovations, and the spoils exhibited in them, escalated dramatically in number and extravagance, and alongside large quantities of precious metals and minted coin, generals particularly sought out works of art. Literary and epigraphical records suggest that they favored the antique rather than the contemporary, and works by late classical sculptors were popular, especially Lysippus, Praxiteles, and Nichomachus. They preferred colossi and, in terms of subject, Alexander, Hercules, and Jupiter.²³² By these criteria, Caecilius Metellus hit the jackpot with the Granikos Monument. Triumphs

and spoils could buy instant acclaim from the populace, and became powerful determinants in consular and censorial elections;²³³ and as senators sought to control each other's successes, their debates over the legitimacy of spoils, as over granting triumphs, became commensurately antagonistic.

Repercussions in Rome: Cult Statues

The introduction of such vast quantities of spoils to Rome had profound repercussions. In the climate of trepidation during the Hannibalic War, the triumphal displays of Claudius Marcellus and Fabius Maximus must have boosted morale, at least temporarily, and after Zama, plundered wealth gradually replenished the treasury. The objects themselves, especially the artworks, also provoked reactions. Tastes changed, and not just among the elite; once the interest of an exclusive few, Greek aesthetics may have gained broader appeal. Claudius Marcellus may even have introduced Greek art to popularize elite privilege as an act of deliberate provocation.²³⁴ As recounted by Plutarch:

Before [Marcellus' ovation] Rome neither had nor knew about such elegant and exquisite productions, nor was there any love there for such graceful and subtle art; but filled full of barbaric arms and bloody spoils, and crowned round about with memorials and trophies of triumphs ... Therefore with the common people Marcellus won more favour [than Fabius Maximus] because he adorned the city with objects that had Hellenic grace and charm and fidelity ... And [the elder citizens] blamed Marcellus ... because, when the people was accustomed only to war or agriculture, and was inexperienced in luxury and ease, but, like the Heracles of Euripides, was "Plain, unadorned, in a crisis brave and true," he made them idle and full of glib talk about art and artists, so that they spent a great part of the day in such clever disputation. Notwithstanding such censure, Marcellus spoke of this with pride even to the Greeks, declaring that he had taught the ignorant Romans to admire and honour the wonderful and beautiful productions of Greece.²³⁵

Like Fulvius Nobilior after him, Claudius Marcellus may have hoped that Romans would reconcile their military *virtus* with an aesthetic sensibility.²³⁶ And more than just style, preferences in materials shifted. Glamorous, novel, the material of the future, lustrous Greek marble exerted its pull. Such was its appeal that when pillaging Ambracia, Fulvius Nobilior reputedly passed over terracottas

attributed to Zeuxis, for despite the painter's fame, the material's perceived dullness detracted from the value of the works as spoils.²³⁷

These aesthetic shifts suggest that, on the whole, Greek sculptures received a warm welcome in Rome – all, that is, except cult statues.²³⁸ By Livy's account, civic relief at the capture of Syracuse did little to dampen jealousies among peers at the reaffirmation of Claudius Marcellus' martial preeminence, and the result was obstructionism. While the pontiffs debated the fate of his Temple of Honos and Virtus, his rivals, probably headed by Fabius Maximus, persuaded the senate to deny him a second triumph, alleging that his war was unfinished, and insisting on his prorogation to bring it to a close.²³⁹ When the senate agreed on an *ovatio* instead, Claudius Marcellus derided their decision by celebrating a triumph on Mons Albanus a day before, pointedly setting off from Porta Capena, the site of his controversial temple. Afterwards, his detractors persuaded the Syracusans to denounce him. In a senate hearing, representatives from the city insisted that he had plundered to excess, and particularly emphasized his mistreatment of their gods. As Livy puts it: "Certainly apart from the city-walls and the emptied houses and the sanctuaries of the gods, broken open and despoiled by the removal of the statues of the gods themselves and their adornments, nothing had been left at Syracuse."²⁴⁰ In Plutarch's words, the elders (πρεσβυτέροις) of Rome blamed Claudius Marcellus "because he made the city odious, in that not only men, but even gods were led about in her triumphal procession like captives."²⁴¹ The "Ludovisi acrolith," a colossal head in the Palazzo Altemps thought to have come from Sicily or South Italy, could conceivably have been among the cult statues he pillaged (Fig. 3.41), and a second acrolithic marble head of a goddess, in the Vatican Museums, may have reached Rome through a similar process (Fig. 3.42).²⁴²

For Livy, Claudius Marcellus' looting of sanctuaries set a dangerous precedent:

It is true that Marcellus, after the capture of Syracuse, had settled matters in general in Sicily with such conscientiousness and honesty that he added not only to his own fame, but also to the dignity of the Roman people. But as regards the adornments of the city, the statues and paintings which Syracuse possessed in abundance, he carried them away to Rome. They were spoils of the enemy, to be sure, and acquired by right of war. Yet from that came the very beginning of enthusiasm for Greek works of art and consequently of this general license



Fig. 3.41 "Ludovisi acrolith," early fifth century (?), Palazzo Altemps (Penelope Davies su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Soprintendenza Speciale per il Colosseo, il Museo Romano e l'Area archeologica di Roma)

to despoil all kinds of buildings, sacred and profane, a license which finally turned against Roman gods, and first of all against the very temple which was magnificently adorned by Marcellus.²⁴³

He concedes that plundering constituted legitimate wartime practice, but regrets nonetheless that in their zeal to seize works of art, generals ceased to respect sacred context. In Livy's and Plutarch's accounts, Fabius Maximus set himself up as a counterpoint to Claudius Marcellus: unlike his rival, he did not plunder cult images:

With the elder citizens Fabius Maximus was more popular. For he neither disturbed nor brought away anything of this sort [Greek objects] from Tarentum, when that city was taken, but while he carried off the



Fig. 3.42 Acrolithic head, ca. 490–480? Vatican Museums (Penelope Davies)

money and the other valuables, he suffered the statues to remain in their places, adding the well-known saying: "Let us leave these gods in their anger for the Tarentines."²⁴⁴

By Livy's account, the issue of plundering cult statues resurfaced in 187:

With a view to making Fulvius unpopular, [Aemilius Lepidus] introduced to the senate ambassadors of the Ambraciots, previously coached as to their charges, who were to complain that, while they were at peace and had performed the orders of the previous consuls and were ready to render the same obedience to Marcus Fulvius, war had been declared on them, and first their fields had been laid waste and fear of plunder and slaughter held before the city ... and what disturbed them most of all, the temples throughout the city had been stripped

of their ornaments; the images of the gods, or rather the gods themselves, had been torn from their seats and carried away; bare walls and doorposts, they said, had been left to the Ambracians to adore, to pray to, and to supplicate.²⁴⁵

Acknowledging the parallel with Claudius Marcellus' case, Fulvius Nobilior invoked the siege of Syracuse in his defense.²⁴⁶

Claudius Marcellus and Fulvius Nobilior were not the first Roman generals to expropriate cult images from conquered cities. If ancient accounts can be believed, Furius Camillus removed Veii's cult statue of Uni in 396, and Fulvius Flaccus took the cult statue of Vortumnus from Volsinii in 264.²⁴⁷ In Uni's case, at least, the goddess was invited to Rome with a formal *evocatio*, and on arrival both images retained their status as cult statues with temples of their own. When Cincinnatus brought a cult statue of Jupiter Imperator from Praeneste in 380, however, his expropriation was of a different order, as Livy tells it: he treated the image as plunder, and dedicated it in a pre-existing temple as a secondary votive.²⁴⁸ Claudius Marcellus' pillaging was more along these lines, and proved problematic.

In Livy's view, the attacks against Claudius Marcellus and Fulvius Nobilior were inspired by political opportunism.²⁴⁹ All the same, the seeds of criticism probably found fertile ground in the collective fear of the Second Punic War period and beyond, and therein lay their efficacy – as foreign envoys, with their fear-mongering speeches, evidently recognized.²⁵⁰ On the surface at least, the religious issue quickly eclipsed the political: in 210, when ambassadors appealed to the senate over M. Quintus Fulvius' capture of Capua, and again in the case of Fulvius Nobilior's spoils, senators sought guidance from the pontiffs to determine which captured images were sacred and which profane.²⁵¹ Fabius Maximus feared the “angry gods” of the Tarentines, and Cato, who according to Livy voiced his view on the matter as consul in 195, declared that the gods of Rome were no more pleased:

Tokens of danger, believe me, were those statues which were brought to this city from Syracuse. Altogether too many people do I hear praising the baubles of Corinth and Athens and laughing at the fictile antefixes of our Roman gods. I prefer that these gods be propitious to us, and I trust that they will be if we allow them to remain in their own dwellings.²⁵²

In the event that foreign gods were moved, Cato advocated that they should be assigned a new sacred context.²⁵³

Fear over the gods' treatment motivated chatter: when, in 172, Fulvius Flaccus' slaves found him hanging by a noose in his bedroom, “It was thought that after his censorship he was not wholly himself; a common rumour had it that the wrath of Lacinian Juno over the robbing of her temple had unbalanced his mind.”²⁵⁴

The concentration of anecdotes concerning cult statues and sacrilege between the conquest of Syracuse and the 170s suggests a surge of debate, often initiated as political antagonism but probably fuelled by genuine concerns regarding religion and public morale, about disrespecting images of foreign gods by removing them as spoils and displaying them with insufficient reverence.²⁵⁵ In fact, in the years after Fulvius Nobilior's triumph, generals pillaged hordes of statues from subordinated territories, but there is no literary record of them despoiling sanctuaries of their cult statues, and the absence of evidence for imported cult statues in the archaeological record confirms this picture.²⁵⁶ Even when generals were forced to deal, in one way or another, with the sacred art of a city they were about to raze, literary sources suggest respectful conduct.²⁵⁷ At Carthage, for instance, according to Appian, when Scipio Aemilianus passed out rewards to valiant soldiers he omitted those who had violated the Temple of Apollo; then, having sent a ship laden with choice spoils to Rome to announce his victory,

He also sent word to Sicily that whatever temple gifts they could identify as taken from them by the Carthaginians in former wars they might come and take away. Thus he endeared himself to the people as one who united clemency with power. He sold the rest of the spoils, and, in sacrificial cincture, burned the arms, engines, and useless ships as an offering to Mars and Minerva, according to the Roman custom.²⁵⁸

Statue bases found in Sicily corroborate this account.²⁵⁹ For his part, though Mummius plundered extensively throughout Achaia, behavioral codes established in Rome clearly guided his actions. Before sacking Corinth, he consecrated it to the gods of the underworld in a ritual *devotio*, and “he collected the most marvelous of sacred dedications and works of art,” which he probably rededicated in other sanctuaries in Greece.²⁶⁰ Named as re-dedicators on statue bases, Mummius and Scipio Aemilianus earned international esteem, gratitude, and probably numerous clients, but alongside any personal benefits, both men acted out of religious propriety, which in turn served state diplomacy: re-dedications cautioned other cities against flouting Roman authority.²⁶¹

The record suggests that the outcome of debate on despoiling cult statues was consensus that the practice posed unnecessary risks, whether to the welfare of the state or to a political career. When coupled with the new taste for Greek art and marble and the upsurge in temple construction and restoration, this consensus seems to have exerted a forceful impact on the trajectory of Roman sculpture. New temples and, sometimes, restored temples, required cult statues. Solutions varied. For the Temple of Magna Mater, an unworked sacred stone from Pessinus served as an object of devotion, while for other temples patrons adhered to Italic traditions:²⁶² to judge by later coin images, for instance, Cato's cult statue of Victoria Virgo, enthroned and holding a *patera*, was distinctively Roman, unlike standing representations of the Greek Nike.²⁶³ Similarly, Pliny documents a statue of Veiovis on the Arx in 194, perhaps the cult statue in Furius Purpurius' temple, which was made of cypress wood.²⁶⁴ Yet for others the idea of a traditional cult statue seems to have fallen short of the mark. Instead they sought Greek images, and since expropriating cult statues in Greece contravened consensus, they commissioned new images from Greek sculptors, designated neo-Attic for their Athenian roots and consciously revivalist style. At first most of these sculptors probably worked to order in Greece, particularly in Athens, and shipped their products to Rome; though sources mention Greek sculptors (*plastai*) and painters in Aemilius Paullus' household to educate his sons *à la grecque* (among them an Athenian painter named Metrodorus), resident artists in Rome in the first half of the second century seem to have been an anomaly.²⁶⁵ By the second half, however, some Attic sculptors had probably moved their workshops to the city.

Pliny notes that in the Temple of Apollo Medicus "the Apollo with his lyre ... was made by Timarchides [of Athens]."²⁶⁶ This is the first known example of a neo-Attic work in Rome, and since Pliny places it inside the temple, it was likely the cult statue, commissioned for the restoration in the first half of the second century; other statues he puts in the later portico (*delubrum*).²⁶⁷ A widely reproduced sculpture of Apollo with a cithara, exemplified in the British Museum's Apollo (Fig. 3.43), probably reflects the statue, and excavations at the temple turned up a fragment of a colossal Greek marble (Pentelic?) hand that may have belonged to the original sculpture, yielding an image approximately 5.50 meters high.²⁶⁸ The Capitoline's Albani Collection also contains a colossal



Fig. 3.43 Statue of Apollo Citharoides ("Cyrene Apollo"), second century C.E. British Museum (© Trustees of the British Museum)

Greek marble (Pentelic?) head that resembles the Apollo citharode type; of unknown provenance, it may belong to Timarchides' statue (Fig. 3.44).²⁶⁹

After 146, Caecilius Metellus hired Timarchides' sons, Polycles and Dionysius, for cult statues in the Temple to Jupiter Stator and the restored Temple of Juno Regina.²⁷⁰ Both artists were active in Greek lands, and Pliny names Polycles, along with Timocles (likely his son or cousin) and several other artists known for work in Greece, among the sculptors who brought art back to life in the 150s after a dry spell of over a hundred years.²⁷¹ A diademed female head of Pentelic marble from the Albani Collection in the Capitoline Museums could have come from Dionysius' Juno Regina (Fig. 3.45): techniques used in its production – a hollowed out core to reduce



Fig. 3.44 Colossal acrolithic head, second century. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo, Galleria, inv. MC 292/S (Archivio Fotografico dei Musei Capitolini)



Fig. 3.45 Colossal acrolithic head, second century. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo, Galleria, inv. MC 253/S (Archivio Fotografico dei Musei Capitolini)

weight, the addition of the rear of the head in stucco, eyes once made of paste or stone – are characteristic of Hellenistic acrolithic sculptures.²⁷² Polykles' Roman sculptures may have included a votive statue of Hercules near the Temple of Ops, identified with a Pentelic marble head found at the western foot of the Capitoline (Fig. 3.46),²⁷³ and Varro names bronze images of Muses among Polykles' oeuvres, evidence that neo-Attic artists worked in metal as well as marble for Roman clients; a gilded bronze Hercules found with remains of Scipio Aemilianus' Temple of Hercules is probably such a work (Fig. 3.47).²⁷⁴ A younger generation included Scopas Minor, named in a Severan inscription for a statue of Hercules Olivarius, who probably fashioned a colossal seated Mars for Brutus Callaicus' temple, described by Pliny; also a naked Venus, "a work that surpasses the Venus of Praxiteles and would have brought fame to any

locality but Rome," and a series of statues, including cult images, for the Temple of Neptune (to which the heavily restored Ludovisi "Ares," actually an Achilles, is sometimes assigned: Fig. 3.48).²⁷⁵

In style, these sculptures were indebted to the arts of classical Greece. Smooth facial planes and, in some instances, a sharp delineation of the eyebrow and nose ridge, betray the influence of fifth-century sculptors such as Pheidias; Praxiteles inspired fleshy facial contours, small, slightly open mouths, and a sensual treatment of the skin. Deep orbitals, fully plastic eyebrows, and torsion of head and neck are Scopasian, while proportions, musculature, and spatial compositions owe a debt to Lysippos.²⁷⁶ This eclectic style developed in Greece at the end of the third century and the beginning of the second as part of a retrospective movement that exalted the fifth and fourth centuries as a cultural peak for Athens: while



Fig. 3.46 Marble head of Hercules, second half of the second century. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, inv. MC 2381 (Penelope Davies)



Fig. 3.47 Gilded bronze statue of Hercules, second half of the second century. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Palazzo dei Conservatori, inv. MC1265 (Penelope Davies)

connoisseurs analyzed the relative strengths of classical authors and artists, sculptors revived classical styles, particularly for the cult statues of which they produced an abundance.²⁷⁷ For the wealthy Roman clients of Athenian sculptors, by contrast, the initial objective was to obtain authentic, high-quality Greek cult statues. Into the bargain, their patronage demonstrated that Greek art was under Roman management, and the refinements of the Greek world served Roman interests.²⁷⁸ In time, this would lead to a vibrant industry in contemporary Greek sculpture for domestic uses.

*An Imperative to Display: New Display Monuments,
New Monuments for Display*

Despite the allegations that Claudius Marcellus abused the gods of Syracuse, at least, in Cicero's view, his detractors did not fault him on the disposal of his spoils. Cicero

insists that he kept none in his house, his garden, or his villa, though he did retain one of Archimedes' planetary spheres, perhaps by purchase.²⁷⁹ Given the economic crisis, a large portion of the weapons and armor may have been melted down for bullion,²⁸⁰ and literary sources, along with inscribed statue bases, testify that artworks from Syracuse, including the second planetarium, were displayed at the Temples of Honos and Virtus at Porta Capena (a spot Livy deemed well chosen to impress visitors), on the Esquiline, in Catania, Sicily, and perhaps at the sanctuaries of the Cabeiri on Samothrace and Athena at Lindos.²⁸¹ Cicero's approval of Claudius Marcellus' restraint reflects a theme that seems to have percolated into public debate as artistic and luxury spoils began to pour into Rome. The debate, in turn, had a lasting effect on architectural production.

At some point during the course of the Republic, the political elite framed a consensus on the rights



Fig. 3.48 Ludovisi “Ares,” second half of the second century. Palazzo Altemps (Penelope Davies su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Soprintendenza Speciale per il Colosseo, il Museo Romano e l’Area archeologica di Roma)

and obligations of a general with regard to his spoils. To some extent, assessments of its nature hinge on the meaning of the terms *praeda* and *manubiae*. *Praeda* could signify booty in its entirety, or the loot that soldiers seized on order of their commander, which they pooled and shared by rank. As for *manubiae*, they may have been the proceeds derived from the sale of spoils, or large or particularly precious items reserved against the soldiers’ looting, or objects of value that belonged in the treasury. A general’s control over his *manubiae* may have been complete; it is more likely, however, that though he had custody over *manubiae* gained under his auspices from the moment of seizure to the time of expenditure – with all the social and political prestige that entailed – custody was not possession: *manubiae* were the property of the state, which he held in trust for purposes in a collective interest.²⁸² Even so, there were

ways – some legitimate, some not so – for a general to gain ownership of his *manubiae*: he could apparently purchase items as mementoes of victory, or give them to subordinates;²⁸³ and it is hard to believe that miscellaneous small items did not filter into his domestic holdings and perhaps, as gifts, into those of his friends. Moreover, an unscrupulous general could keep registered *manubiae* indefinitely, knowing that as long as he professed the intention to use them in the public interest, while he was alive there was hardly any way to prove that he had appropriated them; only after his death could the state claim them from his estate.²⁸⁴

Even if a general simply had custody over his *manubiae*, he seems to have had some discretion over their use, and literary and archaeological evidence suggests a heightened scrutiny of their disposal at the end of the third century and in the first half of the second, probably due to the sheer volume of booty reaching Rome, and to its changing nature. After a triumph, weapons and all but the most significant bronze statues were probably melted down, but excess or mediocre marble statues and items of domestic furniture could not be reduced to their material value. Lively art auctions must therefore have turned booty into cash, and changes in holding patterns must have occurred: after triumphs, generals must have stored greater quantities of artworks than before while deciding on their fate.

In the field, generals apparently kept logs of their plunder. Similar accounts were maintained in Rome, and at the end of the third century the first evidence appears for what may be a registration system.²⁸⁵ On the front of a peperino base found near S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura, an inscription indicates that the bronze statue it supported, probably seized from a sanctuary in Campania or Samnium, was dedicated to Hercules by M. Minucius Rufus, consul in 221 and Fabius Maximus’ Master of the Horse in 217. A secondary inscription on the left side reads *L·I·XXVI*, in letters contemporary to or a little later than the chief inscription and in a different hand (Fig. 3.49a–b). The numbers may have cross-referenced with state inventories. Three similar inscriptions, likely dating to the second century, are engraved into the bronze horse from vicolo delle Palme (Fig. 3.50), and a bronze nude, probably a portrait of a Hellenistic potentate, was inscribed on the base, the stomach (Fig. 3.51), and the right leg.²⁸⁶

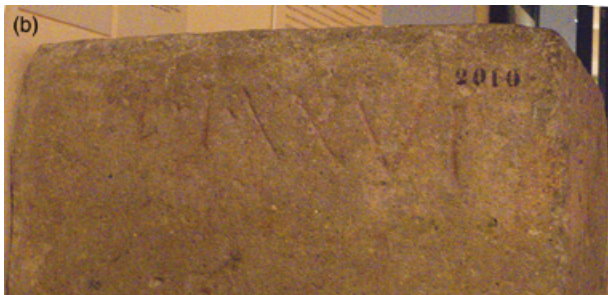
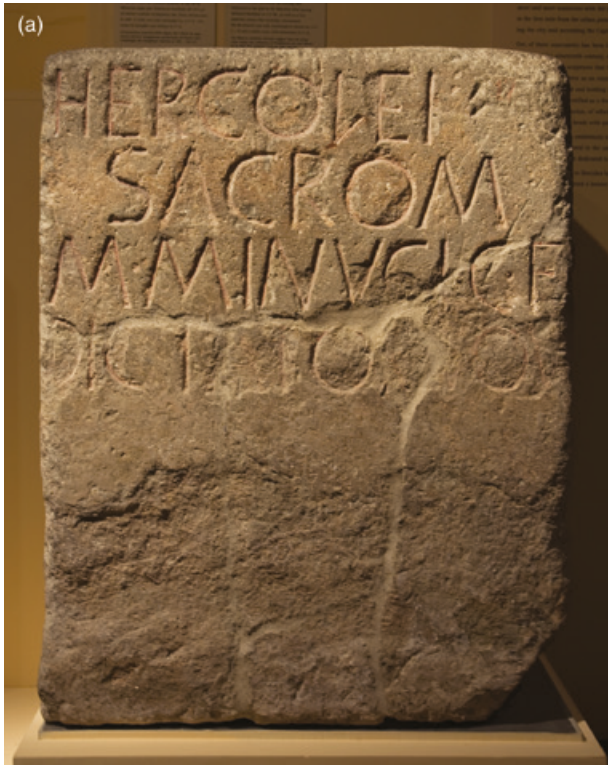


Fig. 3.49a–b Inscribed peperino base for a statue dedicated by Minucius, ca. 221–217. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini (Penelope Davies)

If these were registration numbers, their appearance fits a climate of debate suggested by literary sources. In speeches delivered between his consulship in 195 and his censorship in 184 and perhaps beyond, preserved only as fragments, Cato spoke harshly against what he perceived as improper uses of booty. He denounced fraudulent or avaricious distributions of spoils, in the hope, perhaps, of forcing generals to share their *manubiae* more generously with their soldiers, and censured “public thieves” who lived in a luxury financed through appropriated spoils; and he railed against



Fig. 3.50 Inscription on the bronze horse found on vicolo dell Palme, fourth century? Rome, Musei Capitolini, Palazzo dei Conservatori, inv. MC 1064/S (Penelope Davies)



Fig. 3.51 Inscription on a bronze statue of a Hellenistic ruler (?) Palazzo Massimo (Penelope Davies su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Soprintendenza Speciale per il Colosseo, il Museo Romano e l’Area archeologica di Roma)

unauthorized displays of spoils outside houses, and generals who kept images of the gods to decorate their homes.²⁸⁷ He held himself up as an *exemplum*, insisting that in Spain he took nothing from enemy territory

but his food and drink, that he offered no part of the booty to friends and withheld none for himself. From the wealth removed from silver mines, he gave his soldiers extraordinary donatives, for in his view “it was better for many Romans to go home with silver in their possession than a few with gold.”²⁸⁸ He probably earmarked some *manubiae* to finance his temple to Victoria Virgo, but it is likely that a large portion of the booty stayed in the treasury. The polemical quality of his speech indicates that he considered his behavior an exception.²⁸⁹

Like the issue of pillaged cult statues, the matter of appropriate display of booty became a useful political weapon. In 190, after victory at Thermopylae, Acilius Glabrio dedicated three statues of the *nixi di* (who helped in childbirth) before the cella of Minerva at the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. Greek spoils graced his Temple of Pietas, and a limestone base records a dedication at Luni.²⁹⁰ Still, when he entered the race for the censorship of 189, tribunes charged him with embezzling plunder:

Towards him particularly, because he had distributed many largesses, by which he had placed a large part of the voters under obligation, the support of the people inclined. When so many nobles were angered that a new man should be so far preferred to them, Publius Sempronius Gracchus and Gaius Sempronius Rutilus, tribunes of the people, laid an accusation against him, that some of the king’s money and much of the booty taken in the camp of Antiochus had neither been displayed by him in the triumph nor turned in to the treasury ... In his testimony, [Cato] said that vessels of gold and silver which he had seen in the captured camp along with the rest of the royal booty he had not seen in the triumph ... The fine proposed was 100,000 asses.²⁹¹

A candidate for the same censorship, Cato had served as military tribune under Acilius Glabrio in 191 and had even angled to claim credit for the victory himself. As soon as Acilius Glabrio withdrew from the election the opposition dropped the case, and even if the allegations were true, Livy believed they were brought to keep a new man from the censorship; at best they were likely a combination of political expediency, partisan and factional conflicts, and concern to police the conduct of public affairs.²⁹² Three years later, Fulvius Nobilior elicited rancor with the disposal of his Ambracian spoils, apparently keeping some of them for himself; he was

almost certainly a target of Cato’s wrath, and again the allegations probably had a political dimension, as did extortion claims leveled against Scipio Africanus and Scipio Asiaticus in the 180s (also involving Cato).²⁹³ Like the treatment of images of foreign deities, in the first half of the second century this issue was a political liability that, regardless of motivations, could derail a political career.

The scrutiny had consequences. Evidence for public dedications increases, many of them in the *area Capitolina*. Thus, Livy mentions a shield bearing an image of Hasdrubal, captured during L. Marcus’ attack on the general’s camp in Spain and known as the “Marcian,” that hung in the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus until the fire of 83.²⁹⁴ Fabius Maximus offered his bronze Hercules on the Capitol, where his family’s presence was strong; nearby, like Spurius Carvilius, he erected a bronze equestrian statue of himself.²⁹⁵ Flaminius placed a statue of Jupiter Imperator from Macedonia there, and there, where the Scipiones had developed their own affinity with the chief god, Scipio Asiaticus dedicated his booty after 190.²⁹⁶ Generals made other dedications at their own votive temples or those of antecedents: an inscribed statue base found in via S. Ambrogio in 1867 attests to Fulvius Nobilior’s display of plundered statues at the Temple of Hercules Musarum, perhaps to refute Cato’s accusation that he withheld them, or to make reparation;²⁹⁷ Aemilius Lepidus probably exhibited weapons in the Temple of Juno Regina, since the fourth-century CE writer Julius Obsequens records a lightning strike on a Ligurian shield there in 134,²⁹⁸ and Claudius Marcellus’ grandson placed spoils at the Temples of Honos and Virtus. These and similar dedications helped to retain gentilician credit for victories and spoils, and reinforced the notion of hereditary charisma.²⁹⁹

To some extent, the rise in spoils explains a rise in dedications. So too, perhaps, does an urge to turn *manubiae* into a memorial instead of leaving them for the state. But at this time, ancient authors also indulge a new form of commentary, condoning abstemious generals. Some, they state, like Aemilius Paullus, steadfastly refused any part of their spoils:

he would not consent even to look upon the quantities of silver and the quantities of gold that were gathered together from the royal treasuries, but handed them over to the quaestors for the public chest. It was only

the books of the king that he allowed his sons, who were devoted to learning, to choose out for themselves, and when he was distributing rewards for valour in the battle, he gave Aelius Tubero, his son-in-law, a bowl of five lbs. weight.³⁰⁰

Despite the enormity of his haul, Aemilius Paullus consecrated no monument in Rome, and paid no attention to the disposal of his spoils, so Polybius claims; in Cicero's words, "to his own house he brought nothing save the glory of an immortal name."³⁰¹ Scipio Aemilianus, his biological son, followed suit: "When he became master of Carthage," Polybius writes, "which was considered the wealthiest city in the world, he took absolutely nothing from it to add to his own fortune, either by purchase or by any other means of acquisition, and this although he was not particularly well off."³⁰² Reputedly from Carthage, a colossal statue of Apollo near the Circus and a statue of Hercules later located in front of the *Porticus ad Nationes* may have been his dedications.³⁰³ Most ostentatiously abstemious was Mummius, who "preferred to adorn Italy rather than his house;"³⁰⁴ by Pliny's account, he "filled the city with statues, though destined not to leave enough at his death to provide a dowry for his daughter."³⁰⁵ Inscribed statue bases in Rome, and throughout Italy, Greece, and Italica, corroborate these and other reports of his restraint and magnanimity with regard to his spoils.³⁰⁶ His votives in Rome underlined the state's ownership of the wealth of Achaea; beyond, they acknowledged Rome's supremacy and its obligation to its allies and gained him political influence wherever clients were still available.³⁰⁷ When he exhibited an image of Dionysus by the Theban artist Aristides at the Temple of Ceres, Liber, and Libera, he gained prestige as the first to display a foreign painting in public; this, and the installation at the Temple of Luna of bronze *dolia*, designed to improve acoustics at the theater in Corinth, brought favor from plebeians.³⁰⁸ His behavior was by the book, and unable to fault him on his use of spoils, Scipio Aemilianus and his ilk characterized him as a vulgar looter, ignorant of his plunder's aesthetic value; yet most of their slander merely testifies to his insistence on bringing the state its due.³⁰⁹

After the Second Punic War, some generals still funneled proceeds from spoils into votive temples. At the same time, there was avid experimentation in other kinds of manubial architecture, which radically altered the cityscape. These public monuments delivered more prestige than keeping spoils at home, and since they presumably

required approval, attested to the senate's acknowledgement of the sponsor's accomplishment, and willingness to commit to maintaining his memorial.³¹⁰ And in the face of close scrutiny, a conspicuous public display of *manubiae* discouraged investigation.

At the simplest level, temple precincts seem to have been adapted for more display space. In front of the Temple of Hercules Musarum, for instance, the *Forma Urbis* shows a scalloped outline (Fig. 3.8) that could be a formal garden, or two wings extending from the podium as a series of pedestals for art from Ambracia.³¹¹ More certain is that around the middle of the second century generous platforms were installed in front of Temples A and C, Largo Argentina (12.50 meters wide and 14 meters long at Temple A, see above).³¹² Alongside the altars that graced them, literary sources and statue bases place sculptures at least by the first century, suggesting that the general reconfiguration of sacred space was motivated in part by the urge to display.³¹³

Other structures evolved that, like earlier rostrate columns, served no obvious purpose except to exhibit spoils; monuments in the strictest sense, they fall between categories, and blur the distinctions between votive dedications, sculpture, and architecture. The *foenix* or arch was one such structure. On returning from a proconsulship in Hispania Ulterior in 196, L. Stertinius determined he had no hope of a triumph, probably because of his status as a *privatus cum imperio* and because his spoils – 15,000 pounds of plundered silver – paled next to the quantities of gold, silver, and coin that Cn. Cornelius Blasio had displayed in an ovation over Hispania Citerior.³¹⁴ The absence of a triumph notwithstanding, he channeled his spoils into two arches by the Temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta in the Forum Boarium, perhaps a monumentalization of the Porta Carmentalis where triumphal processions entered the city, and a third in the Circus Maximus (probably at the curved end). Known collectively as the *foenices Stertini*, these may have been Rome's first freestanding arches. Surmounting them were gilded statues (*signa aurata*), which were probably either plundered, or made or purchased from the proceeds of spoils.³¹⁵

As a genre, the arch quickly gained favor. Shortly before leaving for Asia as his brother's legate, in 189 Scipio Africanus erected another, facing the *clivus Capitolinus*. It probably constituted a monumental entrance into the *area sacra* in front of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, at the point where processions emerged for the

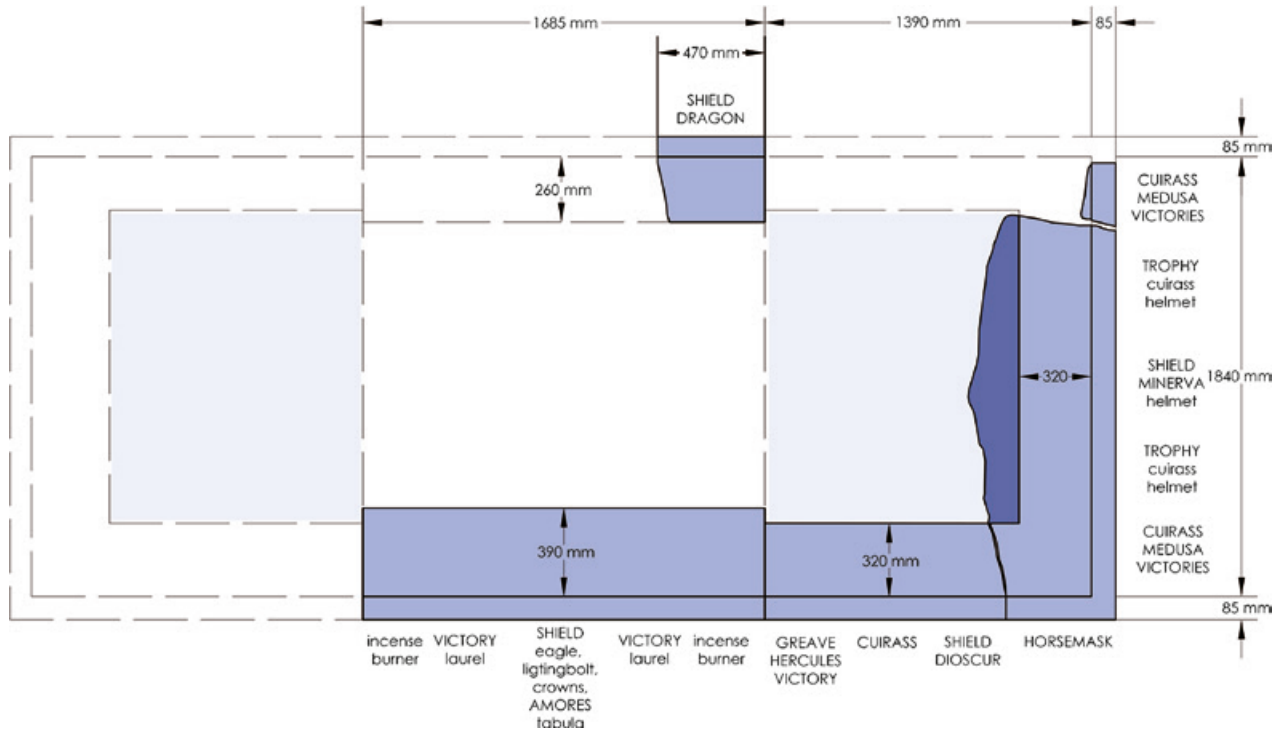


Fig. 3.52 San Omobono/Via della Consolazione monument base, *ca.* 146 (?), from S. Omobono and environs, reconstructed plan (Onur Öztürk after Kuttner (2013) fig. 8.15)

climax of the ceremonies; if so, it controlled the dynamics of a space Scipio Africanus reputedly frequented as if Jupiter Optimus Maximus were his personal patron god (to the extent that after his death his *imago* was stored in the Temple of Jupiter instead of his family home).³¹⁶ In Livy's words, there were "seven gilded statues (*signa septem aurata*) and two equestrian figures and two marble basins before the arch;" it is not clear if the gilded statues and equestrian figures were on the arch or in front of it.³¹⁷ Statues and basins alike may have been spoils, or purchased with the proceeds from spoils, supplied by Scipio Africanus' victory at Zama or his campaign in Spain in 206–205; for the latter the senate denied him a triumph because he was a *privatus cum imperio*, but he did conduct rituals of thanksgiving on the Capitoline. The equestrian figures likely represented Scipio Africanus and Scipio Asiaticus, who only received the coveted command against Asia when his illustrious brother promised to join him as his junior colleague.³¹⁸ They jostled for attention with Fabius Maximus' equestrian statue of 209 and a golden six-horse chariot that one of the Cornelii (perhaps Scipio

Nasica) dedicated there to commemorate his consulship, also in 189.³¹⁹ Nearby, a certain Calpurnius, probably a praetor named M. Calpurnius Piso, built another arch at some point before 133 (and probably after 167).³²⁰ None of these *formices* was generated by a triumph, though all are linked to military activity in literary sources and all stood at focal points on the triumphal route; at their conception, at least, they may have constituted public display of spoils not shown in triumph, permanent surrogates for an ephemeral parade.³²¹

A set of blue-gray limestone reliefs housed in Centrale Montemartini and Vienna probably decorated a manubial monument of a different kind. First reconstructed as a pilaster monument crowned by a statue, on the model of the pillar Aemilius Paullus appropriated at Delphi after Pydna,³²² it is more convincingly reassembled as a rectangular base for a statuary group (approximately 2.50 by 8.70 meters: Fig. 3.52).³²³ On the front, the frieze divides symmetrically around a pair of *nike* statues, which bedeck a shield with a laurel crown or garland. On the shield, an eagle clasps a thunderbolt in its talons; from a



Figs. 3.53a–d Reliefs found in San Omobono/via della Consolazione and environs, ca. 146 (?), fragments A–D. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, inv. nos. MC 2750, 2752, 2749, 2749 (Penelope Davies)



Figs. 3.53a–d (cont.)

palm branch in its beak hang a fillet and two crowns, one of them apparently a grass crown, the reward for saving Romans from imminent destruction, the other a mural crown, bestowed on the first soldier to scale and breach the walls of a besieged city.³²⁴ Above the eagle two *erotes* raise a *tabula*, probably once inscribed, and flanking the *nikai* are candelabras (Block A: Fig. 3.53a). To either side of this panel, weapon friezes feature a greave, an anatomical cuirass, a shield emblazoned with a Dioscurus (Block B), and a plumed face-guard for a horse (short side of Block C: Fig. 3.53b). On fragmentary Block E is another Dioscurus, probably a shield device (Fig. 3.53c). The weapon frieze continues on at least one short side of the monument, disposed symmetrically around a circular shield and a helmeted head of Roma, Virtus, or Bellona, with a tree trunk and a corselet cuirass to either side (long side of Block C, fragmentary Block F). A fragment with a rectangular shield ornamented with a winged serpent or dragon (Block D: Fig. 3.53d) probably belongs on the rear.³²⁵

Despite stylistic similarities to East Greek sculpture, the closest iconographic comparanda for the frieze are

found in North Africa, on a peak top overlooking a valley at Chemtou (Tunisia), where remains of a two-story, rectangular shrine, probably dating to the mid-second century, indicate a frieze of Numidian shields alternating with cuirasses. With its paratactic, symmetrical composition against a neutral background, its compact forms, and the rigidly frontal or profile disposition of the individual objects, the frieze closely resembles the Roman reliefs (Fig. 3.54). Similar blocks decorate a more fragmentary building at Kbour Klib.³²⁶ The Roman reliefs have long been associated with Sulla and his role in Jugurtha's defeat at the end of the second century (see below),³²⁷ but a recent hypothesis links them with Scipio Aemilianus Africanus and his Carthaginian triumph; the recipient of a mural crown in his youth, he was one of only five Romans to earn a *corona graminea* during the Republic (in 146 at Carthage).³²⁸

A deep blue-gray, the stone used for the monument combined the darkness of Roman tufo with the luminous quality and hardness of marble. It probably came from North Africa, and just as Greek sculptors were moving to Rome to work Greek marble, North African sculptors probably came to carve this stone, along with artists schooled in East Aegean styles.³²⁹ Bespeaking Rome's command of North Africa's resources, the monument as a whole may have been manubial, showcasing material brought to Rome as spoils. It may, alternatively, have been the gift of the Numidian court, a mark of friendship from King Micipsa (who provided the pretext for the war if not assistance during the conflict), possibly in collusion with Scipio Aemilianus, which would have allowed Scipio Aemilianus to gain prestige without appearing to seek it.³³⁰

Most of the relief fragments came to light in 1886 in piazza della Consolazione and in 1937 in the area of piazza della Consolazione, via della Bocca della Verità (via del Mare), via della Consolazione (vico Jugario) and via Bucimazza. One was reused as a street paver near the Theater of Marcellus, and another is of unknown provenance.³³¹ The find spots suggest that the monument was in or close to the *area sacra* of S. Omobono in the Forum Boarium, sacred to Hercules, who was worshipped in North Africa as Melqart and whose image embellishes the greave on Block B.³³² If Scipio Aemilianus was the sponsor, then, coupled with Hercules, his presence twice marked the triumphal route: where it entered the Forum Boarium (this monument) and where it exited (his round temple). Alternatively, in the event that the

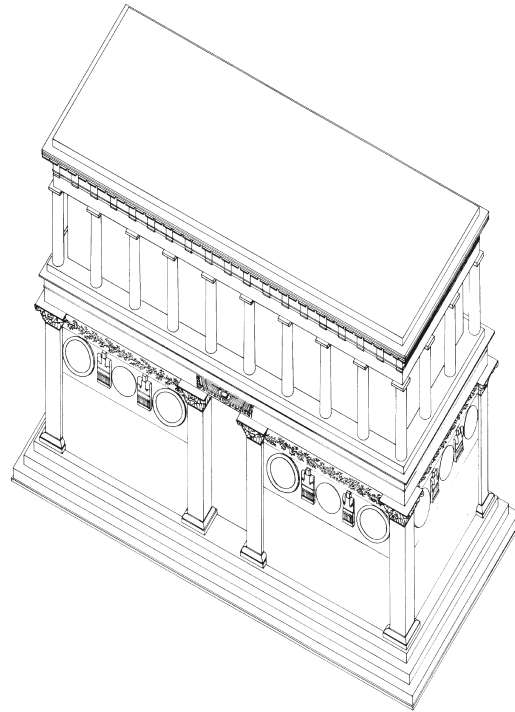


Fig. 3.54 Numidian royal monument, Chemtou/Simitthus, second century, reconstruction. From Rakob 1979, fig. 32 (Rakob Archive, Deutsches Archaeologisches Institut Rom)



Fig. 3.55 Census relief, ca. 142 (?), Paris, Musée du Louvre (Art Resource)



Fig. 3.56 Marine *thiasos* relief, Hellenistic period. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek (Penelope Davies)

monument fell from the *area Capitolina*, as some scholars believe, it was erected close to the column monument set up by Scipio Aemilianus' predecessor, Aemilius Paulus, in Rome's first encounters with the Carthaginians, and in a zone closely associated with his adoptive forebear, Scipio Africanus, victor over Hannibal.

Four sculptural panels held in the Louvre and the Munich Glyptothek probably came from a monument of similar type.³³³ The Paris relief depicts a census, with its concluding sacrifice, the *lustrum* (Fig. 3.55). The events are rendered in a legible, paratactic style, with little overlapping or foreshortening, and by classical and Hellenistic Greek standards the figures' proportions are squat, their gestures sometimes unnaturalistic.³³⁴ The three Munich reliefs depict the marriage of Poseidon and Amphitrite, escorted by a *thiasos*, or procession, of marine creatures (Fig. 3.56). The figures are more elongated, with foreshortening for twisted poses; faces are idealized, and deeply carved orbitals betray the influence of Scopas the Elder. While the census relief is carved out of a fine white marble, the *thiasos* reliefs are a blue-veined marble that is probably from Asia Minor, Samos, or the Cyclades. This, coupled with the fact that the side panels appear to have been tailored to accommodate the census panel, suggests that the *thiasos* reliefs were spoils. They probably originated in Greece or Asia Minor, as the revetment for a cult statue base set against the rear wall of a temple cella. The census relief was sculpted to complement them, almost certainly in Rome.³³⁵

The reliefs were initially thought to have reveted an altar in Rome (the so-called Altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus), and then a base of some sort.³³⁶ One hypothesis envisages them as the cult statue base in the Temple of Neptune, supporting the Ludovisi "Ares" (Achilles: Fig. 3.48), the Lateran Poseidon, and a sculpture of Thetis in the Palazzo Altemps. The theory rests on a passage of Pliny:

Most highly esteemed is [Scopas'] composition in the shrine built by Cn. Domitius in the Flaminian Circus. There is Neptune himself, and with him are Thetis and Achilles. There are Nereids riding on dolphins and mighty fish on sea-horses, and also Tritons, "Phorcus' band," swordfish and a host of other sea creatures, all by the hand of the one man, a magnificent achievement even if it had occupied his whole career.³³⁷

Yet the association of reliefs and text requires special pleading,³³⁸ and Pliny's own account of the productivity of other Greek sculptors makes his gloss on the description ("a

magnificent achievement, even if it had occupied his whole career") seem hyperbolic when applied to three statues and three reliefs of modest size; it probably refers to a group composed entirely of free-standing sculptures. The reliefs' dimensions, once assembled (approximately 5.65 by 1.75 meters), make their placement within the cella of the Temple of Neptune (or the Temple of Mars, another proposal, each estimated at 8 by 10 meters) unlikely, and the monument's four-sidedness militates in favor of a place where all faces were visible.³³⁹ Other hypotheses see the monument as a base for a votive object or *anathema* outside the Temples of Neptune and Mars in the Circus Flaminius.³⁴⁰

The only relief carved for its Roman context, the census panel suggests an alternative reconstruction. The figures' angle of protrusion in the relief indicates that it was not designed to stand at ground level; in fact, when viewed from above, the altar at which the *lustrum* takes place appears to sever the two ministrants behind it at the midriff (Fig. 3.57). The relief's structure suggests instead that it stood around eye level or higher, on a base about 1.50 meters tall (perhaps four or five Roman feet, 1.18 or 1.48 meters) (Fig. 3.58). Like the column for Valerius Maximus' sundial at the Comitium, the base objectified the *thiasos* reliefs and emphasized their spoliative character, transforming them in function and identity from Greek statue base to Roman plunder. The Italic style and subject of the census relief underlined the fact of their appropriation under Roman authority. A *titulus* probably stated as much.

Where the monument stood is unknown. The panels may have come to light in the Circus Flaminius zone but there is no guarantee of it;³⁴¹ they could have originated at the Temple of the Nymphs, where the censors probably kept their archives, or even at the Villa Publica.³⁴² Also unknown is the sponsor. Some scholars favor Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, whom they credit with a restoration of the Temple of Neptune as consul in 122,³⁴³ or M. Antonius, propraetor from 102 to 100, on the (rather contrived) premise that the *thiasos* reliefs suggest a naval victory and that only he is known to have celebrated both a victory at sea and a censorial *lustrum* in the last two centuries of the Republic.³⁴⁴ A recent hypothesis, based again on Pliny's text, holds that the *thiasos* reliefs came from a region where Scopas the Elder was active, probably a major sanctuary of Poseidon such as the temple at Isthmia, in the territory of Corinth. On sacking Corinth, Mummius appropriated them, and commissioned the complementary relief as censor in 142–141. He displayed the ensemble in the area of the Temple of Neptune, as a base for statues of Neptune

and Amphitrite alongside the Ludovisi “Ares” (Palemon, later misidentified as Achilles by Pliny).³⁴⁵

Roman attitudes to pillaging cult statues tend to buttress the reliefs’ attribution to Mummius, even when dissociated from Pliny’s text. If the *thiasos* panels reveted a cult statue base in their original context, their arrival in Rome as spoils broadcast the impression that the statue(s) that once surmounted the base had also been removed (even if, in theory, the revetment could have been removed without displacing the statue[s]). Scipio Aemilianus and Mummius were among a handful of second-century generals in the unusual position of being able to appropriate a cult statue base without eliciting

opprobrium in Rome: in 146, both men had to relocate the cult statues of a city they were about to systematically dismantle; Scipio Aemilianus had to do the same again in 133. The style and Greek provenance of the *thiasos* reliefs argue for Mummius, as does the likelihood that he prevailed over Scipio Aemilianus, during their fractious term as co-censors, to conduct the lustration.³⁴⁶ Moreover, although cult statue bases were not always decorated with images of the honorand, the subject of the Munich reliefs makes the Temple of Poseidon at Isthmia a seductive possibility as a site of origin. Excavations there indicate a building phase of the classical period (perhaps after a fire in 390), when a cult statue base was erected against the rear wall of the cella; its reconstructed dimensions approximate those of the reliefs.³⁴⁷

If Mummius was the patron, the monument probably played a role in his rivalry with Caecilius Metellus and Scipio Aemilianus. Reliefs from the Temple of Poseidon would have represented the climax of the conquest of Achaëa, the battle of the Isthmus. If the monument stood near the Temple of Neptune, Poseidon’s Roman counterpart, and if that temple was in turn associated with the Porticus of Octavius (see below), the installation was in dialog with Caecilius Metellus’ Granikos Monument at the Porticus Metelli. At the same time, in formal terms the monument was probably not dissimilar to Scipio Aemilianus’ hypothetical monument at S. Omobono, and the census panel highlighted the office Mummius had won only a year after Caecilius Metellus finally secured a consulship, after two *repulsae*, as well as his elevation



Fig. 3.57 Detail of census relief, ca. 142 (?). Paris, Musée du Louvre (Penelope Davies)

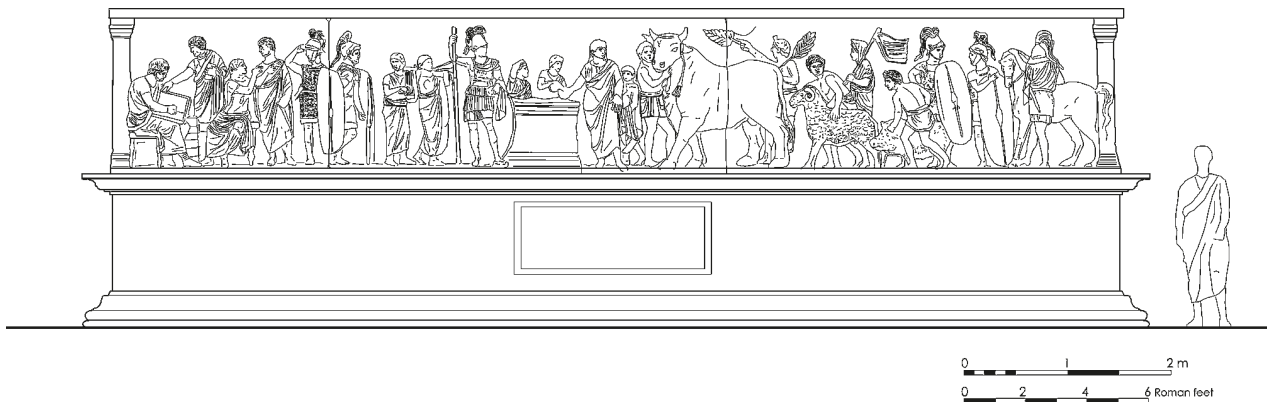


Fig. 3.58 Paris–Munich reliefs, hypothetical reconstruction (Penelope Davies and Onur Öztürk)

above Scipio Aemilianus to celebrate the prestigious *lustrum*.³⁴⁸

Besides these manubial monuments, new types of architecture also appear to have evolved as showcases for plundered art, among them, perhaps, monumental stage sets. At least as early as 205 and Scipio Africanus' Spanish victory, generals began to spend proceeds from *manubiae* on games, capitalizing on the new-found popularity of state entertainments.³⁴⁹ By the time of Fulvius Nobilior's games in 186, these games could include *ludi scaenici*; in fact, Ennius may have premiered the *Ambracia* during these festivities. For these plays, as for state festivals, temporary stages were built. Evidence for their form is scarce – only Polybius' statement that, a year after his praetorian triumph over Genthius of Illyria in 167, L. Anicius Gallus built a vast stage building (σκηνην μεγίστην) for votive games.³⁵⁰ Within a little over a century, however, the *scaenae frons* of M. Aemilius Scaurus' aedilician theater was a three-story screen of columns, framing doorways and *aediculae*, and this distinctively Roman design differed noticeably from the low, flat façades of contemporaneous Greek theaters. It may have developed in the first half of the second century – perhaps even with Fulvius Nobilior – as a temporary showcase for plundered statues, with a guaranteed audience.³⁵¹

The most magnificent of the new genres was the monumental porticus, a successor to utilitarian porticoes commissioned by earlier aediles and censors (see below). For Velleius Paterculus, the earliest of them, the Porticus of Octavius, was also the most striking.³⁵² A praetor and admiral of Aemilius Paullus' fleet in 168–167, Cn. Octavius prevailed over the Macedonian armada; it was he who received Perseus when he surrendered with his son at Samothrace, who took control of the royal treasure, and shipped the plunder seized under Aemilius Paullus' aegis back to Rome after it had been assembled at Amphipolis.³⁵³ His role in the war's outcome earned him a naval triumph, which he celebrated the day after Aemilius Paullus' three-day extravaganza, and though the procession was “unadorned with prisoners or spoils,” he nevertheless handed out larger donatives than the consul, indicating access to the plunder.³⁵⁴ Pliny names his portico in association with the triumph, suggesting that he built it with *manubiae*; in fact, unless the senate supplied funds, there is no other obvious mechanism by which a peregrine praetor could have funded such a monument. A new man, his advance to the consulship, achieved in

165, depended on aggressive exploitation of his record as a praetor.³⁵⁵

No trace of this earliest luxury porticus is known except, perhaps, a fraction of a line on the *Forma Urbis* to the west of the Temple of Hercules Musarum (Fig. 3.8). It was probably in the northwest Circus Flaminius, where the east–west axis of the Circus intersected with the north–south axis that oriented the Largo Argentina temples. Given the naval character of the triumph, it may have stood close to or around the Temple of Neptune.³⁵⁶ Nearby, temples to the Lares Permarini, Juno Regina, and Diana were all tied to the family of Octavius' commander, Aemilius Paullus. It was probably composed of three or four wings,³⁵⁷ and Pliny describes it as a *duplex porticus*, a type Vitruvius defines as having two naves divided by a high median colonnade, preferably Ionic or Corinthian. Within the porticus, probably on the interior colonnade, were displayed bronze Corinthian capitals, perhaps the first of their kind in Rome, and since the practice of casting bronze leaves for attachments to stone capitals was current in Greece, especially East Greece, they may have been spoils,³⁵⁸ making the building a showcase for plunder.

Once established, this type of porticus gained currency. A second was built by P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica on the Capitoline around mid-century, probably in association with a triumph over Dalmatia in 155;³⁵⁹ it complemented Scipio Africanus' arch and helped to highlight Scipionic presence in the *area Capitolina*. Licinius Lucullus' temple to Felicitas in the Velabrum, memorializing his proconsulship in Lusitania in 151, also had an accompanying portico, though the senate must have supplied funds, for despite Lusitania's wealth in gold and silver, the brutality of his attack on Cauca persuaded the survivors and citizens of neighboring cities to destroy their possessions rather than cede them into his hands.³⁶⁰ The porticus, therefore, was not manubial, but for the temple's dedication Licinius Lucullus filled it nonetheless with plundered art, borrowing sculptures from Mummius for the purpose; it transpired that having consecrated them with the temple, he could not return them. By Cicero's time at least, the precinct housed one of the great Greek art collections of Rome.³⁶¹

Of all these porticoes, the only one that survives to any extent is the Porticus Metelli on the north rim of the Circus Flaminius, commissioned by Caecilius Metellus after his return to Rome in 146, laden with spoils from Macedonia. Traces of a monteverde foundation and *opus*

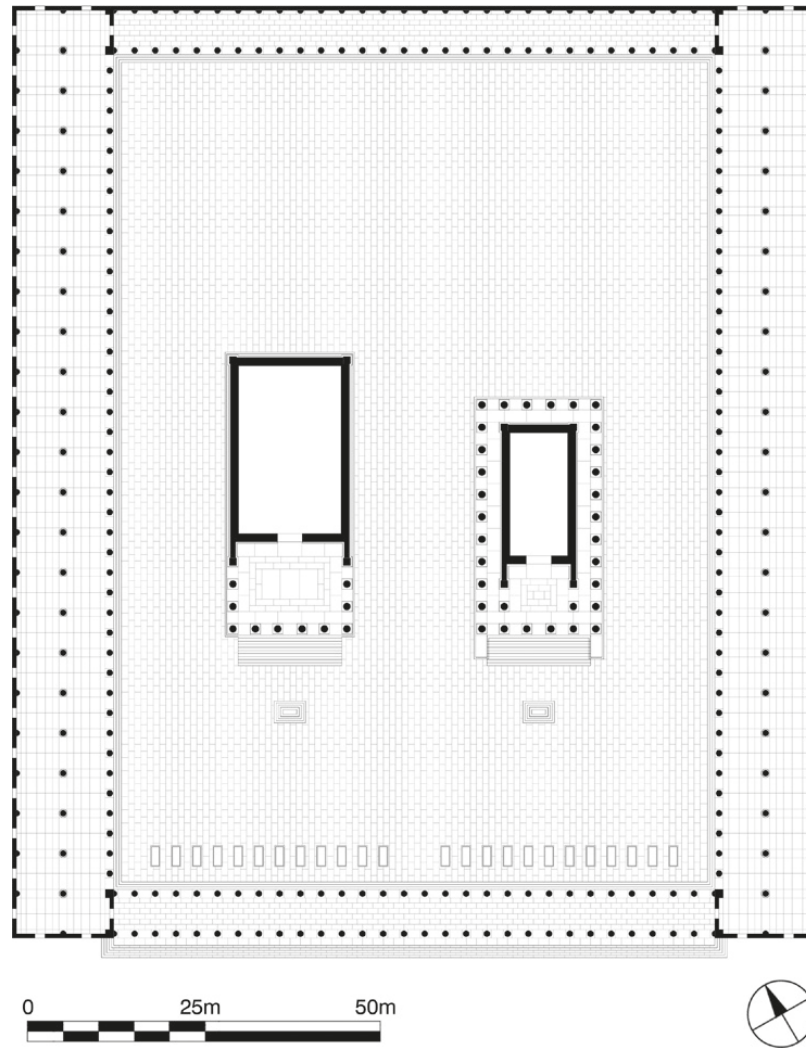


Fig. 3.59 Porticus Metelli, post-146, plan (John Burge)

incertum retaining walls indicate four wings, probably built of stuccoed tufo, enclosing an open court paved in peperino (Figs. 3.16, 3.59).³⁶² The lateral wings had double naves and a rear wall, and on the southwest a double colonnade faced the Circus Flaminius, as reflected on the *Forma Urbis* drawing but minus a propylon (Fig. 3.8). Intermittent breaks in the façade's foundation may represent exedrae for sculptures, opening into the portico, or staircases down to the Circus.³⁶³ A fragment of a fine Ionic capital of Parian marble, its pulvinus decorated with full acanthus leaves and a trilobite Lesbian *cyma* of a kind attested in Asia Minor, may have come from the portico, perhaps the inner colonnade.³⁶⁴ Estimated at over 105 meters by approximately 92, the porticus covered a vast area, containing the restored Temple of

Juno Regina and Caecilius Metellus' Temple of Jupiter Stator;³⁶⁵ and as renowned as the first marble temple may have been, the portico enjoyed equal fame as an exhibition space for artworks, the earliest of which were spoils: before the temples was the "chief ornament of the place," Lysippus' magnificent Granikos Monument, casting Caecilius Metellus as the conqueror of Alexander's descendants.³⁶⁶

Porticoed courtyards were characteristic of Macedonian palace architecture. Hellenistic kings also defined sacred *temenoi* (precincts) and other public spaces with colonnaded stoas (sometimes *duplex porticus*), built as acts of royal benefaction. Often, as in Pergamon's sanctuary of Athena Nikephoros, these spaces housed sculptures, also bestowed on the public as gifts.³⁶⁷ In Rome,

however, these porticoes were a new phenomenon, and inasmuch as their design evoked the territories their patrons had helped to conquer, they were a form of conceptual spoliation. They also changed the face of the city, subordinating the divergent axes of earlier buildings to snatches of rectilinear order, and evoking the opulent, planned spaces of Hellenistic *metropoleis*. They marked off space from the congested city and, with their rows of columns, approximated in stylized form the sacred groves that were growing scarce within urban limits; they must have been a welcome respite from the oppression of a city suddenly repopulated by returning armies.³⁶⁸ Grand, conspicuous displays of manubial income expended in the public interest, they were favors bestowed by triumphant generals, using a vocabulary of kingly benefaction and regal architecture. Indeed, assuming the patron's name and commemorating his triumph, these memorials to imperial expansion, property of the state, were also aggressive means of self-advancement that fell carefully within the bounds of consensus. By winning for their patrons the very prestige that rivals might have hoped to thwart, these public uses of manubial income turned the debate on manubial expenditure back upon itself.

The last quarter of the third century and the first two-thirds of the second saw a rapid escalation in spoils, and with them an influx of artworks. These, and the triumphs in which they were displayed, gave generals a level of prestige that, in the eyes of their peers, threatened constitutional equilibrium. To constrain them, their colleagues resorted to obstructionism, focusing attention particularly on alleged acts of sacrilege and extortion. Though their accusations could be damaging, *triumphatores* found innovative ways around the limitations imposed upon them. Debates condemning sacrilegious pillaging seem to have led to the introduction of colossal Greek sculptures to grace the city's temples; they brought luster to Rome, and would steer the way, eventually, to a lively sculpture industry. Discourses on the long-term disposal of spoils, for their part, drove rapid experimentation in expenditure of spoils; generals inaugurated novel types of manubial monument, such as arches, and embarked on magnificent public porticoes, and possibly theatres, as venues for display. At one and the same time these structures brought a new level of monumentalization to the city, glorified imperialism, and exalted their sponsors' names.

CIVIC DEVELOPMENT

With the outbreak of the Second Punic War came a rupture in building patterns, as the city channeled its resources into the conflict. For a brief period thereafter, while the treasury recovered, aediles were the principal builders, but as expansion brought wealth and conceptual inspiration, encouraging civic building on an unprecedented scale, censors became the most prolific sponsors, and their political proclivities played out in their buildings. Their initiatives improved the port and commercial amenities, monumentalized the Forum's civic structures, and provided venues for entertainment. As the city was transformed, the scrutiny witnessed in matters of religion and spoliation percolated into the civic sphere.

The Second Punic War Years

As the Carthaginian crisis escalated, the urgency of Rome's predicament disrupted the magistrates' routine mandates. Already in 217, the need for emergency measures had grown too pressing to wait for the next censorship, and the senate charged Fabius Maximus and Minucius Rufus, as dictator and Master of the Horse, with "the task of strengthening the walls and towers of the city, of disposing its defenses as to them seemed good, and of breaking down the bridges over the rivers [the Anio and the Tiber]." ³⁶⁹ Four years later, when a fire in the Forum Boarium had leveled the area between the Salinae and Porta Carmentalis, the senate did not call on aediles to handle restorations but, as it did for religious construction, appointed officials specially to the task: "Elections were then held by the *praetor urbanus* in accordance with a decision of the senate and a plebiscite, and at these were elected five commissioners for the restoration of the walls and towers." ³⁷⁰ Even in years designated for censorships, there were manpower shortages, and funds were scarce. The censors of 214, P. Furius Philus and M. Atilius Regulus, were released from the charge of contracting for public works on account of the failing treasury, and when they refrained from letting contracts for temple maintenance, desperate contractors offered to work for deferred payment. ³⁷¹ By the censorship of L. Veturius Philo and P. Licinius Crassus in 210, the treasury was so low that senators agreed to contribute their own valuables to the state. ³⁷²

What little censorial building did occur primarily addressed damage to existing civic structures. By Livy's

account, the censors of 209, M. Cornelius Cethegus and P. Sempronius Tuditanus, contracted for a reconstruction of seven shops, the market, and an Atrium Regium, burnt the previous year by a group of young Capuans, incensed at the execution of their fathers by Fulvius Flaccus.³⁷³ Traces of walls to the east of the Argiletum may belong to this phase of the Atrium Regium, and Grotta Oscura foundations and walls of two shops survive from a row of *tabernae* lining the north side of the Forum; complete with sewer lines, they were probably provided with water.³⁷⁴ Taken together, the restorations were a defiant response to Capuan aggression; moreover, rebuilding the bankers' stalls, and the Atrium Regium if it housed ambassadors, may have been a necessary expense even in time of war. Though neither censor had been consul, there is no indication that the contracts worked to their particular advantage; before the turn in Rome's fortunes in 207, the crisis may have bred a temporary spirit of collaboration.

The victors at Metaurus, Livius Salinator and Claudius Nero, won election as censors of 204, and during their term the treasury took slow steps toward recovery. Maintenance was exigent, and they focused on "repairs to public buildings and their roofs" which "they enforced strictly and with the greatest fidelity." Then, as well as contracting for the Temple of Magna Mater, "they let the contract for the making of a street leading out of the Forum Boarium, on both sides of the spectators' stands, as far as the Temple of Venus [Obsequens, at the east end of the Circus Maximus]."³⁷⁵ Possibly prompted by fire damage, like the Via Appia, which it extended, this street enhanced the commercial sector; it eased the transportation of goods and facilitated cleanliness. And like the Via Appia, it served its sponsors, highlighting familial connections between Claudius Nero and his antecedent, Ap. Claudius; leading directly from the Forum Boarium to the controversial Temples of Honos and Virtus, dedicated the previous year, the newly paved street also forged a connection with Claudius Marcellus, the hero of Clastidium and Syracuse.

After Zama: Aedilician Building

After victory at Zama came a surge of sacred building. By contrast, until 179, relatively little censorial building occurred, probably due to the climate of post-war recovery and austerity Cato advocated as consul in 195.³⁷⁶ Aediles, however, were unusually aggressive in the realm

of civic construction in 193–192, just as they were in religious building, motivated probably by the same factors: access to funds independent of the treasury, heightened status and publicity thanks to the increase in games, and a spike in competitiveness due to changes in the command structure. Moreover, another series of natural disasters had taken their toll, contributing to the overall neglect of the city during the lean war years. In 203, on the heels of a serious inundation, a fire burnt the zone around the *clivus Publicius* outside Porta Trigemina to the ground.³⁷⁷ In 202, Tiber waters flooded the Circus Maximus, and in 193 "the Tiber overflowed the flat parts of the City; around the Porta Flumentana certain buildings even collapsed and fell."³⁷⁸ Worse still, in 192 floodwaters "swept away two bridges and many buildings, especially around the Porta Flumentana," and "a fire broke out in the Forum Boarium, and for a day and a night the buildings facing the Tiber burned, and all the shops with merchandise of great value were consumed."³⁷⁹

Disaster presented opportunity. Plebeian aediles of 193, M. Iunius Brutus and L. Oppius Salinator restored the *tabernae novae* on the northeast side of the Forum, rebuilt by the censors of 209 but likely damaged again by the floods.³⁸⁰ In Livy's estimation the curule aedileship of Aemilius Lepidus and L. Aemilius Paullus in the same year was "notable," and not just for the gilded shields they placed on the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus: from fines imposed on grazers they also "constructed one portico outside the Porta Trigemina, adding a wharf on the Tiber, and another portico from the Porta Fontinalis to the Altar of Mars, where the way led into the Campus Martius."³⁸¹ The curule aediles of 192, M. Tuccius and P. Iunius Brutus followed suit: as well as their dedications at the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, out of fines against usurers they "built a portico outside the Porta Trigemina in the wood-dealers' quarter."³⁸² Unlike the later manubial porticoes (see above), these porticoes were probably single-aisled wooden structures on a stone foundation, lining and defining streets and public spaces.

These projects focused on zones especially afflicted by fire and floods; yet the aediles' improvements in the port and the commercial area may also reflect Rome's expanded role in the Mediterranean, and a policy to stimulate trade once the threat of war had passed and commerce could resume without danger: porticoes separated vehicular from pedestrian traffic, making both safer and more efficient, and offered merchants places to

display their wares.³⁸³ The work in the dock area, moreover, coincided with the establishment, at the end of the war, of regular grain deliveries as a tithe from Sicily and Sardinia and as rent on confiscated property, chiefly in Sicily and Campania.³⁸⁴ Once shippers had unloaded the grain, it was the aediles who took responsibility for its sale to the general public (*frumentationes*), and the porticoes may have facilitated this process.³⁸⁵ Named for the aediles, they gave the family presence in merchant zones, and though isolated initiatives, their transitional nature – connecting one place with another – allowed the aediles to manage urban space in a way that was more impressive than with most self-contained buildings. Meanwhile, the portico from Porta Fontinalis to the Altar of Mars connected the Atrium Libertatis and the Villa Publica, and was thus an adjunct to the censors' work of 194 (see below);³⁸⁶ it eased the path from the Comitium, where people met for *contiones*, to that part of the Campus Martius where they assembled to elect praetors, consuls, and censors, offices to which, as aediles, the Aemilii aspired next. The aggressive tactics adopted by this eminent patrician family underscore the urgency to secure the popular vote as patronage networks weakened.³⁸⁷

After 192, Livy records no civic construction or monumental dedications by aediles. From this point they seem to have focused their energies on temple restorations and increasingly extravagant state entertainments.³⁸⁸ In fact, when in 179 the senate imposed limits on the amounts triumphing generals could spend on victory games, Livy asserts that it “had passed this decree because of the lavish expenditures made on games by Tiberius Sempronius the aedile, which had been a burden, not only on Italy and the allies of the Latin confederacy, but on outside provinces as well;” as a gloss on circus games provided by Scipio Nasica and P. Lentulus, curule aediles in 169, featuring sixty-three leopards, forty bears, and elephants, he notes simply, “display [was] on the increase.”³⁸⁹

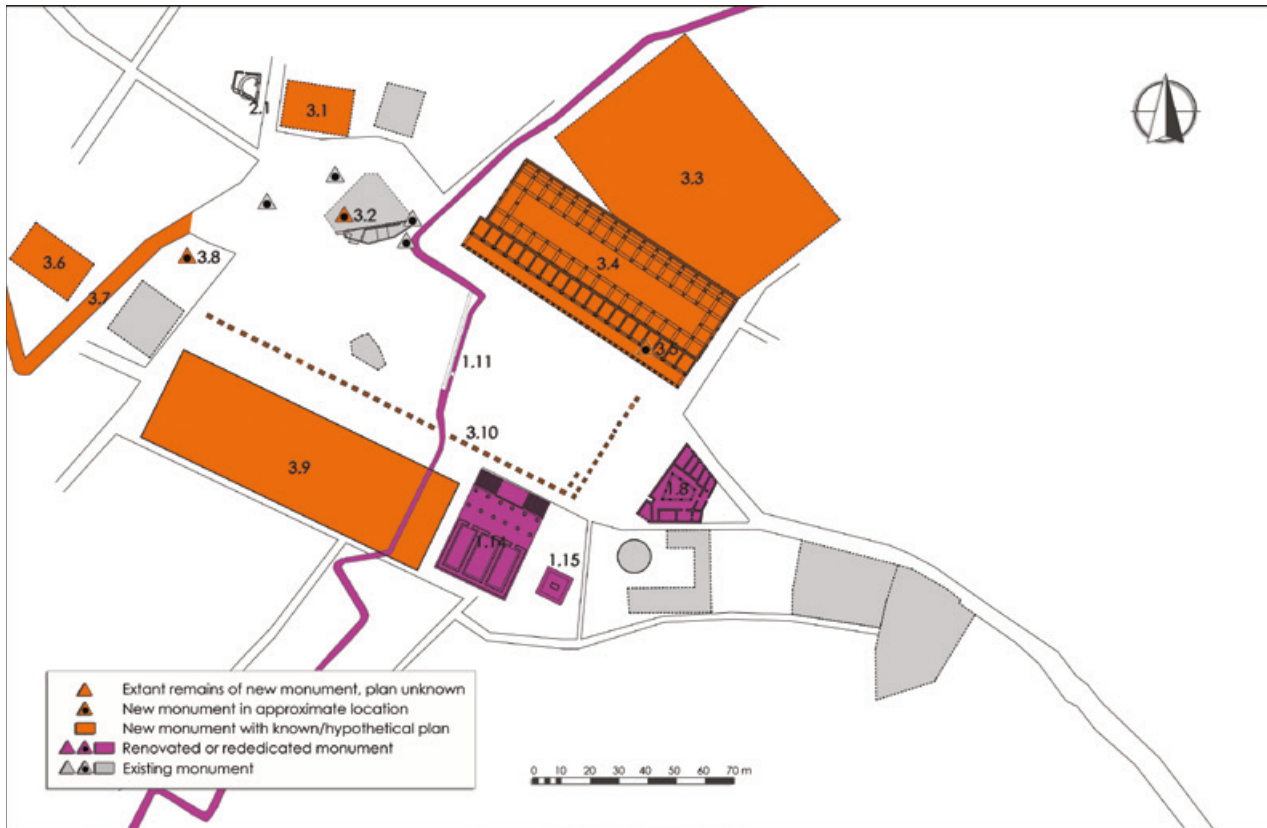
After Zama: Censorial Building

By Livy's reckoning, in the decade and a half after the Second Punic War, censorial building gently resumed. In 194, the year in which Cornelius Cethegus let a contract for his temple to Juno Sospita, he and S. Aelius Paetus Catus rebuilt and enlarged the Villa Publica, as well as

the Atrium Libertatis, both possibly damaged by fire in 210.³⁹⁰ To this phase of the Atrium Libertatis scholars tentatively assign remains of a monumental building to the northeast of SS. Luca e Martina, consisting of five superposed courses of a perimeter wall, on a platform supported on the north by a wall of peperino blocks.³⁹¹ These relatively limited commissions, and the lack of ostentatious individualization, are consistent with a picture of post-war austerity. Both enterprises, moreover, served the goal of replenishing the treasury: the censors' base of operations, the Villa Publica played a central role in taxation, while the Atrium Libertatis housed the censors' archive and tablets mapping the *ager publicus*, a source of revenue in rent.³⁹²

In 189, the censors Flaminius and Claudius Marcellus built a “substructure above the Aequimelum,” probably on the south slope of the Capitoline, where a landslide may have occurred in 192.³⁹³ It is a second initiative in their term, however – a resurfacing of the Via Appia from Porta Capena to the Temple of Mars in basalt – that suggests change in the air. The work extended the tract paved by another Claudian, Claudius Nero, in 204, terminating at the east end of the Circus Maximus, and was at the same time an act of counter-expropriation in a hotly contested locale: the Ogulnius brothers had surfaced this section of Ap. Claudius' road in 296, and as the Aemilii established themselves at the nearby Porta Trigemina and in the dock area, the project reasserted Claudian presence in the Aventine zone within and just beyond the city walls.

Soon this kind of politicking was becoming entrenched. For the censorship of 184, an extraordinary eight candidates tendered their candidacy, three of whom had run in 189. For Livy, their shared agenda was to thwart Cato's candidacy,³⁹⁴ yet there were probably other exacerbating factors. The Second Punic War and ongoing conflicts in Greece, Asia Minor, and Spain had produced a backlog of accomplished ex-generals who craved a final flourish for their careers. Many of them could claim credit for a treasury that was finally brimming with gains from their victories, and probably aspired, like Curius Dentatus about a century earlier, to use those gains to enhance their prestige. In the censorship, they saw a chance to answer the city's needs and at the same time to implement magnificent models of urbanism and monumentality they had encountered on campaign. The loss of Livy's text after 167 complicates an account of building initiatives, but textual and archaeological evidence suggests



New construction:

- 3.1 Basilica Porcia
- 3.2 Sundial of Marcus Philippus
- 3.3 Macellum
- 3.4 Basilica Fulvia
- 3.5 *Clepsydra* of Scipio Nasica
- 3.6 Southwest Building

3.7 *Clivus Capitolinus*

- 3.8 Portico from the Temple of Saturn to the assembly room of the senators on the Capitoline
- 3.9 Basilica Sempronia
- 3.10 Pozzi

Restoration:

- 1.8 Regia
- 1.11 Cloaca Maxima
- 1.14 Temple of Castor
- 1.15 Lacus Iuturnae

Fig. 3.60 Forum Romanum and environs, ca. 217–134 plan (Penelope Davies, Onur Öztürk, and Bogdan Perzyński)

nevertheless that between Cato's censorship and the age of the Gracchi, censors focused their energies in three areas: monumentalizing political spaces, improving the port zone and the urban infrastructure, and providing spaces for entertainment.

The Space of Politics

Intent on reform, Cato used his tenure for pointed civic interventions, concentrating in the Forum (Fig. 3.60). Pliny's suggestion that he resurfaced the piazza with sharp gravel, perhaps to discourage lingering, was probably just an idle threat;³⁹⁵ but Livy records that he did purchase "two atria, the Maenium and the Titium, in the region of the Lautumiae [in the northwest corner

of the Forum], and four shops for the state and erected there the basilica which is called Porcia."³⁹⁶ Traces of a later restoration indicate a broad rectangular building, open onto the piazza through a colonnade on the south; it may have been hypostyle, with a central nave separated from side aisles by columns, and an upper ambulatory.³⁹⁷ Cato may have planned this basilica, like the Atrium Regium, for the entertainment of foreign dignitaries and commercial negotiations, as one thesis claims;³⁹⁸ yet literary sources place court proceedings there by at least the end of the second century, which suggests that it provided magistrates with a sheltered tribunal close to the Comitium, the Curia, and the Rostra.³⁹⁹ Usual practice was to hold trials outside in full public view, where orators could evoke the gods and the city's monuments



Fig. 3.61 Basilica Fulvia (Aemilia), 179, actual state (Penelope Davies su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Soprintendenza Speciale per il Colosseo, il Museo Romano e l'Area archeologica di Roma)

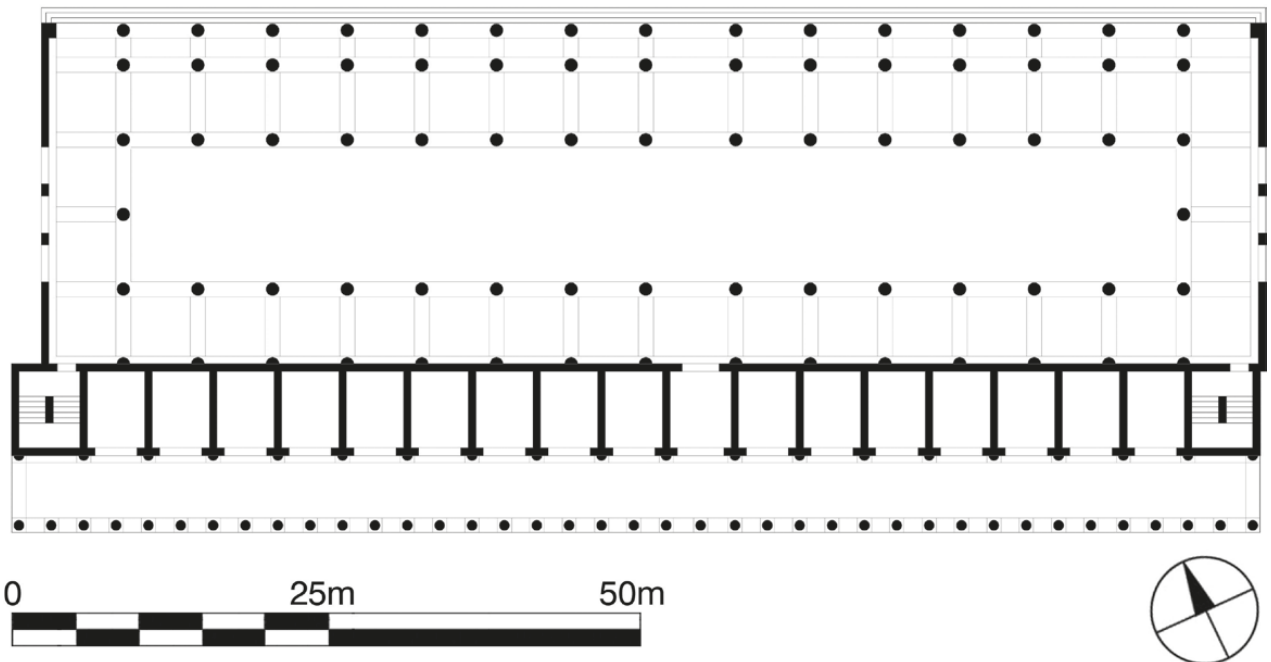


Fig. 3.62 Basilica Fulvia, *ca.* 179, plan (John Burge)

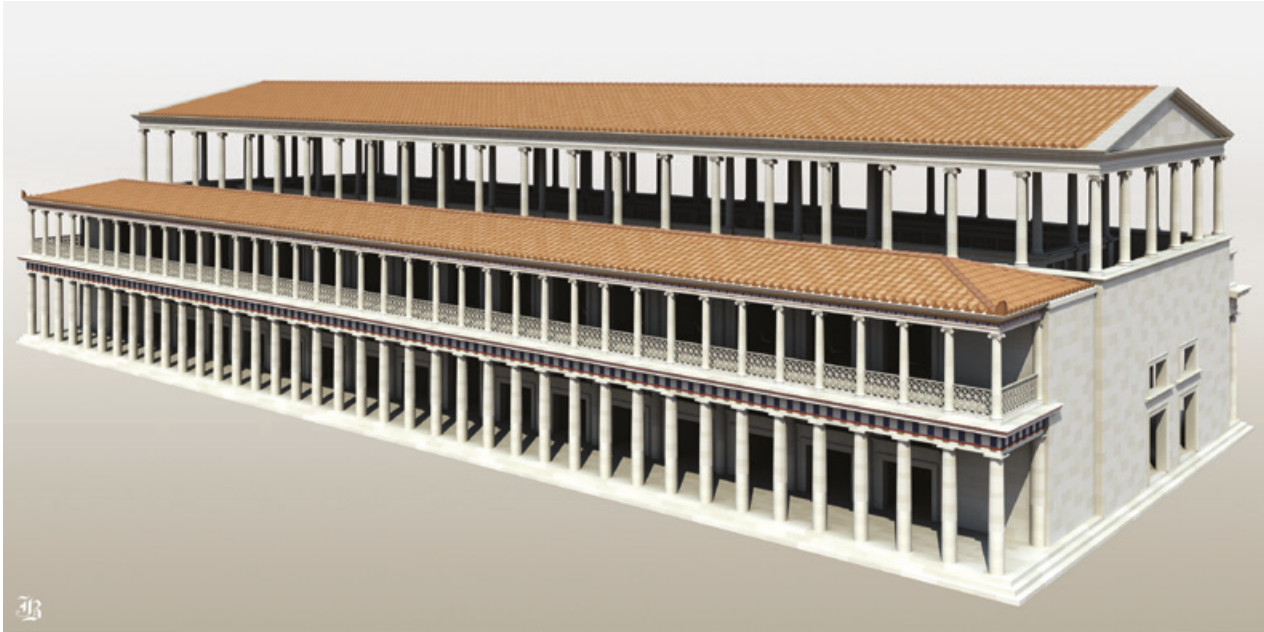


Fig. 3.63 Basilica Fulvia, ca. 179, hypothetical reconstruction (John Burge)

and history, yet weather conditions must sometimes have hampered proceedings, and Cato likely sponsored the basilica to facilitate year-round prosecutions.⁴⁰⁰ For as Plutarch saw it, at least, “in political life, he seems to have regarded the impeachment and conviction of malefactors as a department worthy of his most zealous efforts. For he brought many prosecutions himself, assisted others in bringing theirs, and even instigated some to begin prosecutions.”⁴⁰¹ A place of judicial accountability and reckoning, the basilica epitomized the thoroughness and tenacity that characterized Cato’s censorship, and imputed longevity to the reforms his tenure stimulated. Indeed, the site of the basilica allowed prosecutors to invoke nearby buildings to present a choice between accepting the tenets of the *res publica*, embodied in the Curia to the east, or submitting to punishment, implicit in the Carcer on the west. Cato profited: first to build a basilica in his own name (so claims the fourth-century CE *De viris illustribus*), he communicated his views and promoted his *gens* at the state’s expense.⁴⁰²

With the censorship of 179 came urbanistic shift, as new construction started to regularize and monumentalize the city’s public spaces. For the task of city improvement, the senate awarded the censors, Aemilius Lepidus and Fulvius Nobilior, a whole year’s revenue. The two men had come to blows over spoils of war, and

despite a much-vaunted reconciliation after the election, Livy writes of them, as of a handful of others, as if they acted independently on their building projects.⁴⁰³ While Aemilius Lepidus focused on maintaining religious spaces (see above), Fulvius Nobilior commissioned “a basilica behind the new shops of the silver-smiths and a fish-market with shops about it which he sold for private use.”⁴⁰⁴ The Basilica Fulvia, as it was known, is identified with a phase of construction on the north side of the Forum, incorporating the space of the putative Atrium Regium (Figs. 3.61–3). Remains indicate a broad central nave, defined by columns, with an aisle on all four sides and an additional, narrower aisle on the north. Wide interaxials indicate wooden architraves, and even at this date the building was likely two-story. The paving appears to have been travertine, a creamy white stone from nearby Tibur. The north façade may have been a portico; the south wall was stone. Aligned with the south side was a row of shops, each with its own water supply, and in front of them, in turn, was a portico.⁴⁰⁵ On the north, excavations revealed peperino paving slabs oriented to the basilica, as well as traces of columns; pavers reused in a later surface seem to have come from a building with a curved plan, sometimes reconstructed as a tholos at the center of the *macellum*. Ceramics found there suggest a chronological range



Fig. 3.64 Basilica Sempronia (Iulia), 169, actual state (Penelope Davies su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Soprintendenza Speciale per il Colosseo, il Museo Romano e l'Area archeologica di Roma)

from the end of the third century to the beginning of the second, so these remains could belong to the censors' restoration in 209, the aediles' work in the Forum in 193, or Fulvius Nobilior's initiative.⁴⁰⁶

In the next censorship, in 174, Fulvius Flaccus and A. Postumius Albinus expended most of their energies on the city's infrastructure, but in the Forum, they commissioned "a portico from the temple of Saturn to the assembly room of the senators on the Capitoline, and, above it, to the Curia." The portico probably lined the *clivus Capitolinus*.⁴⁰⁷ Five years later, in 169,

As half the revenues of the year had by decree of the senate been assigned by the quaestors to the censors for the construction of public works, Titus Sempronius [Gracchus], out of the funds assigned to him, bought for the state the house of Publius Africanus behind the Old Shops in the direction of the statue of Vortumnus, as well as the butcher's stalls and the shops adjacent, and

saw to the construction of the basilica, which afterward received the name of Sempronian.⁴⁰⁸

Two Grotta Oscura foundation walls, a tufo sewer, and remnants of a travertine pavement on the south side of the Forum are identified with this basilica. In general form it probably resembled its Caesarian and Augustan successors, and the Basilica Fulvia, to which it was a counterpart; both were likely used to shelter general Forum business (Fig. 3.64).⁴⁰⁹ Sempronius Gracchus' land purchase may have been facilitated by family connections: the late Scipio Africanus was his father-in-law, whom he had delivered from prosecution using his tribunician veto in 187, earning gratitude and, by some accounts, the hand of his daughter.⁴¹⁰

The elongated, porticoed design of these basilicas, set parallel to the Forum, distanced them typologically from the Atrium Regium and the recent Basilica Porcia, with their putative atrium-Hellenistic hypostyle hall form. It

evoked instead the grand stoas that defined public spaces in Hellenistic cities, such as the South Stoa (ca. 250) and the Stoa of Philip V (ca. 200) in the agora on Delos.⁴¹¹ The merger of a Roman hall with a Greek stoa is consistent with Fulvius Nobilior's hope of acculturating Hellenism in Rome, as evidenced in the Temple of Hercules Musarum, and in other respects, too, the basilicas offered powerful personal advancement: named for those who built them, they embodied the prestige of the Greek kings through whose benefaction stoas usually came into being. Though erected over the course of at least ten years, the basilicas and porticoes moved the Italic Forum closer to a grand public square articulated by majestic colonnades of the kind that was rapidly becoming a Mediterranean *koine*. And intentionally or not, the transformation intimated political change. In place of rows of homogeneous atrium houses, privately owned by entrenched aristocratic families, the censors provided public buildings; and in place of impenetrable walls protecting inaccessible spaces, their colonnaded structures were visibly permeable, open to all. They framed political space, focusing attention on its center; not by chance did political ritual move from the Comitium, now marginalized, into the piazza. Conceived in a world of Hellenistic autocrats, the basilicas and the porticoes that lined them signaled a new order: like peripteral temples, they privileged populace and patron, and in this much challenged senatorial authority. Around the middle of the century, possibly in conjunction with the installation of a clock in 159 (see below), the shops lining the Basilica Fulvia were restored in Aniene tufo,⁴¹² and in the piazza, a new paving probably dates immediately thereafter, when tribunician activism brought change to election procedures; a series of travertine-lined pits or "pozzetti" in front of the Rostra, to the north of the Basilica Sempronia, and lining the east side, appear to have held posts to define it as a *templum* for voting.⁴¹³

During this phase of the Forum's monumentalization, a large structure to the west of the Temple of Saturn, described as the Southwest Building, may also have been erected. An annex to the temple, it was likely an extension of the treasury, necessitated by the increase in coined metal and plunder, and served as a physical reminder of the emphasis on accountability with regard to spoils. Not mentioned in Livy's text, it probably dates after 167;⁴¹⁴ it may have been the initiative of a censor, possibly underlining his contribution to the city's wealth through a past military victory.

Urban Infrastructure and Port Amenities

The urban infrastructure and the port were another focus of censorial spending. Cato and his colleague, L. Valerius Flaccus,

let contracts for the public works to be constructed from funds appropriated for that purpose, the paving of fountain basins with stone, the cleaning of sewers wherever that was necessary, and the construction of new sewers on the Aventine and elsewhere where none had yet been built.⁴¹⁵

Citing the mid-second century historian C. Acilius, Dionysius provides particulars: "when on one occasion the sewers had been neglected and nothing was any longer able to flow through them, the censors let out a contract for clearing out and repairing them to the value of one thousand talents."⁴¹⁶ Following Ap. Claudius' legacy, which demonstrated the euergistic value of water provision and management, these projects in 184 raised standards of living. Still, sewers lacked the glamor of aqueducts; indeed, as one scholar argues, just as the heights of the Capitoline represented the city's head, so, in a sense, the sewers were its intestines, and those who became associated with them risked symbolic contagion from the filth of their effluvium.⁴¹⁷ Maintenance work was therefore all the more powerful: it symbolized the censors' determination to purge the city.

Five years later, in Livy's view, Fulvius Nobilior's works were "of greater utility" than the religious enterprises of his colleague, Aemilius Lepidus. Among them were improvements to the Portus Tiberinus, and in the adjacent commercial zones in the Forum Boarium and at Porta Trigemina.⁴¹⁸ Up to this point, the port had been a natural bank, with open space receding eastwards from the river. Catastrophic floods were routine. Fulvius Nobilior set in motion a grand overhaul of the area: "a harbour and the piles for a bridge over the Tiber ... also a portico outside the Porta Trigemina, and another behind the *Navalia*, and near the shrine of Hercules, and behind the temple of Spes on the Tiber, and near the shrine of Apollo Medicus ..."⁴¹⁹ Censors in 174, his grandson Fulvius Flaccus and Postumius Albinus resumed the work. They let contracts

for paving the streets in the city with *silex* and for laying the bases of roads outside the city with gravel and constructing footpaths along their edges, and for the construction of bridges in many places ... And they arranged for the pavement with *silex* of the *Clivus*



Fig. 3.65 View from the Ponte Rotto, looking south, between 1868 and 1869 (British School at Rome Photographic Archive, Parker collection, jhp-1199)



Fig. 3.66 Tiber embankment wall around Cloaca Maxima outlet, second century, actual state (Penelope Davies)

Capitolinus ... And outside the Porta Trigemina they paved the warehouse with stone and enclosed it with paling, and they contracted for repairs to the portico of Aemilius, and built a stairway from the Tiber to the warehouse. And within the same gate they paved with *silex* the portico leading to the Aventine ... from the Temple of Venus.⁴²⁰

In 142, Mummius and Scipio Aemilianus let a contract for arches on the piers of Fulvius Nobilior's bridge; its wooden superstructure had probably perished in a storm in 156.⁴²¹

Archaeological evidence meshes well with this literary testimony. Street paving is evident in the Forum,

where the east–west artery was surfaced with *silex* in the second century and given wider sidewalks, and by the Tiber extensive work is evident between the Temple of Spes and Porta Trigemina (Fig. 1.27). In the late nineteenth century, a stretch of tufo embankment about 30 meters long came to light downstream from the later Pons Fabricius; Grotta Oscura embankment walls were also found around the outlets of the Cloaca Maxima and the *cloaca circi Maximi*, and on the Transiberim bank near the later Pons Cestius (Figs. 3.65–66).⁴²² Part of a tufo wharf was discovered in 1919–20 upstream from the Ponte Sublicio, with two sets of stairs rising from the river to converge at a platform,



Fig. 3.67 Emporium, excavations in 1868 (British School at Rome Photographic Archive, Parker collection, jhp-1045)

and travertine mooring rings (Fig. 3.67). Building materials – a combination of Grotta Oscura and peperino – suggest a date in the second century, and the similarity of the wharf’s paving to contemporaneous street surfacing argues for its attribution to the censors of 174.⁴²³ During construction on the Anagrafe between the Temple of Portunus and S. Nicola in Carcere in 1936–7, moreover, remains of tufo structures resembling warehouses were unearthed over an area of approximately 120 by just over 20 meters (ca. 2,600 meters² in area); a later version of the buildings appears on the *Forma Urbis* (fragment 32: Fig. 3.68).⁴²⁴ Just north of the Ponte Rotto (Fig. 3.69), traces of an abutment can be identified with the second-century phase of the Pons Aemilia; and in front of the Temple of Portunus a pontoon was built to link the area with a ramp to the bridge.⁴²⁵ Further north still, where via Arenula meets the Tiber, traces of a monumental portico found at the end of the nineteenth century are sometimes identified as part of a ship-shed or *navalia*, but are more likely to have served a commercial function.⁴²⁶ And soundings in the central Forum Boarium indicate that at some point in the early second century, presumably in conjunction with the embankment walls, the ground level was raised by 2.5 meters (approximately 8 meters above Tiber level), and the fortification wall running parallel to the Tiber ceased to function.⁴²⁷

Taken together, archaeological and literary evidence indicates a systematic upgrading of the port during the

first sixty years of the second century, by censors as by aediles, to accommodate an increasing flow of commodities into the city along with shipments of grain. A testament to the genre’s success, new porticoes offered shelter within and between commercial zones, and helped define and organize the city’s jumbled spaces, drawing conceptually on the Greek practice of using stoas to emphasize and articulate public areas.⁴²⁸ Integral to Rome’s appearance and cleanliness, road-paving schemes helped to ease the flow of pedestrians and wheeled traffic and merchandise in the crowded city (and on the *clivus Capitolinus*, the route of the triumphal parade); so too did the sturdy bridge across the Tiber, the first entirely stone bridge in Rome.⁴²⁹

These initiatives improved working conditions for merchants and laborers, and in this much were conspicuous acts of euergetism

that followed in the wake of Ap. Claudius’ interventions over a century earlier; like his oeuvres, they appealed for popular favor. Successive generations of Fulvii and Aemilii competed to build a name in the industrial zone, though the Fulvii soon lost ground: though Livy credits the first stone bridge to Fulvius Nobilior, it became the Pons Aemilia, presumably after the repairs by Scipio Aemilianus, and in later years Varro apparently described the entire district from the Temple of Spes to the *Navalia* as the *Aemiliana* (a name also applied to part of the Campus Martius).⁴³⁰

Entertainment

During and after the Second Punic War, public entertainments had acquired a central role in Roman life, and censors used state funds on amenities for their provision. In 179, Aemilius Lepidus let contracts for an auditorium and stage near the Temple of Apollo Medicus, possibly for games linked to the inauguration of his Temples of Juno Regina and Diana, both nearby, and in 174 Fulvius Flaccus and Postumius Albinus commissioned “a stage to be placed at the disposal of the aediles and praetors.”⁴³¹ Even at this point, stage buildings may have been multi-story sets with columned *aediculae* (see above). The censorship of 174 also witnessed the first recorded expenditures in over 150 years on the Circus Maximus, which had sustained fire damage in 178: there were contracts for “stalls in the Circus, and egg-shaped markers to designate the laps [...] and turning points

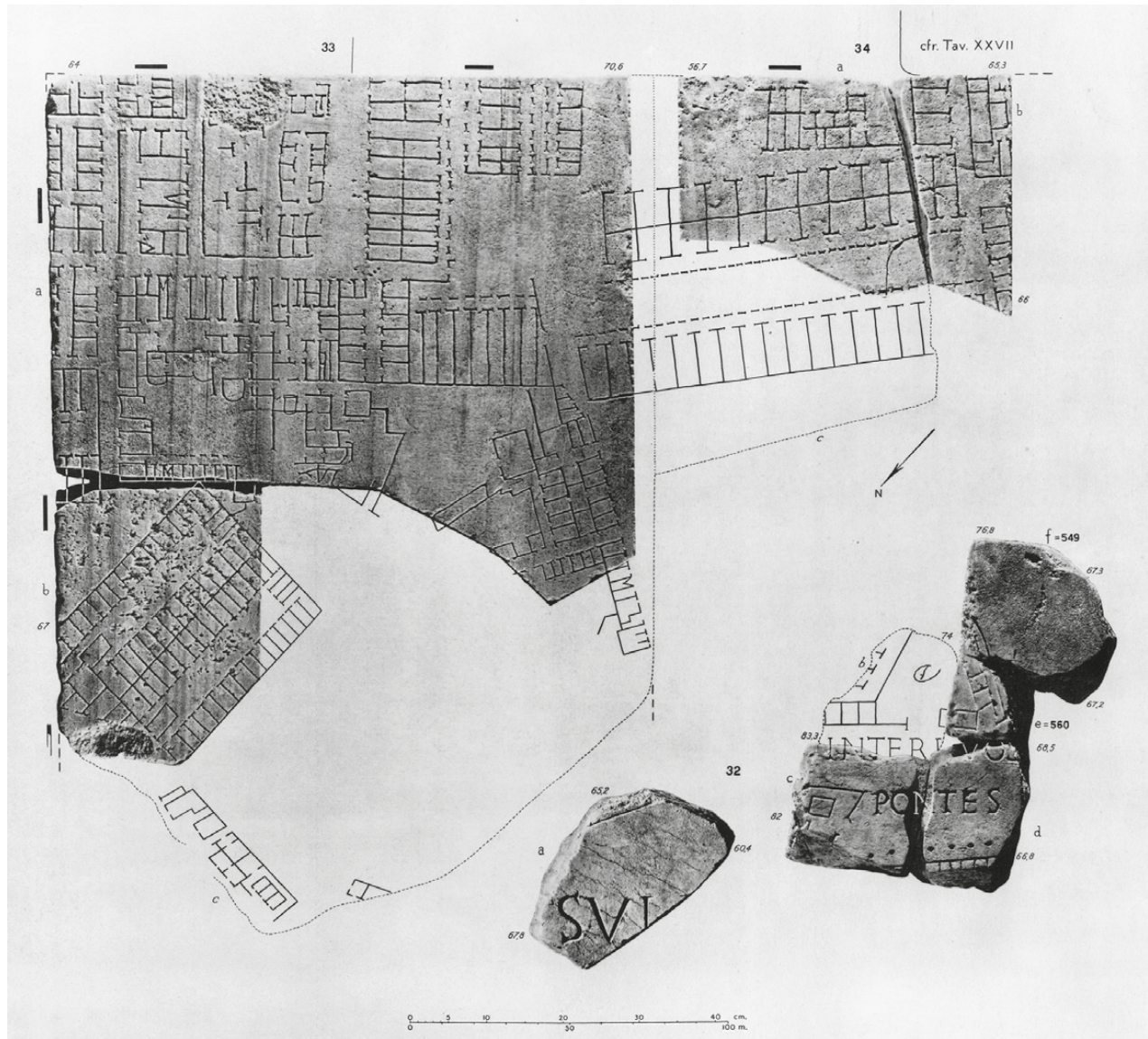


Fig. 3.68 *Forma Urbis Romae*, showing warehouses by the Tiber, from Carettoni *et al.* 1960, plate 30 (© Roma, Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali)

across [...] and iron cages through which the [...] might be let in [...] the festival on the Alban mount [...].”⁴³² These additions defined the form of the circus more closely and intensified the spectacle’s drama. For censors, provision of amenities for entertainment may have garnered some of the popular favor that accrued to supplying games;⁴³³ at the same time, with entertainments growing more extravagant, their control of theater contracts had the effect of reining in the aediles and praetors, in the same way as the institution of *triumviri*

epulones at the turn of the century had checked the aediles’ ceremonial power at games.

Twenty years later, in the censorship of 154, C. Cassius Longinus and M. Valerius Messalla let a contract for a stone theater near the Luperkal on the southwest slope of the Palatine, below the Temple of Magna Mater.⁴³⁴ Had it come to fruition, it would have been the first permanent theater of Rome, bringing the capital into line with other Italic cities such as Pompeii and Teanum Sidicinum; it would have saved the expense of repeatedly constructing



Fig. 3.69 Pons Aemilius (now the “Ponte Rotto”), actual state (Penelope Davies)

and dismantling temporary theaters, and limited the ability of the aediles and praetors to tailor temporary venues to impress.⁴³⁵

*Assertions of Control: Censorial Oversight,
Oversight of Censors*

If the censors' involvement in theatrical productions circumscribed aedilician conduct, it was just one instance of their careful scrutiny of public life. Many of their other projects, too, seem to have had a deliberately “censorial” character, in the modern sense of the term, as, despite their own tactics for self-advancement, they endeavored to keep others in check; these projects were the built counterparts, as it were, to their oversight of morals, the *regimen morum*.⁴³⁶ If their function is properly understood, for instance, the Basilica Porcia, and after it the basilicas of Fulvius Nobilior and Sempronius Gracchus, promised close inquiry into senatorial and equestrian conduct. Cato and Valerius Flaccus matched a strict tax policy and inspection of public morals with an audit of the city's infrastructure: “All public water flowing into a private dwelling or lot they shut off; and what private persons had built or erected on public property they tore down on thirty days' notice.”⁴³⁷ Thereafter, three more times, officers swept a censorial hand over public space: Fulvius Nobilior and Aemilius Lepidus policed improper appropriations of public

areas, causing “many shrines and public places, occupied by private persons, ... to be public and sacred and open to the people;”⁴³⁸ Aemilius Lepidus “removed the statues which seemed to be so placed as to obstruct the view [at the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus], and he took down the shields from the columns and the military standards of every sort which were affixed to them” (making additional space for his own dedications there);⁴³⁹ and in 159, Scipio Nasica and M. Popilius Laenas cleared unauthorized statues from the Forum, and perhaps from the Capitoline area as well. Near the Temple of Tellus they also removed a bronze statue of Sp. Cassius, accused of aspiring to kingship in *ca.* 485, an act that was probably directed at Cassius Longinus, consul of 171 (and later censor of 154), who had defied the senate's instructions to lead a campaign in Gaul; usurping his colleague's command, he instead engaged Perseus in Macedonia, and on being summoned home, pillaged the territories he crossed and took slaves among the Gauls.⁴⁴⁰ Scipio Nasica may have had a lasting antipathy for him. Time-keeping devices grew popular: in 164, Q. Marcius Philippus installed a sundial in the Comitium, “an act which was most gratefully acknowledged, as one of the very best of his censorship,” and five years later, Scipio Nasica commissioned a *clepsydra* or water clock for the Basilica Fulvia (Fig. 3.62). “The first to divide the hours of the day and the night into equal

parts,” according to Pliny it even functioned in cloudy weather.⁴⁴¹ Reconstructed along the lines of the Tower of the Winds in Athens, it probably consisted of a raised water tank with a pipe to a lower basin, and a floating device read against a depth scale. In all likelihood, it was located in *taberna* 9 of the shops lining the basilica, where a lining of waterproof *cocciopesto* was found.⁴⁴² Designed to time law courts and *contiones*, these instruments kept political orations in check, and may have been particularly aimed at controlling the tribunes’ burgeoning authority.⁴⁴³

In a speech defending his consulship in ca. 190–189, Cato reputedly cautioned: “Those who become censors hereafter will strive for the state more fearfully, more slowly, more timidly;”⁴⁴⁴ and in fact, as the censors reined in other magistrates, they, too, seem to have come under closer scrutiny than before. For instance, state budgets seem to have been watched more keenly. Even Cato himself was held to account:

Titus Flamininus headed a party against him which induced the Senate to annul as useless the outlays and payments which he had authorized for temples and public works, and incited the boldest of the tribunes to call him to account before the people and fine him two talents. The Senate also strongly opposed the erection of the basilica which he built at the public cost below the council-house in the Forum, and which was called the Basilica Porcia.⁴⁴⁵

If Ap. Claudius had been able to procure state funds at will for his contracts, moreover, after Cato’s censorship Livy specifies that the senate assigned the censors funds, and sometimes names the amount, which suggests that such information had become part of the state record.⁴⁴⁶ He also documents prosecutions of censors for misuse of state funds or conduct deemed generally inappropriate. In 179, “[Aemilius] Lepidus built a mole at Tarracina, a work which brought him censure because he owned property there and had included with expenditures chargeable to the state some private expenses;”⁴⁴⁷ and in 174, the senate censured Fulvius Flaccus for removing the marble roof-tiles from the Temple of Juno Lacinia at Croton for his Temple of Fortuna Equestris.⁴⁴⁸ His colleague, Postumius Albinus, may have been responding to this episode when he declared “that he would let no contract without the order of the Roman senate or assembly.”⁴⁴⁹ As in other cases of obstruction, acts of censure might mask personal gripes. When in 168,

the censors asked that their term of a year and half be prolonged in order that they might, as was customary,

see to repairs to buildings and inspect the public works for which they had contracted, the request was vetoed by the tribune Gnaeus Tremellius, because he had not been chosen for the senate.⁴⁵⁰

Though Cato countered the resistance over his building plans (with a speech arguing “That a basilica should be built,”)⁴⁵¹ at least two major censorial initiatives were successfully thwarted. The first was an aqueduct that Aemilius Lepidus and Fulvius Nobilior proposed in 179: “This undertaking was blocked by Marcus Licinius Crassus, who would not permit the aqueduct to run across his property.”⁴⁵² Given that water provision was one of the highest forms of benefaction, personal, gentilician, or senatorial politics were probably at work in some measure, to restrict the fame of two high-profile censors. The second came in 154. According to the *Periochae*, the stone theater proposed by Cassius Longinus and Valerius Messalla was close to completion when “on motion of Cornelius Nasica it was torn down by order of the senate, on the ground that it was inexpedient and would be injurious to the public character; and for some time thereafter the people stood to see theatrical performances.”⁴⁵³ Corroborating the account, other ancient authors dwell on issues of spectator seating and Greek *mores*. As Appian puts it:

About this time the consul Scipio Nasica demolished the theatre begun by Lucius Cassius, and now nearly finished, because he considered this also a likely source of new seditions, or because he thought it far from desirable that the Romans should become accustomed to Greek pleasures.⁴⁵⁴

With the demolition, the senate may have hoped to retain authority over the theatral arts, embodied in the repeated ritual of erecting temporary theaters; it used that authority to promote highbrow drama, such as Terence’s reflective comedies, over Plautus’ popular buffoonery and slapstick, and over gladiatorial games.⁴⁵⁵ Yet details of Scipio Nasica’s remonstrance suggest that a permanent theater threatened the senate’s hegemony more broadly, by providing a venue for political gatherings borrowed from Greek custom. During comitial meetings, Romans remained standing, and *contiones* were organized so as to constrain the liberty of the participants; a magistrate always convoked and supervised them, and only designated speakers presented their views. There was no place for debate. Greeks, by contrast, were seated during their assemblies at the *bouleuterion* and the theater, as during entertainments, and their meetings fostered discussion.

As tension rose over a levy for the Spanish war, Scipio Nasica may have persuaded the senate that a permanent theater, with seats inviting audiences to linger and well-honed acoustics encouraging debate, risked blurring the distinction between Greek and Roman practice, with the result that Romans might assemble without a magistrate's oversight, engage in populist debate, and challenge the very social hierarchies that earlier forms of audience segregation had been designed to articulate.⁴⁵⁶

There was probably a second factor to the senate's decision too. It was in theaters, more than any other kind of building, that Greek monarchs and *strategoí* – such as Demetrius Poliorcetes or Aratus, and later Mithridates VI Nicator of Pontus – conflated drama and reality to frame and perform their leadership before their seated subjects. After re-conquering Athens in 299, for instance, Demetrius Poliorcetes staged his first appearance before its defeated citizens in the Theater of Dionysus:

He ordered all the Athenians to assemble in the theatre, which he surrounded with his troops; and having planted his guards on each side of the stage, he came down through the passage by which the tragedians enter. The fears of the people on his appearance increased, but they were entirely dissipated when he began to speak, for neither the accent of his voice was loud, nor his expressions severe. He complained of them in soft and easy terms, and taking them again into favour, made them a present of 100,000 *medimni* of wheat, and re-established such an administration as was most agreeable to them.⁴⁵⁷

In Rome, a permanent theater might prove the perfect venue for social subversion and crowd-control by populist agitators and transgressive generals – men like Cassius Longinus.⁴⁵⁸ In the construction of a stone theater, in other words, the senate may have recognized a threat of power from below (the *populus*) and power from above (autocracy) – a threat, that is, to its own place in the running of the state.

Literary testimonia concerning the censors and their work in these decades mesh well with the legal record, which indicates increased surveillance of elite conduct, particularly as it related to electioneering and conduct while in office. The scrutiny informed censors' choices on urban initiatives, and offered their opponents inroads for challenging them. There can be little doubt that the loss of Livy's text diminishes the public building record, and the vitality of the mint suggests that construction continued in some measure;⁴⁵⁹ still, this level of oversight may have contributed to the dwindling

evidence for major building projects by censors after the 160s; indeed, it was around 151–150 that Polybius would insist on the senate's ultimate authority over all the censors' public works.⁴⁶⁰ The great construction enterprises from the late 160s to the time of the Gracchi were instead the work of *triumphatores* (especially triumphing praetors), who seem to have enjoyed greater freedom of rein with their *manubiae* than the censors with state funds.⁴⁶¹

Praetorian Building

In the 140s, a different agent emerged in civic construction. When the need for a third aqueduct arose, the senate charged the urban praetor with the task:

When the conduits of Appia and Old Anio had become leaky by reason of age, and water was also being diverted from them unlawfully by individuals, the Senate commissioned Marcius, who at that time administered the law as praetor between citizens, to reclaim and repair these conduits; and since the growth of the city was seen to demand a more bountiful supply of water, the same man was charged by the Senate to bring into the city other waters so far as he could ... He restored the old channels and brought in a third supply more wholesome than these ... which is called Marcia after the man who introduced it. We read in Fenestella, that 180,000,000 sesterces were granted to Marcius for these works, and since the term of his praetorship was not sufficient for the completion of the enterprise, it was extended for a second year.⁴⁶²

From its origin 91.33 kilometers away on via Valeria, the Aqua Marcia approached Rome from the east before veering northwest toward Porta Viminalis, where its terminal *piscina* was located. The city's most prized water flowed through its channels, and by Frontinus' time supplied ten regions as well as private houses (Fig. 3.1).⁴⁶³

The senate's reasons for turning this massive building project over to a praetor rather than waiting for the censorship of 142 are not explicit. To be sure, in building terms the (peregrine) praetorship had accrued prestige over the years, and especially with the manubial Porticus of Octavius; and a sudden population spike in 146–145 may have precipitated a water crisis. But by the end of 146, it was also probably evident that Mummius and Scipio Aemilianus would stand for – and win – the next censorship; the senate may therefore have moved



Fig. 3.70 Aqua Marcia, begun in 144, actual state (Penelope Davies)

to preempt them from gaining further popularity along with a naming opportunity.

The senate's backing still did not guarantee the project a smooth path. According to Frontinus,

At that time the Decemvirs, on consulting the Sibylline Books for another purpose, are said to have discovered that it was not right for the Marcian water, or rather the Anio (for tradition more regularly mentions this) to be brought to the Capitol. The matter is said to have been debated in the Senate, in the consulship of Appius Claudius and Quintus Caecilius, Marcus Lepidus acting as spokesman for the Board of Decemvirs; and three years later the matter is said to have been brought up again by Lucius Lentulus, in the consulship of Gaius Laelius and Quintus Servilius, but on both occasions the influence of Marcus Rex carried the day; and thus the water was brought to the Capitol.⁴⁶⁴

Secular construction was not prohibited on the Capitol; this much is clear from Grotta Oscura walls and mosaic pavements on the east slope of the Arx, which date to the second half of the second century and attest to buildings of a public nature there.⁴⁶⁵ Ostensibly the stalling point was a matter of religion. The consultation of the Sibylline Books may have been prompted by an incident in 143, involving the Salassi, an Alpine tribe. In order to extract gold, they had blocked the Dora Baltea, a tributary of the Po, and when Claudius Pulcher arrived at the head of an army to intervene, they defeated him. Details of the event – the involvement of Gauls (one-time besiegers of the Capitoline), water,

and an Ap. Claudius (closely linked to aqueducts) – may have influenced the interpretation of the oracle to elicit an objection.⁴⁶⁶ Alternatively, simpler gentilician interests may have been at play. The Aqua Marcia was the first Roman aqueduct designed for visual magnificence (Fig. 3.70): 7,463 of its 61,710 *passi* (= 91330 meters) were raised on arches, 6,472 of them within the city's seventh milestone, a splendor made possible by relative confidence in its invulnerability to enemy sabotage.⁴⁶⁷ More than that, it was unparalleled in scale and technology. To climb the Capitoline, architects probably proposed a siphon, on the model of Pergamon's Madradag aqueduct, which, probably built by Eumenes II (197–159), ran for over 3 kilometers in a huge siphon, its gradient four times the steepest Roman aqueduct.⁴⁶⁸ Even from a distance, Claudius Pulcher may have wielded consular influence to obstruct a waterwork that so manifestly overshadowed his ancestor's legacy.

During the Second Punic War, little state-funded civic building occurred; when it did, in response to a threat to the city or other necessity, it was the work of the dictator or ad hoc officials. Until the treasury recovered, censors channeled state resources into buildings that concerned state revenue; in the meantime, aediles seized the opportunity to spend fines on porticoes. As foreign conquests subsequently filled state coffers, Cato initiated a phase of ambitious censorial construction that would last at least into the 160s. State-of-the-art basilicas in the Forum betrayed Roman interest in Hellenistic

urbanism and introduced regal forms into the political arena; monumentalized, formalized, the dynamics of the space changed, encouraging popular involvement and paving the way for a rise in civic turmoil as the century progressed. At the port, meanwhile, censorial initiatives facilitated commerce and the movement of people and goods; and entertainment facilities were provided as the need arose. As self-serving as the censors' buildings appear, many were marked by a strain of strictness, the legacy, perhaps, of Cato's tenure; this suggests heightened scrutiny of elite behavior, which was also turned on the censors themselves. Their major projects seem to ebb in the late 150s and 140s, leaving a praetor responsible for the last major construction project of the era.

CONCLUSIONS

According to Livy, a group of Macedonians discussing Rome in 182 BCE "mocked ... the appearance of the city, the public and private spaces of which were not yet embellished."⁴⁶⁹ At the time of their visit, the city was still recuperating from the Second Punic War. Pillaged sculptures abounded from the conquests of Syracuse and Tarentum, and temple construction, one of the only forms of building that had been sustained during the conflict, had resumed apace in the 190s. Censors had let contracts for restorations in the Forum, at the Villa Publica, and the Atrium Libertatis; Cato, an ardent advocate of austerity, had built a basilica and worked on the sewer system; and aediles had commissioned porticoes in the Porta Trigemina district. Yet the great hauls of spoils arriving from east and west had yet to be lavished on the city to improve its civic and commercial spaces and upgrade its infrastructure.

In the years immediately after the Macedonians' visit, as the Punic War generation aged and a new group of generals ushered in a fresh, more confident era, the situation was different: from the late 180s to at least the 160s, Rome witnessed the greatest changes yet to its cityscape. The influx of wealth facilitated building on all fronts — religious, manubial, and civic. Construction grew denser in existing hubs: votive temples and manubial monuments at focal points on the triumphal route, roads and porticoes in the commercial district around the Forum Boarium, Porta Trigemina, and Porta Capena, improved shipping facilities in the port, and grand basilicas in the Forum. As building intensified, the city was also monumentalized: aedilician porticoes initiated the process

of organizing urban space, after the model, perhaps, of East Greek cities; they, and later manubial porticoes and grand basilicas, imposed stretches of columned order on the meandering street plan of before, and defined public spaces. Within the changing city, signs of conquest proliferated, answering public debate on the use of spoils: dedications of pillaged sculpture, such as Caecilius Metellus' Granikos Monument and (perhaps) Mummius' manubial monument, and experimental forms of display, such as (perhaps) temporary stage buildings for theaters, arches, and manubial porticoes.

As the city expanded, its buildings grew out of, expressed, and exacerbated the political tensions of the time. Triumphant generals, aediles, and censors strove to exert the full potential of their office, often pushing the limits of consensus. Over the course of a decade or so, some men — such as Cato, Fulvius Nobilior, Aemilius Lepidus, perhaps Aemilius Paullus, Scipio Aemilianus, and Mummius — took full advantage of their various magistracies to construct an urban presence, following up votive temples and manubial monuments, sponsored as consul or proconsul, with grand censorial enterprises. Through their monuments, they accrued and perpetuated popular acclaim and narrowed the distance between themselves and the plebs. Some magistrates clung stalwartly to traditional ways; thus Cato erected an *aedicula* to Victoria Virgo with a traditional cult statue, and (probably) a basilica of atrium form. Yet as contact with the Greek world intensified, others, advertently or not, gave voice to their aspirations using an increasingly regal vocabulary of building. Imported from Greece, novel genres of building and design spoke implicitly of kingship: markers of imperial expansion, porticoes like Caecilius Metellus' also evoked royal spaces, public and palatial. In form at least, temples in Greek styles such as the Round Temple by the Tiber, probably Mummius' Temple of Hercules Victor, implied access to religion for all, without senatorial mediation. And the basilicas of Fulvius Nobilior and Sempronius Gracchus, with their long, porticoed façades, framed and formalized political space while rendering it more accessible. With these civic monuments, and with monuments built from and for spoils, magistrates approximated the euergistic acts of Hellenistic kings as best they could as members of a republic, constrained by term limits and access to funds.

Built forms and spaces suggested a new age; so too did materials and attendant sculptures. Inside their temples,

the gods looked different, in style and fabric – gods of a new beginning, a bigger world. The very image of luxury, entire buildings of marble, like Caecilius Metellus' Temple of Jupiter Stator and Iunius Brutus Callaicus' Temple of Mars, cast their tufo counterparts as buildings of an earlier age. The introduction of concrete construction was another groundbreaking development. Fast and economical, it weakened long-standing restraints on magistrates' construction ambitions. Once they understood its potential, magistrates would broaden the boundaries of their imaginations to conceive – king-like – of vast building complexes, instead of lone buildings in the landscape. The built environment communicated change, and people responded, challenging the old order: tribunes stepped into a new role, defying the senate, often acting on behalf of the plebs. And lacking building power, tribunes and the people changed space through their rituals of its use.⁴⁷⁰

For the political elite, Hellenistic building practices introduced a dilemma. Inasmuch as they enhanced the city's standard of living and appearance, raising morale and Rome's credibility on the Mediterranean stage, the

aspirations of individual magistrates served the state's interests well. Yet with voters willing to reconsider client–patron obligations, architectural benefaction acquired a heightened value as a legitimate and powerful instrument of personal propaganda. As the senatorial majority moved to regulate tactics for gaining popularity, such as banqueting, games, and electoral bribery, they also sought to contain the most successful of their number through diverse forms of obstructionism in building. They focused their scrutiny on ambitious construction projects, such as the proposed aqueduct of Fulvius Nobilior and Aemilius Lepidus and the theater of 154, which might have won their sponsors' excessive acclaim, and may have even preempted Scipio Aemilianus' and Mummius' chances to build an aqueduct. At given moments – in the design of the Temple of Magna Mater and the reconfiguration of the Temple of Castor – they used architecture to reassert their authority and restore the distance between themselves and the rest of the populace. In turn, these assertions may have helped to awaken the populace to a sense of its power.

FOUR

TURMOIL AND TENSION: *ca.* 133–90

POLITICAL FRAMEWORK

Fields of war

For Roman troops abroad, the years between *ca.* 133 and 90 began well. In 133, the long war with Spain finally came to a close. In the same year, Attalus III of Pergamon died, bequeathing his kingdom and its fortune to Rome. When Aristonicus claimed the throne in protest, styling himself Eumenes III, son of Eumenes II, Roman forces quelled his revolt, and by 129 the province of Asia was established.¹ To the north, Q. Fabius Maximus and Domitius Ahenobarbus defeated the Gallic Allobrogi and Arverni, and in 121 laid claim to the province of Gallia Transalpina (Narbonensis).²

The success was not to last. In the next fifteen years the Republic's strength would be tested on several fronts. Not least of the threats was Jugurtha, known to Romans for his magisterial command of the Numidian cavalry at Numantia. In 118 his uncle, King Micipsa, died, leaving Numidia to his sons Hiempsal and Adherbal and to Jugurtha. Jugurtha killed Hiempsal and expelled Adherbal, who called for Rome's intervention.³ In *ca.* 116, a commission led by L. Opimius, and purportedly bribed by Jugurtha, framed a settlement to divide the kingdom among the cousins. Nevertheless, by 112 Jugurtha had besieged Adherbal at Cirta, resisted a diplomatic intervention by Aemilius Scaurus, and had his cousin tortured and killed on surrender. When his troops slaughtered the city's inhabitants, among them many Roman and Italian merchants, Rome declared war. Jugurtha paid the consul of 111, L. Calpurnius Bestia, to accept his surrender for a nominal penalty, and on answering a summons to Rome to expose the officials he had bribed, paid a tribune to veto his testimony while also arranging the assassination

of another cousin, Massiva. Ordered back to North Africa, in 110 he persuaded the army of Sp. Postumius Albinus (led by his brother, A. Postumius Albinus, while the consul supervised elections in Rome) to yield to him. Suspecting bribery, the senate annulled the treaty and dispatched Q. Caecilius Metellus (Numidicus), son of Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus, to assume command.⁴

Serving with Caecilius Metellus as his legate in North Africa was C. Marius, a new man whose talents had been apparent at the siege of Numantia and who had also shown his mettle by defying the senate as a tribune in 119. Backed by merchants and soldiers, he alleged that Caecilius Metellus was spinning out the Jugurthine War for personal gain. He won a consulship for 107, and in a sign of the growing autonomy of the people and their tribunes, the populace assigned him to North Africa, overriding the senate's prerogative to apportion commands.⁵ He raised troops by abolishing property requirements for enlistment and, returning to Numidia, captured Jugurtha's treasury, forcing him to seek assistance from his father-in-law, King Bocchus of Mauretania. Serving as his quaestor was L. Cornelius Sulla, an impoverished patrician who had made a late start in public life on receiving an inheritance. He persuaded the king to betray Jugurtha to Rome, allowing Marius to claim victory over both Numidia and Mauretania.⁶

In the meantime, in 114 the Scordisci, a Gallic tribe that had clashed with Rome intermittently since 141, penetrated Greece as far as Delphi and threatened Roman control in the region.⁷ Rome launched repeated campaigns against them, under the command of C. Caecilius Metellus Caprarius (113–112), M. Livius Drusus (112–111) and M. Minucius Rufus (110–107). Diverted westward by the Scordisci, in 113 three Germanic tribes, the



Fig. 4.1 Map of Rome, ca. 133–90 (Penelope Davies, Onur Öztürk, and Bogdan Perzyński)

Cimbri, Teutones, and Ambrones, posed a greater threat. They defeated Cn. Papirius Carbo's forces at Norcia, near Ljubljana, before proceeding with reinforcements from other tribes to Transalpine Gaul, where they overcame a second Roman army in 109.⁸ In 107 Rome's Gallic allies, the Volcae near Tolosa, capital of the Tectosages, revolted; charged with checking the rebellion, L. Cassius Longinus was ambushed and killed by the Celtic Tigurini, and his army forced under the yoke. Consul in 106, Q. Servilius Caepio recovered Tolosa, but on joining reinforcements at Arausio the following year, ignored instructions from the new consul, Cn. Mallius Maximus; this resulted in a crushing defeat of both armies by the resurgent Cimbri: Livy claimed that 80,000 Romans perished in the state's most calamitous failure since Cannae.⁹

Fearing a second Gallic invasion, the people took matters into their own hands.¹⁰ They turned again to Marius, and in his absence voted him a second consulship for 104 (and, without affording the senate a chance to prorogue him, consecutive consulships until 100); they assigned him command in Gaul, where he deployed with Sulla as his legate. The Gauls attacked on two fronts: the Teutones and the Ambrones traveled down the Rhône and along the coast to Aquae Sextiae (Aix-en-Provence), where Marius defeated them in 102, while the Cimbri marched – evocatively – across the Alps into Cisalpine Gaul, which Marius' co-consul Q. Lutatius Catulus proved unfit to defend. Marius arrived with reinforcements just as rout seemed inevitable, and together, in 101, they defeated the enemy near Vercellae (the Raudine Plain) in the lower Po valley.¹¹

As the Jugurthine and Gallic Wars drew to a close, other conflicts arose to take their place. In Sicily a second slave war erupted (104–100), and Rome's hegemony over the seas revealed a corollary effect: without the policing of the Seleucid and Rhodian navies, pirates infested

the Mediterranean. With stations along the Cilician coast and a headquarters at Coracesium, their vast fleet trawled the waters, attacking merchant vessels and raiding coastal towns for captives to sell as slaves. For the most part senatorials viewed the problem with ambivalence, since their rural estates subsisted on slave labor; yet when merchant shipping and the grain supply came under threat, and coastal communities began to live in fear, they were forced to action. They gave M. Antonius an extraordinary command against them as praetor and propraetor from 102 to 100,¹² and in 97 sent Sulla to Cilicia, probably as propraetor. He quickly redeployed to Cappadocia, where Mithridates VI of Pontus had installed his son Gordius on the throne; Sulla restored the Cappadocian king, Ariobarzanes, and was hailed *imperator* by his troops.¹³ Sulla's rise had begun.

At Home

In Rome things were hardly easier. In 133, Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, grandson of Scipio Africanus and son of Sempronius Gracchus, was elected tribune. Piqued, perhaps, at the senate's reneging on a Numantine treaty he had brokered as quaestor in 137, or concerned over Italy's farmland and the implications for the army of an unpropertied population, he proposed a bill to enforce limits on individual holdings of the *ager publicus* and to distribute excess in rent-free lots to unpropertied people. The bill would stem the rising tide of urban poor, and at the same time raise them to the requisite property level for recruitment; it would also target those who had appropriated large holdings of public land, a group that included most of the senate. Seeing that his chances of winning a majority there were slim, he took the bill to the plebeian assembly instead, and when a fellow tribune, M. Octavius, vetoed it repeatedly, Gracchus had him deposed, in violation of his

New construction:

- 4.1 Temple B, Largo Argentina (Fortuna Huiusce Diei)
- 4.2 Porticus Minucia
- 4.3 Trophy of Sulla
- 4.4 Trophy of Marius
- 4.5 Basilica Opimia
- 4.6 Temple of Concordia
- 4.7 *Formix Fabianus*
- 4.8 Warehouses on Sacra Via
- 4.9 Temple of Honos and Virtus
- 4.10 Trophy of Marius

4.11 Porticus of Lutatius Catulus

- 4.12 Temple of Fortuna Respiciens (?)
- 4.13 Temple of Venus Verticordia
- 4.14 Navalía (?)
- 4.15 Horrea Sulpicia
- Aqua Tepula

Restoration:

- 1.5 Villa Publica
- 1.20 Temple of Castor
- 2.5 Temple A, Largo Argentina (Iuturna?)
- 2.6 Temple C, Largo Argentina (Feronia?)

2.12 Temple of Neptune

- 2.16 Temple of Fides
- 2.30 Temple of Victoria
- 3.3 Temple D, Largo Argentina (Nymphs?)
- 3.4 Temple on via delle Botteghe Oscure (Lares Permarini?)
- 3.16 Temple of Mens
- 3.22 Temple of Veiovis
- 3.33 Temple of Jupiter Iurarius
- 3.36 Temple of Juno Sospita
- 3.43 Temple of Magna Mater
- 3.44 Temple of Victoria Virgo?

Fig. 4.1 (cont.)

sacrosanctity. The bill carried and a triumvirate was established to oversee its execution, but the senate denied it operating funds, leading Gracchus to requisition the Pergamene treasure by plebiscite.¹⁴ To protect himself in the face of allegations of despotism, he stood for re-election, and when he and his supporters tried to bar hostile voters from the assembly, a riot erupted. At a senate meeting on the Capitoline, Scipio Nasica, the *pontifex maximus*, incited the senators to respond, whereupon they clubbed and stoned Gracchus to death along with nearly 300 of his partisans. Under cover of night their bodies were dragged to the Tiber. Many more were tried and executed; others fled into exile.¹⁵

In 123 C. Sempronius Gracchus followed his brother into the tribunate and agitated for further land reform. He proposed that rent be charged on public allotments and that colonies be founded, most notably a first overseas colony of Junonia at the site of the former Carthage. Moreover, seeing that the grain supply had become unreliable, as large wine- and oil-producing estates edged out small grain farms, and as periodic plagues of locusts destroyed North African crops, he championed a *lex frumentaria* that required the state to buy and store grain and sell monthly rations to citizens below market rate. Other measures addressed corruption at the senatorial level by reforming the judicial system, and at the equestrian level

by revising contracting procedures for taxation in Asia; he also championed improvements to military conditions.¹⁶

In his second tribunate in 122, the senate struck back. Working through Livius Drusus, a tribune, it proposed its own land reforms, thereby expropriating the agrarian issue as its cause.¹⁷ When in 121, at the urging of Opimius, then consul, the tribune Minucius Rufus challenged Gracchus' measures and proposed a repeal of the law setting up Junonia, Gracchus and his ally, M. Fulvius Flaccus, rallied supporters on the Capitol. Demonstrations followed in the Forum. Opimius declared a *senatus consultum ultimum* and called senators and equestrians to arms. Seeking refuge first on the Aventine and then on the Janiculum, the Gracchans were soon defeated; Fulvius Flaccus was put to death, Gracchus committed suicide, and about 3,000 partisans were arrested and executed. Opimius reportedly rewarded the men who brought him the heads of Gracchus and Fulvius Flaccus with their weight in gold.¹⁸

In Appian's view, Rome changed irreversibly with Ti. Gracchus' death.¹⁹ Though tribunes had defied the senate with mounting frequency since the 150s, his tactics exposed the enormous power a single man could wield in the post, and sparked opposition among the governing elite between those who pursued agendas through traditional senatorial means (the self-styled *optimates* or *boni*) and those, like the Gracchi, who worked through the



Fig. 4.2 Temple of Concordia, podium in the background, vowed in 121, actual state (Penelope Davies su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Soprintendenza Speciale per il Colosseo, il Museo Romano e l'Area archeologica di Roma)



Fig. 4.3 Temple B, Largo Argentina, vowed in 101, actual state (Penelope Davies)

people's assembly (known as the *populares*). C. Gracchus' judicial reforms also ignited tension between senators and equestrians. Most damaging to the state's equilibrium, perhaps, was that consensus was undone: negotiation and collaboration, the keys to cooperation, were abandoned. Individuals pushed their powers to the limits of legality and, for the first time in nearly 400 years, mortal violence was unleashed in the city, beginning with an act of unmitigated sacrilege by the state's highest religious official.²⁰

Subsequent decades brought little relief. As events unfolded in Numidia, they churned up a morass of anxiety; panic steadily rose. Irrespective of Jugurtha's actual potential to harm Rome's interests, his lengthening shadow must have recalled the havoc another North African commander had wrought on the city's fortunes exactly a century earlier. And besides his brutality and perfidy, his penchant for bribery corrupted the senate from within and turned it upon itself, adding a domestic face to a foreign crisis. As the Jugurthine War raged on and fears

of a second Gallic invasion took hold, divisions between *optimates* and *populares* deepened; the end of the second century and the start of the first saw their bitterest wrangling since the time of the Gracchi. Discontents coalesced around the composition of the courts, the grain supply, and land grants for veterans; often the outcome was violence.

Between Home and Abroad

By the terms of Ti. Gracchus' agrarian reform, the allies' *ager publicus* was subject to redistribution, but they themselves were ineligible for allotments. This brought a simmering issue to the boil. Already in 126 the allies had appealed for citizenship to allow them to vote and pursue political careers in Rome, and as a safeguard against mistreatment by Roman magistrates. The few attempts to address their concerns fell by the wayside in favor of checking foreign crises.²¹ The censors of 97, M. Antonius and L. Valerius Flaccus, enlisted unprecedented numbers



Fig. 4.4a–b Temple of Neptune, restored in ca. 122–115, podium and column drums, actual state (Pier Luigi Tucci)



Fig. 4.5 *Aureus* minted in 41 with a reverse image of the Temple of Neptune, restored in ca. 122–115. British Museum (© Trustees of the British Museum)

of allies as citizens, only to be countered by the consuls of 95, L. Licinius Crassus and Q. Mucius Scaevola; and when M. Livius Drusus used a tribunate in 91 to champion a bill granting citizenship to all the allies, he met violent opposition from all sides. His assassination just days before the vote proved a catalyst for conflict. The people of southern Picenum, Samnium, Campania, Lucania, and Apulia and Venusia united in a confederacy named *Italia* and waged a war against Rome, the Social War, that was as brutal as it was costly.²² One consul, P. Putilius Lupus, died in violent clashes in the north, leaving Marius to resist and prevail; the other, L. Julius Caesar, father of the later dictator,

fought with mixed fortunes against the Samnites in the south. In 90 Julius Caesar passed a law granting citizenship to all Latins and Italians who laid down arms or who had not yet revolted. Except for a few pockets of Samnium and Lucania, by 88 all the allies had accepted.²³

RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS

As conflicts at home and abroad destabilized the city, a shift in emphasis seems to have occurred with regard to religious construction.

Alongside a handful of new foundations came a glut of temple restorations, some of them extensive. Who was responsible for any of these restorations is hard to gauge; so too is the capacity in which sponsors acted, and the funds used: surviving texts do not share Livy's concern to record vows and dedications systematically. Sources often attribute restorations to men who at the pinnacle of their careers achieved the censorship, which could mean that they let contracts in that office; equally, their building projects may have helped them advance to the post. Nevertheless, random references to temples and other buildings sometimes shed more light on their use than before, and archaeology

reveals richer information on their superstructures (Fig. 4.1). In motivation, design, and location, factionalism is apparent.

Agents and Honorands

Literary sources record four new temple foundations. Two of them responded to the civic crises that preoccupied the city. After C. Gracchus' suicide and the suppression of his partisans in 121, a lustration was performed; then, according to Plutarch, Opimius commissioned a temple to Concordia (Fig. 4.2). Appian believed that the senate charged him with the task;²⁴ whatever the case, the agency of a non-military consul is striking. A second commission was conceived during a frenzy of popular contrition as conflict simmered in North Africa and Gaul. In 114, an equestrian's daughter was struck by lightning as she rode home to Apulia with her father after the *ludi romani*. On assessing the event, seers concluded that members of the equestrian class had acted improperly with Vestal Virgins, and soon thereafter a slave also accused his equestrian master of inappropriate relations with three Vestals. Headed by Caecilius Metellus Delmaticus, *pontifex maximus*, the priests tried the Vestals and acquitted all but one, Aemilia; incited by one of the tribunes, the people called for a secular tribunal, which condemned all three. After their execution, the people were aghast, first at the alleged offense and then at the penalty they had exacted. They demanded a consultation of the Sibylline Books, which prescribed expiation by human sacrifice; and as in the days of Hannibal, two Gauls and two Greeks were buried alive.²⁵ At the same time, in Ovid's words, the oracle "ordered a temple built to Venus: when it was done, Venus took the name of Heart-Changer (*Verticordia*)."²⁶ The Sibyl's involvement marks the temple as a senatorial initiative; like the *lex Oppia* during the Hannibalic War, the vow imposed social order through regulations on women's conduct.

The remaining two foundations memorialized the defeat of the Cimbri and the Teutones at Vercellae. For Lutatius Catulus, the victory was a turnaround in a career beset by obstacles. Despite his ancestors' lustrous (if now distant) performance during the First Punic War, in seeking a consulship in 106, and again in 105 and 104, he had suffered an unparalleled triple defeat. One hurdle to his success was his brother-in-law, Servilius Caepio, whose insubordination at Arausio had led Roman troops to catastrophe and whose subsequent "misplacement" of spoils from Tolosa scandalized the capital (see below).

On finally winning the consulship for 102, moreover, and being charged with protecting the northern frontier, Lutatius Catulus lost Transpadane Gaul to the Cimbri. On the brink of battle at Vercellae, he called on fortune to smile on him as she rarely had before, and afterwards built a temple to Fortuna Huiusce Diei (Fortune of this Day).²⁷ Archaeologists identify it as Temple B, Largo Argentina (Fig. 4.3).²⁸ After the same battle, Marius used *manubiae* to erect a temple to Honos and Virtus.²⁹ His career differed markedly from Lutatius Catulus': already in his fifth consulship, he had celebrated a spectacular triumph over Jugurtha and Numidia; he was the people's favorite. To conservatives, though, he remained a new man, whose rise, first through a defiant tribuneship and then by ousting Caecilius Metellus from the North African command, offended their ideals. He selected gods carefully: like Claudius Marcellus a century before, whose controversial temples to Honos and Virtus were a paean to personal merit in the face of Fabius Maximus' patrician pedigree, Marius credited victory not to divine intervention, but, as a proven soldier and an army reformer, to his own abilities. With their temples, Lutatius Catulus and Marius exalted antithetical images of the force behind successful generals: the gift of chance versus human excellence.³⁰

Besides these new temples, numerous restorations are attested. In a cellar beneath vicolo Costaguti, behind the Casa di Lorenzo Manlio, were found remains of a podium and column fragments of a late second-century date (Fig. 4.4a–b). The podium abuts the Circus Flaminius, but its alignment with buildings on the central Campus Martius suggests a foundation before the formalization of the Circus in 220, and a process of elimination points to the Temple of Neptune, probably vowed during the First Punic War. An Ionic or Tuscan tetrastyle temple labelled *Nept(unus)*, shown on an *aureus* minted by Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus in 41 (Fig. 4.5), suggests its renovation by Domitius Ahenobarbus, consul of 122 and censor in 115.³¹ If so, his choice of the sea-god underlined his role in the defeat of Aristonicus as legate or propraetor in 129–128, a conflict that involved engagement at sea. Moreover, his conquest of the Allobrogi and the Arverni, for which he celebrated a proconsular triumph in 120, took place at the confluence of the Ysère and the Rhône.³²

At some point, too, another renovation occurred at the Temple of Castor in the Forum, more thorough than the last. Cicero attributes the initiative to a Metellus, perhaps Caecilius Metellus Delmaticus, consul of 119, using *manubiae* to commemorate a triumph over the Scordisci in 117,

or his brother L. Caecilius Metellus Diadematus, consul of 117 and censor in 115.³³ Their *gens* cultivated an affinity with the Dioscuri, to the extent that when M. Caecilius Metellus and C. Caecilius Metellus Caprarius triumphed together in 111 over Sardinia and Thrace, they did so on the festival of the Castores, the Ides of Quintilis.³⁴ The Temples of Mens and Fides on the Capitoline were newly dedicated by Aemilius Scaurus, consul of 115 (so Cicero writes), probably to mark his achievement of a censorship in 109 despite an impoverished background,³⁵ and the temples were apposite: during his tenure he presided over the investigation into Jugurtha's bribery, which concluded by sentencing Opimius, L. Calpurnius Bestia, Postumius Albinus, and two other ex-consuls to exile.³⁶ The Temple of Fides, where foreign states lodged their oaths of allegiance to Rome, served as a counterpoint to Punic betrayal, its restoration a double rebuke for Jugurtha's many acts of treachery and the collusion of Roman negotiators. Mens may have guided Aemilius Scaurus' work, and he enjoyed a gentilician connection to the temple: the senate had entrusted oversight of its initial construction in 217 to his ancestor, M. Aemilius.³⁷

Meanwhile in Largo Argentina, immediately before the construction of the Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei, a pavement of Aniene tufo was laid, and the podia of Temples C (Iuturna or Feronia) and D (the Nymphs or the Lares Permarini) were apparently refinished to accommodate it; a more aggressive restoration took place at Temple A (Iuturna, or Juno Curitis or Feronia). Nearby, the temple on via delle Botteghe Oscure (the Lares Permarini or the Nymphs) also preserves a construction phase of roughly 100.³⁸ Lutatius Catulus may have had a hand in the restoration of the Temple of Iuturna, vowed by his antecedent Lutatius Catulus on ending the First Punic War,³⁹ and it is tempting to link work at the Temple of the Lares Permarini to Aemilius Scaurus, in recognition of his forebears, Aemilius Regulus and Aemilius Lepidus, who vowed and dedicated it.

On the Palatine, meanwhile, remains indicate a rebuilding of the Temple of Magna Mater in the late second century and also, perhaps in the first decades of the first century, of the Temple of Victoria.⁴⁰ Ovid names a Metellus responsible for the work at the Temple of Magna Mater, usually identified as Caecilius Metellus Caprarius, consul in 113 and *triumphator* over the Scordisci in 111, or Caecilius Metellus Numidicus, soon after a fire in 111.⁴¹ Literary accounts of an episode in 102 suggest a different scenario. As Diodorus tells it,

One Battakes, a priest of the goddess Rhea, they say, came to Rome from Pessinus, a city of Phrygia; who declared he came thither by command of the goddess. He told the magistrates and senate that their temple was profaned, and that a public expiation ought to be made in the name of Romans.⁴²

From this passage scholars infer that Cybele demanded atonement in Rome for acts of sacrilege at her temple in Pessinus;⁴³ yet, if neglected since the fire of 111, the temple on the Palatine makes a more likely subject for the priest's consternation. Plutarch even specifies that his visit resulted in the vow of a temple:

About this time the Battakes, the priest of the Great Mother, came from Pessinus announcing that the goddess had declared to him from her shrine that the Romans were going to be victorious and triumphant in war. The senate gave credence to the story and voted that a temple should be built for the goddess for the victory (ἐπινικίας).⁴⁴

Scholars typically suppose that the temple remained unbuilt, or that it was, at best, just a shrine.⁴⁵ Yet Plutarch's text indicates that the senate agreed to build a temple *for* victory (which duly occurred in 102 at Aquae Sextiae and 101 at Vercellae) or *near* Victory (that is, the Temple of Victoria), or perhaps both, and the restoration probably belongs to this date. A *denarius* of 102 featuring a bust of Magna Mater on the obverse and an image of Victory on the reverse may even refer to Cybele's declaration and upcoming construction on the Palatine.⁴⁶ Caecilius Metellus Numidicus and Caecilius Metellus Caprarius were censors in 102–101 and, as likely as not, one or both of them let the contract. Having lost face over the Jugurthine War, the Battakes' pronouncement of Cybele's promise of victory was an opportunity for the family to regain stature: their predecessor, M. Caecilius Metellus, had joined the embassy that brought her cult to Rome, so they could claim credit for her favor and, implicitly, for victory at Vercellae.⁴⁷

There were more restorations to come. According to Julius Obsequens, in the heat of the Social War, Caecilia Metella, daughter of Caecilius Metellus Balearicus, had a dream:

[She] related that she had dreamed that Juno the Deliverer [Sospita] was fleeing away because her precincts were being desecrated with filth, and that Metella had by her prayers with difficulty induced her to return. Metella cleaned out the temple, which was befouled by ladies' attention to dirty and vile physical needs, and in which under the very image of the goddess, a bitch had her lair and her litter.⁴⁸

Cicero notes that the dream led to “ceremonies of prayer,” and the senate charged the elder Julius Caesar, as consul, with restoring the warrior goddess’s temple to its one-time luster,⁴⁹ though neither account of the event is clear whether this means her temple in Rome (the central temple at S. Nicola in Carcere in the Forum Holitorium: Fig. 2.15) or at her place of origin, Lanuvium. The temple in Rome was renovated at some point and the podium shifted southward, but the work could date to the start of the first century, or after a fire in 31.⁵⁰ The date of a restoration at the neighboring Temple of Janus is also undetermined.⁵¹

On Tiber Island, reconstruction probably occurred at a sanctuary in the area of S. Giovanni Calibita. As in the Temple of Apollo Medicus earlier in the century, the work was recorded in a black and white mosaic floor, framed by a rectangular border: *C. SERVEILI. M. F. PR [-] SERVEILIEIS. C. F. FACIENDVM. COERAVERVNT EIDEMO – PROBA [...]*. Neither the nature of the project nor the honorand is known, but it was possibly a restoration of the Temple of Jupiter Iurarius.⁵² The man responsible was neither a censor nor an aedile but a praetor, conceivably C. Servilius M. f. Vata, praetor soon after 125 and a member of the dedicator’s *gens*.⁵³

Aside from personal agendas, a number of striking points emerge from this data. First, the senate, which had not initiated a single known temple since the Hannibalic war, resumed its earlier role in religious construction through the Sibylline Books; this suggests a sense of crisis. Second, judging by the mosaic on Tiber Island, the practice of involving praetors in construction, first witnessed with the Aqua Marcia project, continued. Third, as in the late third century, all the temple foundations honored deities already attested in Rome (Venus and Fortuna in new manifestations), rather than new gods. During the Second Punic War, this practice seems to reflect a fear of rupture in the *pax deorum*, calling for the appeasement of existing gods, and thereafter it affirmed Roman identity in face of destabilizing forces. At this time, with haunting news from abroad and civic life in turmoil, both motivations were likely at play.

Similar factors might account for the restorations. To be sure, fires had probably taken their toll on Rome’s buildings – the conflagration of 111 being especially destructive – and a war economy and reduced spoils may have made restorations more feasible than new foundations.⁵⁴ Yet the fact that some of the renovations targeted divinities who had protected the city in related crises, or whose cults had suffered sacrilege or neglect, suggests ideological motivations. The foundations of the Temples of Fides and

Mens, for instance, probably belong during Carthaginian conflicts; once propitiated, these deities might watch over Rome’s dealings with a second North African adversary. At the same time, a renovation of the Temple of Fides may have helped to expiate a heinous act of sacrilege, for it was within the temple that Scipio Nasica had resolved to murder Ti. Gracchus, supposedly protected by tribunician sacrosanctity. Magna Mater, first imported to Rome as a desperate (and ultimately successful) bid for Hannibal’s defeat, might vouchsafe victory in another war if her neglected temple were restored. And though the Temple of Juno Sospita in the Forum Holitorium was founded by Cornelius Cethegus, victor over the Insubrian Gauls, the cult had never lost its tie to its place of origin, Lanuvium, which Rome had permitted to keep its cults after the Latin League’s dissolution in 338, perhaps as a reward for loyalty. As “disaster befell everywhere in Latium,” in Obsequens’ words, the senate’s reaction to Caecilia Metella’s dream betrays Rome’s fear as its Latin alliances crumbled.⁵⁵

Finally, behind the new foundations, and the restorations too, lurks the specter of factional politics. With the exception of Marius, all those who sponsored temple initiatives sympathized with the conservative ideals of the *optimates*, and while serving in their individual capacity as magistrates, it is likely that several of them also engaged in construction as representatives of this group, with which they thereby aligned themselves. By assuming responsibility for relations with the gods, the *boni* gained divine sanction just as patricians had in the early Republic; they appropriated the *mos maiorum* as their platform in the civil struggle. This is most evident in 121 when, using the Temple of Concordia, they characterized the suppression of the Gracchans as a victory and vindication; in fact, like Flavius’ *aedicula* 200 years earlier, it reeked of irony: the outcome it celebrated resulted from violence and suppression, not equitable consensus.⁵⁶ Far from cementing reconciliation, as Plutarch tells, it the temple stoked the discord:

What vexed the people more ... than anything else was the erection of a temple of Concord by Opimius; for it was felt that he was priding himself and exulting and in a manner celebrating a triumph in view of all this slaughter of citizens. Therefore at night, beneath the inscription on the temple, somebody carved this verse: “A work of mad discord produces a temple of Concord.”⁵⁷

The decision to charge a consul with shepherding the project, rather than waiting for a censor to let the contract the following year, indicates haste; and a consul (known for his brutality in dealing with the allied city



Fig. 4.6 Sarcophagus with a circus scene, third century CE. Sala degli Imperatori, Palazzo Trinci, Foligno (Palazzo Trinci)

of Fregellae in 125) represented the senatorial majority more powerfully than an ad hoc appointee.

Aemilius Scaurus and the Caecilii Metelli, in turn, were conservative figureheads. *Princeps senatus* from 120 until his death in 89, by the end of the century, when the luster of the Aemilii Lepidi had dimmed, Aemilius Scaurus was the most prominent of the *gens*.⁵⁸ His focus on Fides and Mens aligned the senatorial majority with aristocratic values; and through Mens he may have hoped to advocate pause and consideration as events spiraled out of control. Though plebeian, the Caecilii Metelli, for their part, enjoyed high status, and in the second half of the second century accrued prestige through military achievement and marriage just as many old families were struggling to survive; in every other year between 119 and 109, a member of the extended *gens* was consul. Gentilician interests aside, they probably targeted the Temple of Castor as an icon of senatorial authority (in fact, shortly before its renovation, the *lex Latina Bantina* required magistrates to take their oaths of office (*pro ae)de Castoris*),⁵⁹ and to win back support from equestrians, who had inclined toward the Gracchans when placed on the juries. And, as tensions between conservatives and progressives reached new heights, the Metellan restoration of the Temple of Magna Mater staked an optimum claim on the victory at Vercellae, wresting credit from Marius, who made vows to her before the battle (and, in 99, traveled to Asia Minor to fulfill them).⁶⁰

Design: New Construction

Of the four temples assigned to the 140s and 130s, three (those of Jupiter Stator, Hercules Victor (?), and Mars) were distinctively Greek in material and style, with fully

peripteral plans; one, at least, had a low *crepidoma*. Scholars contend that systemically Greek designs faded from currency thereafter, some surmising that their fading was a matter of fashion: Hermodorus' trademark, they fell out of favor after his death. One suggests that Romans found the style somewhat sterile.⁶¹ However, though none of the new foundations was fully Greek in appearance, with the exception of the Temple of Venus Verticordia (which, if rightly identified on a sarcophagus in Foligno [Fig. 4.6, left end], was likely a modest distyle structure, at least in the imperial period),⁶² the Greek aesthetic lingered, exerting a visible influence on temples that followed, in footprint, column type, and (albeit in a more complex way) in material.

At both the Temple of Concordia and the Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei, the influence of peripteral design is evident: the circular Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei (diameter 19.20 meters) had a full ring of columns (figs. 4.3 and 4.7–8), while that of Concordia featured lateral columns (but a solid rear wall of Gabine stone, abutting the Capitoline hill: Fig. 4.9).⁶³ In a passage on typology, Vitruvius suggests a similar scheme for Marius' Temple of Honos and Virtus:

The peripteral temple will have six columns in the front and six in the rear, and, with the corner columns, eleven down each side. These columns should be placed so that there is a space, equal to the width of an intercolumniation, extending all around the walls to the outer edge of the rank of columns, so that there will be a walkway around the cella of the temple just as there is in the Temple of Jupiter Stator in the Porticus Metelli, by Hermodorus, and in the Temple of Honos and Virtus, made by Mucius next to the Mariana, which is *sine postico*.⁶⁴

It is noteworthy that, in Vitruvius' mind at least, the absence of a rear colonnade, which scholars usually characterize as

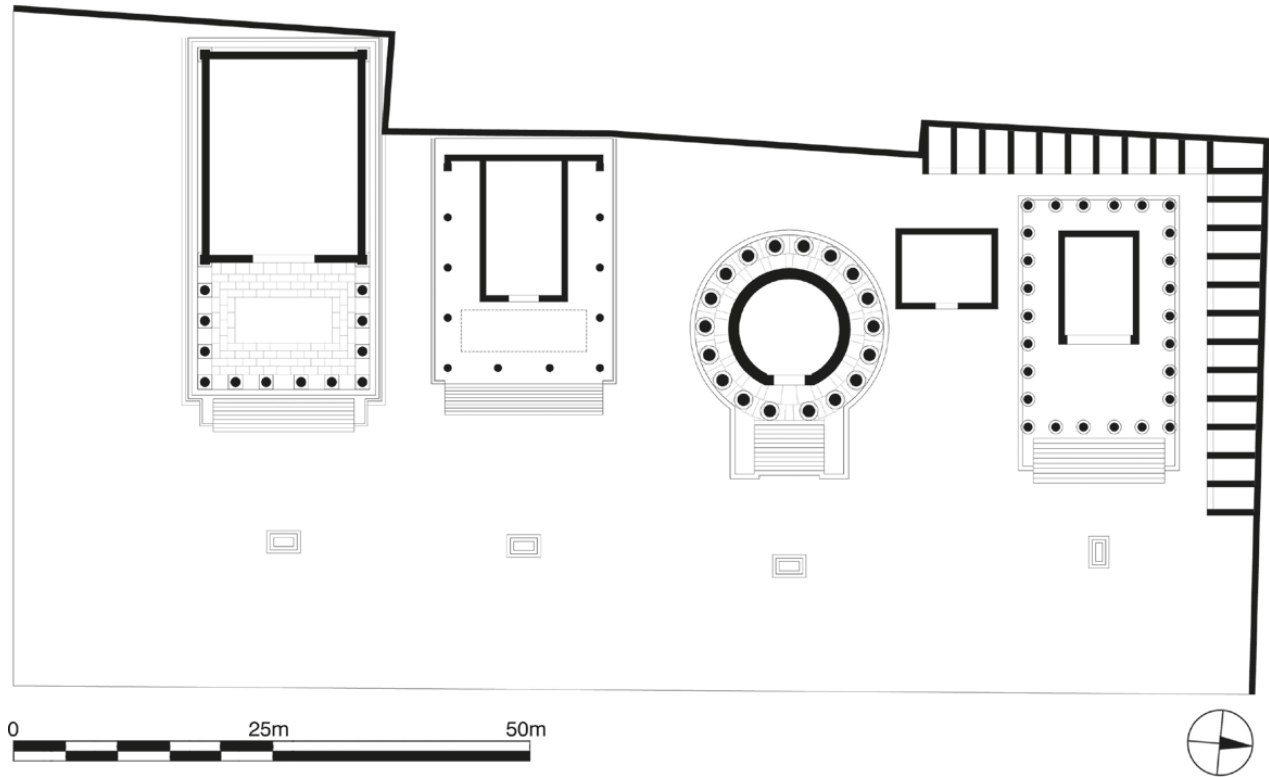


Fig. 4.7 *Area sacra* of Largo Argentina, ca. 100, plan (John Burge)



Fig. 4.8 *Area sacra* of Largo Argentina, ca. 100, hypothetical reconstruction (John Burge)

a distinctly Italic phenomenon, was not enough to differentiate Marius' temple entirely from peripteral temples in the Greek style. As some of their immediate precursors may have done, the Temples of Concordia and Fortuna Huiusce Diei still stood on podia, not a low *crepidoma*

(roughly 4 meters and 2.5 meters, respectively), with frontal staircases (and at the Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei, spur walls and rectangular statue bases, possibly added soon after completion, accentuated the frontality).⁶⁵ Marius' temple may have been different: Festus comments that

“[he] made his Temple of Honos and Virtus lower than others” to avoid interfering with the *spectio* of the augurs, who would otherwise have ordered it demolished; lacking a high podium, it may even have had a *crepidoma*.⁶⁶ As for column type and elevation, at the Temples of Concordia and Fortuna Huiusce Diei Corinthian prevailed, and in a passage on architectural treatises, Vitruvius notes:

We have none from C. Mucius, who trusted in his great learning to complete Marius’ temple to Honor and Virtus, establishing the symmetries of cella, columns, and epistyles according to the proper principles of art. Indeed, if this temple had been of marble, so that the authority it had for its magnificence and expense were equal to that earned by the refinement of its art, it would be named among the foremost works of architecture.⁶⁷

The “proper principles of art” and the symmetries or systems of proportions Vitruvius mentions were characteristic of the work of Hermogenes and Hermodorus, with whom Mucius may have trained.⁶⁸ If an architect named Q. Mutius, who signed his work in Greek at a nymphaeum in Segni, was related to Mucius, Marius’ designer may even have been of Greek derivation, though Greek may simply have been the appropriate professional language of architecture.⁶⁹

That Greek fashion remained influential is no surprise in the case of the Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei. The author of historical works and epigrams, Lutatius Catulus was famed for his philhellenism; Cicero especially admired his oratorical style.⁷⁰ For Marius, in turn, a design verging on the populist Greek scheme first introduced in its full glory by the father of his antagonist, Caecilius Metellus, may have had particular appeal as a means of aligning himself with the people. And in the Temple of Concordia, conservatives adopted the style of the *triumphatores* in much the same way as they appropriated progressive issues, using this up-to-date style to dignify their authority. That authority, in turn, was forcefully accentuated by the building’s dimensions: where earlier votives measured approximately 15 to 20 meters across the front, and were usually hexastyle, it measured an astonishing 30 by 40.80 meters at the base of the podium, with an octastyle façade.⁷¹ Further exaggerated by proximity to Flavius’ homonymous shrine, its monumentality set it alongside patrician initiatives of the early Republic.

Where these temples differ categorically from those of the 140s and 130s is in materials. Vitruvius specifically notes that Marius did not use marble for the Temple of Honos and Virtus, and nor, judging by the evidence, was it the stone of choice for other post-Gracchan temples. Still, architects favored stuccoed travertine, which more than any

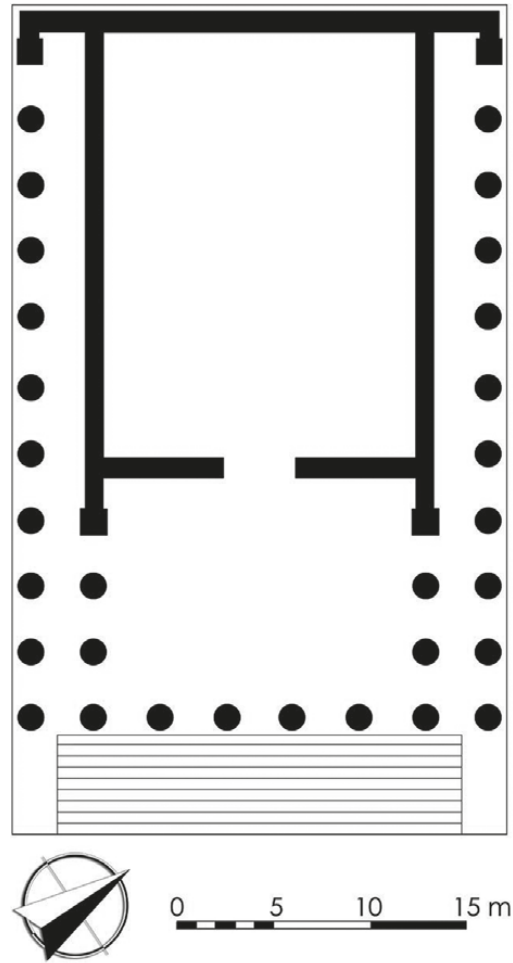


Fig. 4.9 Temple of Concordia, vowed in 121, plan (Onur Öztürk)

other local building fabric resembled the imported stone of the *triumphatores*. It was used for the columns of the Temple of Concordia and perhaps elsewhere in the building as well, and at the Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei for paving, column bases, and capitals, in combination with a diversity of other Italic fabrics (Aniene tufo for the podium revetment and the eighteen column shafts, probably *opus quasi-reticulatum* for the cella).⁷² Marble was reserved for closely carved features; a fragment of entablature relief with a neo-Attic acanthus motif at the Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei is Pentelic marble (Fig. 4.10), and a colossal acrolithic cult statue in the neo-Attic style, fragments of which were found between Temples B and C (Fig. 4.11), was also Greek marble.⁷³ With its permanent military presence in Greece, Rome had easy access to marble quarries, but any number of factors may have influenced the choice: piracy may have endangered the shipping routes, or, once fields



Fig. 4.10 Pentelic marble relief fragment from Temple B, Largo Argentina, ca. 101 (Archivio Fotografico della Sovrintendenza di Roma Capitale)



Fig. 4.11 Head of a colossal marble statue of Fortuna Huiusce Diei, ca. 101. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, inv. MC 2780 (Penelope Davies)

of battle had moved elsewhere, marble may have lacked manubial relevance; perhaps temple sponsors preferred the effects achieved with stucco,⁷⁴ or the costs were too high. Or perhaps the choice was ideological; an Italic stone, travertine represented a return to Republican *mores* in the face of foreign luxury.

Design: Restorations

Restorations, by their very nature, are conservative; more than that, practicality favored the reuse of a podium, at the least, over its removal and replacement. In most cases (the Temples of Fides, Neptune, and Janus, and the temple on via delle Botteghe Oscure), too little is known of pre-Gracchan designs to determine how much (if anything) changed.⁷⁵ Still, they seem to have followed similar lines to new construction. The Corinthian style was popular, at least for the Temples of Neptune and Fides, and for Temple A, Largo Argentina, where Corinthian columns were paired with a Doric entablature (Fig. 4.8).⁷⁶ Some were fully peripteral in design, on high podia with frontal steps: judging by its early first-century or early Augustan state, this was the scheme at the Temple of Juno Sospita, where the concrete podium, with chambers set into the sides, supported a pycnostyle 6×11 design (Fig. 2.15),⁷⁷ and at the temple on via delle Botteghe Oscure, represented on the *Forma Urbis* as pycnostyle and 8×12 , and reconstructed similarly in its Republican phase (fragment 35ee = 337: Figs. 4.23 and 4.24b).⁷⁸ At Temple A, Largo



Fig. 4.12 Marble head of Fides (?), ca. 109 (?), Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, inv. 2447 (Penelope Davies)



Fig. 4.13 Marble head of Mens (?), ca. 109 (?), Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, inv. MC 1589 (Penelope Davies)

Argentina, the podium of the building erected by Lutatius Catulus in the First Punic War, restored earlier in the second century, was entirely engulfed in a new podium; the one-time temple became the cella for an enlarged building, adapted to a fully peripteral design.⁷⁹

With one exception – the Temple of Neptune, where fragments of fluted columns are Pentelic marble (Fig. 4.4b)⁸⁰ – travertine was widely used in restored temples as in new construction: at the Temple of Fides for column shafts, Attic bases, and architrave blocks;⁸¹ at Temple D, Largo Argentina, where travertine slabs reveted the concrete podium and the spur walls, and a row of travertine paving surrounded the building; at Temple A, for the new podium and much of the superstructure (Fig. 4.8);⁸² and to revet the podia of the temple on via delle Botteghe Oscure and the Temple of Neptune.⁸³ Again, exceptions were made for sculpture: two colossal, acrolithic neo-Attic heads, which may have come from new cult statues at the Temples of Fides and Mens, are Greek marble (Figs. 4.12–13).⁸⁴

Through these modifications, existing temples were visibly elevated. Magnificence served personal agendas, as is clear at the Temple of Neptune, and perhaps at Temple A, Largo Argentina, if the sponsor was Lutatius Catulus; and, by dignifying the *mos maiorum*, it enhanced the conservatives' authority. This is especially apparent in the aggressive reworking of the Temple of Castor (Phase II), already modified earlier in the century to buttress senatorial ideals. At this time, the tribunal was raised by at least 80 centimeters, and enlarged to protrude into the Forum by an additional 2.40 meters; as before, probably, narrow lateral staircases controlled access (Figs. 4.14–15).⁸⁵ The floor level of the temple proper was elevated by about 3 meters to stand a full 2.55 meters higher than the tribunal, and reached by nine steps framed with spur walls.⁸⁶ More than that, the entire temple was recast in a Hellenizing guise. Set into the staircase, eight columns, probably Corinthian and travertine, replaced the previous hexastyle façade, converting the column spacing to a near-pycnostyle design and mirroring the octastyle façade of the Temple of

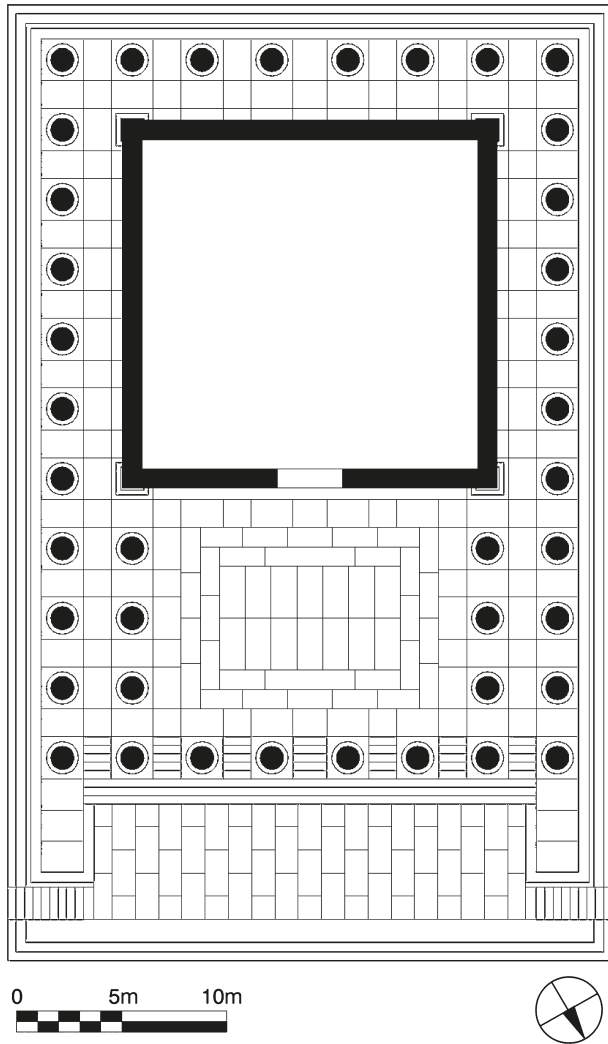


Fig. 4.14 Temple of Castor, Phase II, ca. 117 (?), plan (John Burge)

Concordia.⁸⁷ The lateral walls gave way to colonnades (again, like the Temple of Concordia), and the triple cella was converted into a single square chamber.⁸⁸ Inside, there was lavish decoration: a paneled ceiling still earned Cicero's praise decades later, and preparatory drawings and *tessera* imprints indicate a floor mosaic with a black meander border surrounded by squares and triangles of black, white, red, green, and yellow in an illusionistic perspective.⁸⁹

The temple's reconfiguration heightened traditional hierarchies of authority and intensified the impression of senatorial control that previous alterations had underscored. The raised tribunal lifted speakers further above the crowd, and if it was the locus of voting, the increase in its depth, by almost 50 percent, may have responded to Marius' follow-up to the secret ballot laws: as tribune

in 119, he had championed a bill to narrow the *pontes* to reduce interference and abuses during elections, which, once passed, opened a rift between him and his one-time patrons, the Caecilii Metelli.⁹⁰ Caecilius Metellus' modification of the tribunal effectively *broadened* the space available, negating Marius' law and reaffirming senatorial authority in elections. Still higher than the tribunal, the widened cella better accommodated the meetings of the senate for which it was designated, and its rich embellishment dignified them. The barricade of columns set into the stairs discouraged entry; in fact Vitruvius faulted the pycnostyle scheme precisely for the difficulty of movement between columns.⁹¹

Design: Concrete, Dynamics and Senatorial Control

If travertine was the material of choice for temple superstructures, magistrates were also growing attuned to the possibilities offered by concrete, and turned their ambitions to grander schemes for managing urban space. This is evident at the Sanctuary of Magna Mater, where concrete was deployed in a large-scale reconfiguration of the entire southwest corner of the Palatine, unifying the cultic monuments and spaces located there, and yoking the temples together to give visual form to the bond implied by Magna Mater's promise of victory (Victoria) in the Gallic war (Figs. 4.16–17). The Temple of Magna Mater was rebuilt from the foundation up: on a vast podium, 9 meters high with the foundation, it was hexastyle, prostyle, and Corinthian, with a deep porch. Ionic columns graced the cella, and an *aedicula* in the rear wall may have framed the cult statue, perhaps an acephalic seated figure in the Palatine Antiquarium (Fig. 4.18); behind, a narrow room may have housed a staircase for access to the upper part of the statue. The foundation, the podium, and probably the cella were built out of concrete with Grotta Oscura, peperino, and travertine *caementa*.⁹² In a less extensive restoration, the Temple of Victoria was provided with new Corinthian façade columns, crafted of stuccoed travertine; secondary foundations within the cella indicate the addition of an interior colonnade.⁹³ The building on top of the small foundations between the temples was also restored.⁹⁴

To the front and sides of the temples, the sanctuary's *platea* was raised and expanded. To the south, it was lifted by 3 meters on a concrete barrel-vaulted substructure and supported horizontally beyond the contour of the hill, thus enlarging the setting for the *ludi scaenici*. The "hut of Romulus" was probably raised and rebuilt in the southeast corner of the *platea*, and the basin used for



Fig. 4.15 Temple of Castor, Phase II, *ca.* 117 (?), hypothetical reconstruction (John Burge)

purifying Magna Mater's statue was enlarged and relocated to a *temenos* on the west side (perhaps with other cultic structures). At the same time, the access path to the sanctuary, the *clivus Victoriae* from the Velabrum and the Forum Boarium, was radically altered: where it passed in front of the Temple of Magna Mater, it was lowered, paved with *silex* and enclosed as a *via tecta* (covered road), approximately 40 meters long and 4.50 meters wide. On its north flank was a row of vaulted rooms, probably *tabernae* and/or offices; a vaulted walkway ran parallel on the south, and an arcade may have framed vistas over the valley. At the east end, the *clivus* met the *scalae Caci* from the Forum Boarium and veered north to ascend to the platform in front of the Temple of Victoria.⁹⁵

With the sanctuary's grand reconception, the *optimates* assumed responsibility for the very foundations of Rome, bringing the Italic (Romulus and Victoria, the exaltation of militarism and imperialism) and Greek (Cybele, protectress of Aeneas) foundation myths together under senatorial authority. It was not the first sanctuary in Rome to sit on a barrel-vaulted concrete substructure, but it is the first known to effect a scenographic reconfiguration of the landscape, where the whole was far greater than the sum of its parts. Like the contemporaneous Sanctuary of

Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste (Fig. 4.19), it presented an innovative vision for sanctuary planning in Latium, drawing on a Mediterranean design *koine* that favored kinetic schemes, as seen at the sanctuaries of Asclepius at Cos and Athena Lindaia at Lindos, and in urban planning as evidenced at Pergamon (Fig. 4.20). These East Greek sites impressed from afar; more than that, through shifts of elevation, form, and volumetric space, they controlled movement, framed vistas, and offered sudden visual revelations; through their form, experience was masterfully stage-crafted. On the Palatine, the substructures and terraces distinguished hierarchies of space – for gods, for worshippers, and for those who administered rituals of mediation – and movement to those spaces was newly circumscribed.⁹⁶

What prompted the Caecilii Metelli to control experience within the sanctuary may have been the nature of the cults themselves. At its inception, the Temple of Victoria probably appealed to plebeians; and though senatorial families had instigated Magna Mater's cult in Rome, seen to her transportation, and welcomed her to the city, and though they continued to celebrate her arrival by exchanging hospitality at banquets at the start of the *Megalesia*, by the end of the second century the

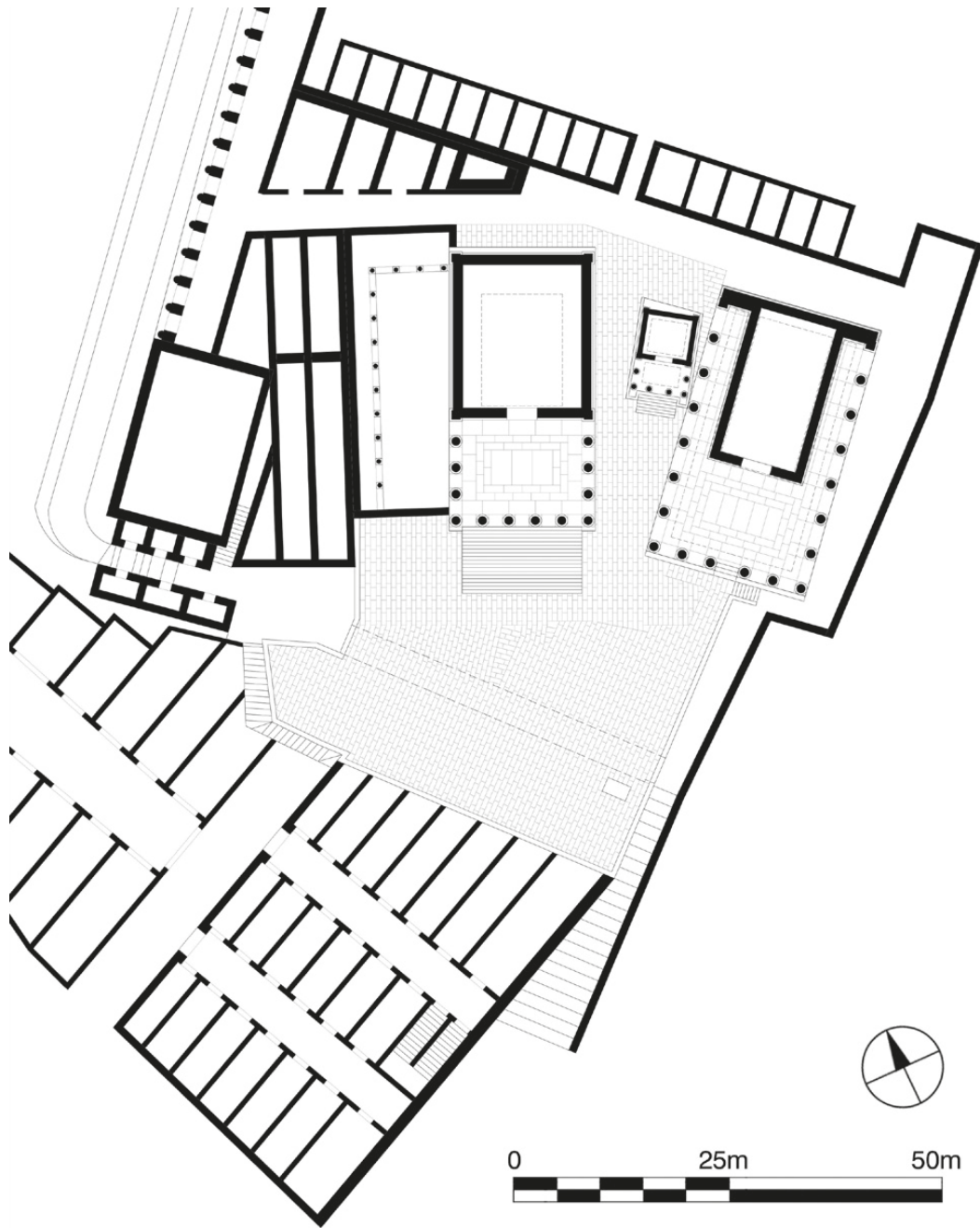


Fig. 4.16 Sanctuary of Magna Mater, restored in *ca.* 102 (?), plan (John Burge)

principal – and fervent – devotees at her temple may have belonged to lower orders of society.⁹⁷ More than that, though well integrated into state religion and, as Dionysius would later maintain, heavily Romanized, the cult nevertheless stood at the far edge of elite self-identity.⁹⁸ Cicero insists that Magna Mater's foreign origins were never forgotten; hers were the only games with

a non-Latin name, and her hymns were always intoned in Greek.⁹⁹ Modeled on her male consort, Attis, her priests, the *Galli*, were self-castrated eunuchs, the very antithesis of Roman manliness, and since castration was illegal in Rome, no citizen or even his slave could join the priesthood.¹⁰⁰ Accounts of the Battakes' visit bespeak the senate's discomfort with his foreignness and the regal



Fig. 4.17 Sanctuary of Magna Mater, restored in ca. 102 (?), hypothetical reconstruction (John Burge)

overtones of his appearance: in Diodorus Siculus' words, "his habit and other ornaments of his body were very strange and altogether unusual at Rome; for he wore a crown or mitre of enormous size, and a flowered gown embroidered with gold, representing the state and dignity of a king."¹⁰¹ Plebeians, by contrast, held his power in great respect, as ancient accounts underline: when a tribune, A. Pompeius, forbade him to wear his crown and vetoed his presentation to the senate, before promptly falling into a fever and dying,

It was the general discourse and opinion among the common people, that he was thus punished by a divine hand ... And therefore Battaces being honoured with many presents, and liberty granted to him to wear his sacred vestments, with all their ornaments, the day he designed for his departure, he was conducted by multitudes, both men and women, out of the city.¹⁰²

Even if orgiastic elements of worship reported in Asia Minor were not practiced openly in Rome, other rituals of worship associated with Magna Mater were still alien to Roman norms: the inducement of ecstatic states and

ceremonial castrations were annual manifestations of the cult's otherness.¹⁰³ During the Metroac festivals for Attis in late March, adherents vacillated between public displays of intense grief, with weeping, self-flagellation, and perhaps self-castration, and commensurately delirious displays of exhilaration.¹⁰⁴ At the opening of the *Megalesia* that followed, on April 4, *Galli* paraded the goddess's image through the city to publicize the cult, and at the close of the festival on April 10, another procession made its way to the Circus Maximus for *ludi circenses*, and ancient authors describe both processions in vivid terms. The *Galli* were clad in bright, luxurious robes; some brandished knives to symbolize their castrated state, some begged for alms in Magna Mater's name or played loud music to an unfamiliar Phrygian meter on tympana, cymbals, flutes, and curved horns. Resplendent in crested helmets, Phrygian *Corybantes* leapt about wildly, shaking their heads and clashing armor. Crowds showered their path with money and roses to neutralize the goddess's awesome power.¹⁰⁵

In Rome, processions were among the perceptible facets of religion and *Romanitas*. Viewed anthropologically,

they imparted social ideals and constructed social relations for the crowds they attracted. For spectators, to watch, react, and interact with a procession, even in cynicism or disbelief, was in some measure to accept its representation of social reality.¹⁰⁶ Like her cult as a whole, the processions in Magna Mater's honor pushed at and even transgressed the boundaries of Roman identity; they helped to construct the goddess as an object of simultaneous fear and fascination through her alien quality and that of her priesthood.¹⁰⁷ Conspicuously and succinctly, they embodied the two forces in the heart of the city that, for conservatives, most threatened the *mos maiorum*: the non-Roman, and the populous non-elite. And with the sanctuary's redesign, the Caecilii Metelli imposed symbolic authority on both those forces. The processions' itinerary is not documented.¹⁰⁸ They either climbed the steep *scalae Caci*, now circumscribed in stone, or, more likely perhaps, they began and ended on the gentle path of the *clivus Victoriae*. This being so, at their most visible point on the side of the hill, overlooking the Circus Maximus, the *via tecta* controlled and contained the processions' movement. The vast *platea* above refocused attention on the more restrained and orthodox component of the festival, the *ludi scaenici*, where an aedile presided and where segregated seating visually articulated social hierarchies. Even the entrance to the *platea* could be monitored if necessary, to curtail distractions at plays and afford the senate a measure of control over popular forms of entertainment.¹⁰⁹

Location: Senatorial Authority and Populist Reaction

As before, new foundations were purposefully sited, even as space grew scarce around the popular nodes (Fig. 4.1). The Temple of Venus Verticordia probably stood at the southwest end of the Circus Maximus,¹¹⁰ effecting a symbolic juxtaposition between the goddess who turned the heart from vice and the turning posts for races. This also placed it close to the Temple of Venus Obsequens, funded in 295 with fines collected from noble women convicted, like the Vestals, for adultery. The Temple of Concordia, in the northwest corner of the Forum, was diagonally opposite the Temple of Castor, newly configured, of similar style and material (Fig. 4.21); together the temples framed the space of political ritual with conservative authority. The Temple of Concordia's place on the triumphal route, where

the procession turned to ascend the *clivus Capitolinus*, enhanced its triumphant message; through juxtaposition, it served as a corrective of sorts for Flavius' *aedicula* of 304, built to celebrate an equally tendentious "harmony" between patricians and plebeians.¹¹¹ Its proximity to the Comitium, in turn, conveyed a wry commentary on the (im)balance of power between senate and assembly; and it loomed over the prison, site of the tribunes' first acts of defiance in 151.

Foundations that commemorated triumphs continued to line the triumphal route. Wedged between Temples A and C, Largo Argentina, the Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei's proximity to the Temple of Iuturna, vowed by Lutatius Catulus' ancestor, highlighted the pedigree that distinguished him from Marius (Figs. 4.7–8).¹¹² As for Marius' Temple of Honos and Virtus, Festus' reference to the *spectio* probably places it on the Sacra Via, which was more or less the axis of the augural sightline from the



Fig. 4.18 Marble statue of Magna Mater (?), second century CE (Penelope Davies su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma)



Fig. 4.19 Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia, Praeneste (Palestrina), end of the second century (Pallacanestro Palestrina)

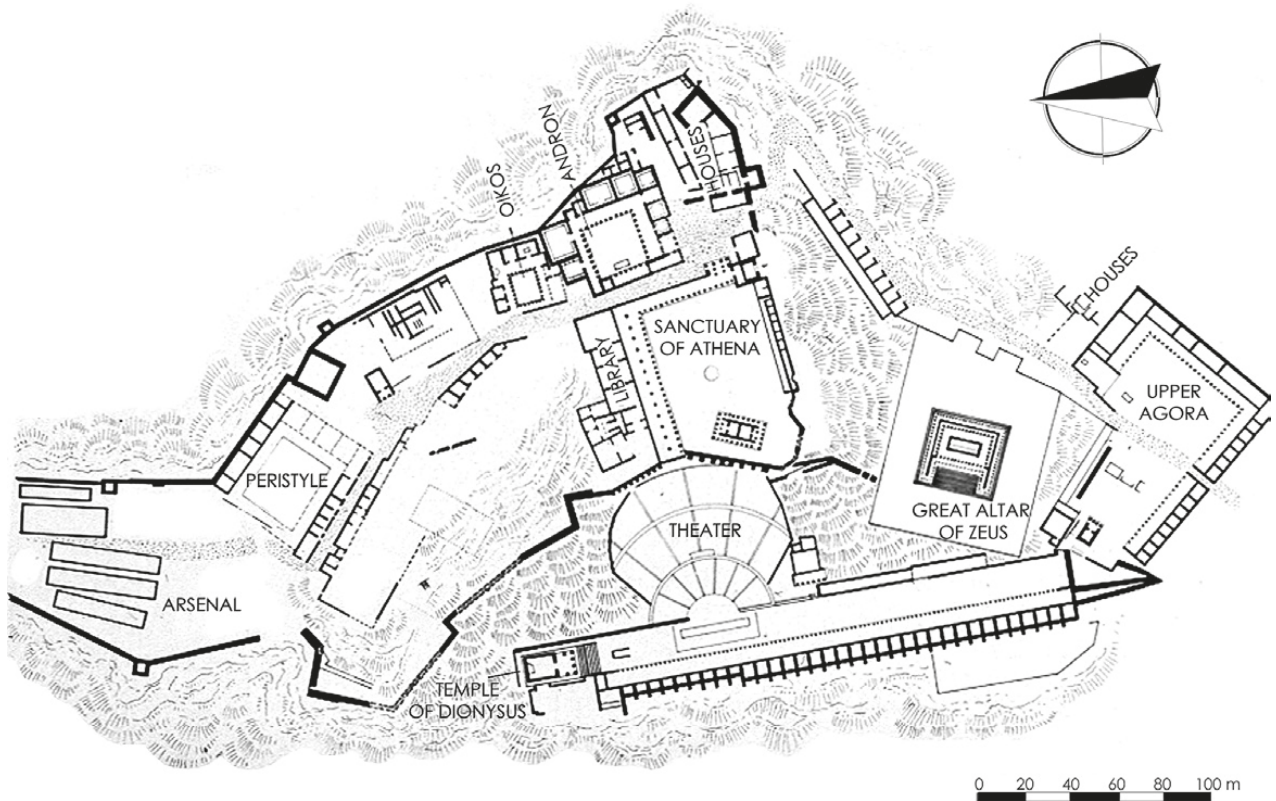
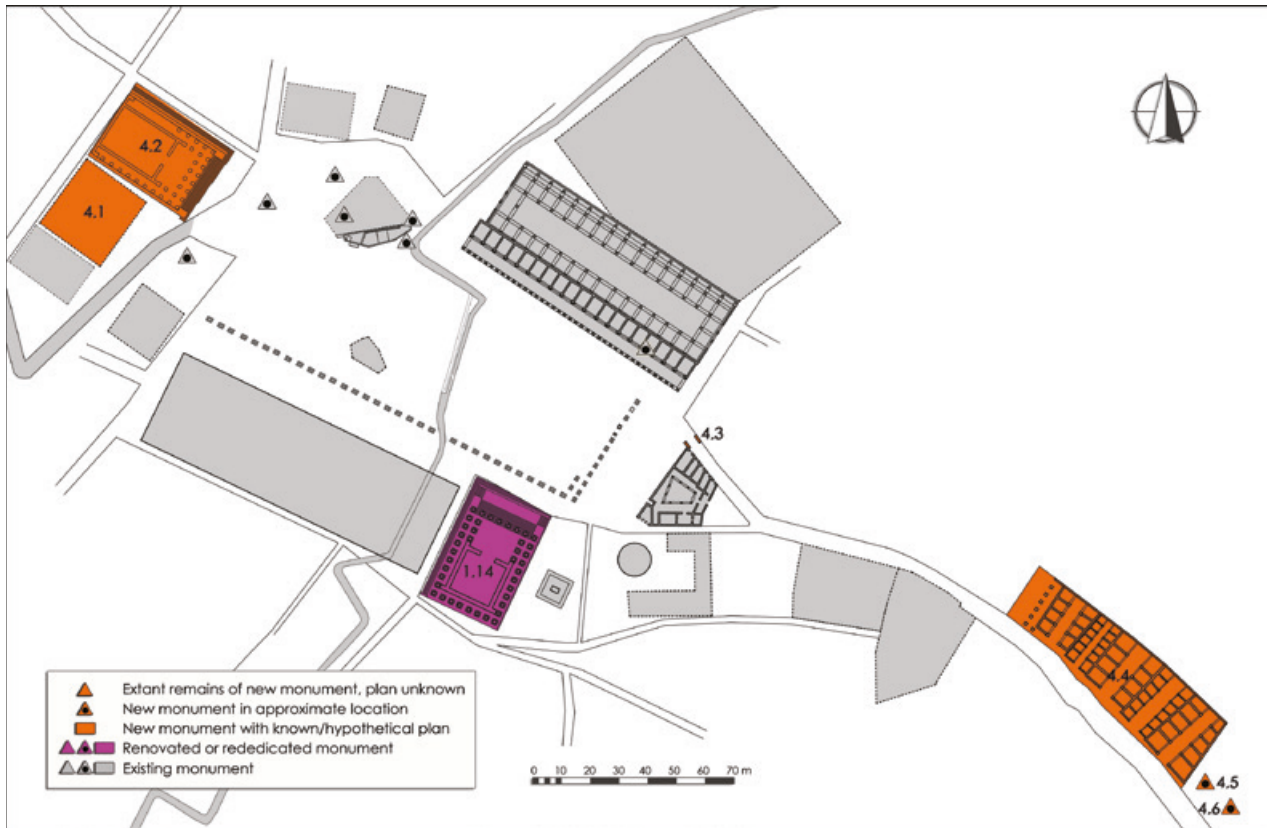


Fig. 4.20 Pergamon, plan (Onur Öztürk)



New construction:
 4.1 Basilica Opimia
 4.2 Temple of Concordia
 4.3 Fornix Fabianus

4.4 Warehouses
 4.5 Temple of Honos and Virtus
 4.6 Trophy of Marius

Restoration:
 1.14 Temple of Castor

Fig. 4.21 Forum Romanum and environs, ca. 133–90, plan (Penelope Davies, Onur Öztürk, and Bogdan Perzyński)

Auguraculum to the Mons Albanus. It may have stood on the Velian, east of the Basilica Fulvia in the area later occupied by the Temple of Antoninus Pius and Faustina and the “Temple of Romulus,” or slightly higher, beneath the later Temple of Venus and Roma.¹¹³ Either way, it hovered on the edge of the Forum, where no votive temples had been built since the earliest Republic, a powerful response to the Temples of Castor and Concordia. Along with one of Marius’ trophies (see below), it created a linkage of this area to Marius, as is evident from its assumed name, the *Mariana*.¹¹⁴ The focus on the Forum, by Marius as by conservatives, attests to the mounting tensions playing out there as, more and more frequently, conflicts among individuals and factions culminated in violence.

As the governing elite struggled over political strategies, they used religious buildings to bolster their views. For

conservatives, foundations honoring gods already worshipped in Rome and restorations of existing temples implied a privileged relationship with the divine; by taking charge of the *pax deorum*, they claimed the authority of the *mos maiorum*.¹¹⁵ Greek influence lingered in the use of the Corinthian style and peripteral or *sine postico* designs, and local travertine approximated marble. As consensus among and collaboration between senatorials weakened, and violence came forward as a viable alternative, their sacred architecture grew more obviously commanding; initiatives to control movement intensified, most notably as they recognized the liberating potential of concrete; merging this Italic fabric with Greek models of patronage, Greek architectural forms, and Greek urbanistic concepts, they embarked on ambitious adaptations of the landscape for visibility and impact. Temples also controlled space, especially the Forum, the primary locus of politics.

SPOILS AND THE CITY

In the half-century between the tribunate of Ti. Gracchus and the Social War, material spoils seem to have taken a downturn in sensationalism. Triumphant generals still used *manubiae* to build monuments for prestige and interpersonal rivalry but, in a departure from the recent surge of diversification, in form they were variations on established themes. Illegitimate use of state plunder remained a hazard, even as courts turned their attention to other offenses, and therefore prompted display; but choices in manubial monuments suggest that civil power struggles became an additional motivation.

The Nature of Spoils

Though triumphs continued unabated, in the absence of Livy's text, details are sporadic. There are references to weapons, such as the Gallic cache that Fulvius Flaccus paraded in 123, and to rostra from pirate ships, displayed by Antonius in his naval triumph in 100.¹¹⁶ Precious metals still flowed into the city: the Scordisci had a taste for silver, Spain was renowned for gold, silver, and other metals, and though Celtiberia produced neither gold nor silver, it had acquired them through trade and warfare; Plutarch also records huge quantities of metal and coins in Marius' triumph over Jugurtha and Numidia.¹¹⁷ But in terms of artworks, these triumphs were no match for past celebrations over Syracuse, Greece, and Asia Minor. In his description of Q. Fabius Maximus' triumph of 120, Florus' attention was diverted elsewhere: "the most conspicuous figure ... was King Bituitus himself, in his vari-coloured arms and silver chariot, just as he had appeared in battle."¹¹⁸

Display: Killing Kingship?

Soon after his joint triumph with Domitius Ahenobarbus over the Allobrogi and the Arverni, Fabius Maximus erected the Fornix Fabianus, the first arch of Rome that might be termed triumphal. Ancient texts place it on the Sacra Via as it descended from the Velia, so that, like earlier arches, it stood on the course of the triumphal route, and as with contemporaneous temples, its location betrays the Forum's magnetism: it probably formed a monumental entrance to the piazza, defining its east end just as the Temple of Concordia defined the west (Fig. 4.21).¹¹⁹ No source describes its original form, but like earlier arches it may have served primarily for a public display or expenditure of spoils; if so, it mirrored

the "towers of stone" that the co-consuls set up on the Gallic battlefield, surmounted by "trophies adorned with the enemy's arms."¹²⁰ Given the magnificence of Bituitus' chariot, it is conceivable that it was placed atop the arch as a memorial to the triumph's highpoint. In fact, chariotry played such a prominent role in Celtic warfare that Romans seem to have associated *carpenta* distinctly with Gallic triumphs, and silver coins of 118 or 92, which referred to the Gallic campaign, perhaps even to the triumph, emphasize the vehicle: reverse dies show a nude warrior, probably Bituitus, in a two-horse chariot or *carpentum*, with a Celtic trumpet in the background.¹²¹ If so designed, Rome's first triumphal arch was a formal precursor to imperial arches, crowned with statues of emperors in four- or six-horse chariots.

This being so, it would also be a bold commentary on contemporary politics. The chariot signified the enemy's identity; the material – silver, possibly gilded against tarnishing – bespoke Bituitus' regal status. Royal generals, prefects, and nobles had been paraded in earlier triumphs, but references to captive kings are few: the Numidian prince, Syphax, may have walked in Scipio Africanus' triumph in 201, Perseus and his children were paraded in Aemilius Paullus' Macedonian triumph in 167, and Gentius, king of Illyricum, was displayed with his family in Anicius Gallus' parade, also in 167. After the fall of the Gracchi, by contrast, descriptions of triumphs home in on royal captives: Bituitus in 120, Jugurtha and his two sons in Marius' triumph of 104, and Teutobades, king of the Teutones, probably in Marius' second triumph in 101.¹²² Contributing to the spectacle, captive kings were the ultimate proof of victory. More than that, for Romans, whose triumphs ritualized the tension between their Republican government and the monarchies that typified much of the outside world, a king in chains justified the very imperialism that vanquished him.¹²³ At this particular moment, as conservatives congratulated themselves on suppressing the Gracchi, and characterized them as demagogues whose monarchic conduct violated Republican ideals, the symbolism of a captive king was especially resonant: if kingship was for foreign states, the image of kingship rightly overpowered justified the Gracchans' defeat – as well as the decision made by Fabius Maximus' co-consul, Opimius, to execute their partisans without trial. At either end of the Forum, the consuls' monuments, the Temple of Concordia and the arch, framed the piazza in anti-monarchist sentiment.



Fig. 4.22 *Denarius* minted by C. Minucius Augurinus in 135, with a reverse image of the *columna Minucia*. Collection of Lübke & Wiedemann, Stuttgart (Fritz Rudolf Künker GmbH & Co. KG, Osnabrück)

Display: the Grain Imbroglia

If properly construed, the Fornix Fabianus was not an isolated case. The spark that ignited the civil conflict in 121 was the *optimates'* attempt to dismantle the legislation of the Gracchi. Of all the Gracchan reforms, the *lex frumentaria* probably had the most immediate impact on the urban populace, and though it may have been modified it was not repealed, and continued to amass favor for progressives.¹²⁴ The principal protagonist against the Gracchans in 121 was a tribune, Minucius Rufus, who, a decade and a half later, commissioned a manubial monument;¹²⁵ the urge to appropriate the grain dole as an optimate issue seems to have been a driving force behind its conception.

In the summer of 106, according to Velleius Paterculus, “took place the famous triumph over the Scordisci of Minucius, the builder of the porticoes which are famous even in our day.”¹²⁶ Funds for construction probably came from spoils from the Scordisci, the Bessi, and other Thracian tribes.¹²⁷ At every turn, the structure presents challenges. Ancient sources register two *Porticus Minucia*: the Porticus Minucia of ca. 106 and a Porticus Minucia Frumentaria of the imperial period. After the construction of the Porticus Minucia Frumentaria, the earlier porticus was sometimes, but not always, designated *Vetus*.¹²⁸ Epigraphic evidence indicates that the imperial porticus was the site of *frumentationes*, which raises the question of whether the Porticus Minucia (*Vetus*) served a similar purpose.¹²⁹ The only hint as to where Gracchan *frumentationes* took place comes from Cicero, who situates a grain distribution *in contione*.¹³⁰ *Contiones* usually took place in the Forum, the Circus Flaminius, and near the *ovile* and the Villa Publica in

the southern Campus Martius; of these, the southern Campus Martius is a likely location for a *frumentatio* since, like the vote, the dole was the right of male citizens, and censors probably stored recipient lists at the Temple of the Nymphs (Temple D, or the temple in via delle Botteghe Oscure).¹³¹ The only reference to the Porticus Municia (*Vetus*) in the Republic makes it the backdrop for a *coetus* (meeting) run by M. Antonius as C. Julius Caesar’s *magister equitum*: the purpose of the assembly may have been to limit the beneficiaries of the grain dole, which may in turn indicate that the porticus was a distribution site in 47 or 46.¹³²

The evidence is frail; but it is at least consistent with a hypothesis that from its inception the Porticus Municia (*Vetus*) was the site of *frumentationes*.¹³³ If so, it is likely that, in commissioning it, Minucius Rufus was making the most of a long association between his *gens* and the grain supply. The Minucii traced their ancestry to L. Minucius Esquilinus Augurinus, overseer of the *annona* in 440–439, whom tradition characterized as the first Republican to challenge a demagogue. During a grain shortage, so Livy and Dionysius recount, a wealthy equestrian named Sp. Maelius bought a supply from Etruria and gave it away to the urban poor. This benefaction made him so popular that, suspecting a plot, Minucius reported it to the senate. The senate appointed Cincinnatus dictator, and when Maelius resisted arrest, the *magister equitum*, C. Servilius Ahala, killed him. Acting for the state, Minucius then distributed Maelius’ grain at a reduced price. To commemorate him, at some point, perhaps at the end of the fourth century or the beginning of the third, a *columna Minucia* was set up outside Porta Minucia (later Porta Trigemina).¹³⁴ While some of this may be the confection of annalists in the Gracchan period, modeling or remodeling Maelius as a pre-figuration of Ti. Gracchus, the tradition already existed in some form by ca. 200 when L. Cincius Alimentus penned a version of it, and in 135 and 134 two Minucii Augurini minted *denarii* featuring the column (Fig. 4.22).¹³⁵ The Gracchan crisis probably widened its currency; at the least, L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, consul in the year of Ti. Gracchus’ tribuneship and an opponent of his policies, wrote of Maelius in his *Annales*.¹³⁶ Drawing on the tradition, Minucius Rufus may have cast himself as a moderate who salvaged the Gracchan dole in the face of annulment.¹³⁷



Fig. 4.23 *Forma Urbis Romae*, showing the Porticus Minucia at the top right, from Carettoni *et al.* 1960, plate 31 (© Roma, Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali)



Fig. 4.24a–c *Forma Urbis Romae*, fragments 35dd, 35ee, and 35ff (Digital Forma Urbis Romae Project, Stanford University)

Locating the Porticus Minucia (Vetus) proves just as difficult. The Regionary Catalogs register it and the Porticus Minucia Frumentaria between the Porticus Philippi and the Crypta Balbi in *Regio IX Circus Flaminius*, while the Chronographer of 354 CE names a Porticus Minucia Vetus in a list of Domitianic buildings, presumably those restored after a fire in the Campus Martius in 80 CE.¹³⁸ The *Fasti Praenestini* place the Temple of the Lares Permarini (and a statue of Hercules) inside the Porticus Minucia (Vetus), but the temple is difficult to locate independently.¹³⁹ More helpful, perhaps, is *Forma Urbis* fragment 35ff (= 322), with its partial label, [-/MINI/-], completed as MINI[CIA], a form of Minucia that was used routinely in epigraphic documents. This fragment adjoins 35ee (= 337), showing the temple in via delle Botteghe Oscure; another fragment with the rear right of a portico belongs nearby (35dd = 399) (Figs. 4.23–4.24a–c).¹⁴⁰

Working from this data, one hypothesis places the Porticus Minucia (Vetus) around the temples in Largo Argentina and dates its completion around 100, to coincide with the tufo pavement laid immediately before the construction of the Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei. The Temple of the Lares Permarini is then Temple D, and the portico etched on the marble plan the Porticus Minucia Frumentaria, a Domitianic extension of the earlier porticus. The façade, on the east, was probably a double portico; a series of travertine column supports represent the remains of a colonnade on the north, with a back wall of tufo, while on the west, three column supports and a tufo wall furnish evidence for a rear side; no south flank emerged in excavations. Thus reconstructed, the porticus measured about 112 by 100 meters, with forty-four to forty-six doors in the façade corresponding to *ostia* mentioned in later inscriptions as portals for grain distribution.¹⁴¹ Among numerous obstacles to this hypothesis are: a dearth of archaeological remains to support it; the apparent absence of a unified design suggesting a portico; the likelihood of up to four additional temples to the south of Temple D; the absence of any trace of furnishings for the *annona* and the vast quantities of commodities involved; and inadequate space for crowds.¹⁴²

A more compelling hypothesis reads the complex shown on the *Forma Urbis* as the Porticus Minucia (Vetus), and the temple on via delle Botteghe Oscure as the Temple of the Lares Permarini, both heavily restored in Domitianic times; the Porticus Minucia Frumentaria was located elsewhere, perhaps at the west end of the Circus Flaminius.¹⁴³ The façade of the Porticus Minucia (Vetus) was on the west

(the east perimeter of Largo Argentina), where archaeologists uncovered tracts of wall and, between them, a section of travertine pavement. Judging by fragment 35dd, the east and south sides (at least) had double colonnades. South of the temple is a modest *opus signinum* and *opus spicatum* pavement of the late Republic or the early Augustan period, designated a restoration.¹⁴⁴ The north, where there are no remains of the porticus, may have been free from construction; much of the area seems to have been paved with travertine slabs, which is consistent with fragments 35ee–ff.¹⁴⁵ The temple is not set symmetrically within the portico as it might have been if there had been a unified plan; still, it stands proud of the rear portico, which is more in keeping with evidence for second-century portico design than a row of temples nestled against a rear wall as in Largo Argentina.

The complexity of the information pertaining to the Porticus Minucia (Vetus) makes it hard to read its built form for meaning. All the same, it seems likely that, functionally, the entire zone to the south of the Villa Publica and the *ovile*, incorporating the Porticus Minucia (Vetus) as located in the second hypothesis as well as the *area sacra* of Largo Argentina, was associated at this date with the census and grain distribution;¹⁴⁶ if nothing else, it served as a pooling area for crowds. It is also likely that, at their inception in the Gracchan period, grain distributions were managed in a relatively makeshift fashion. In attempting to understand the Porticus Minucia (Vetus) it may be useful to distinguish between a built space designed to accommodate, manage, and ease *frumentationes*, which does not seem likely in light of the evidence, and a built space that controlled grain distributions visually (but not functionally), dignified them through its grandeur, and exploited them for gentilician and factional advantage; this, by contrast, does seem likely.

At the time of Minucius Rufus' triumph, tensions between conservatives and progressives were running high.¹⁴⁷ Grain, initially a progressive agenda, was a focus for this factional conflict. In 105, as the porticus was being conceived or begun, grain grew scarce, and the *optimates* ousted L. Appuleius Saturninus, one of Marius' partisans, from the office of *quaestor ostiensis* (charged with the *annona*) to replace him with Aemilius Scaurus.¹⁴⁸ If the Porticus Minucia (Vetus) is rightly identified with the structures on the *Forma Urbis* and the Temple of the Lares Permarini with the temple on via delle Botteghe Oscure, conceivably restored by Aemilius Scaurus around the end of the second century, the buildings read as a concerted effort to dominate the physical space of *frumentationes* and



Fig. 4.25 *Denarius* minted by P. Fonteius and T. Didius in 55, with a reverse image of the Villa Publica (Numismatica Ars Classica NAC AG, Auction 72, lot 479)

to present conservatives as the champions of the people's needs. In the porticus, a vocabulary of manubial beneficence that Octavius and Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus had developed earlier in the century to reap personal prestige was deployed simultaneously for factional advantage.

Before long, the strategy of addressing factional issues through manubial structures seems to have recurred yet again. In 55, P. Fonteius Capito minted *denarii* illustrating a structure with an arcaded portico, an attic articulated with half columns or sculpted figures and a colonnaded upper story with a sloping roof (Fig. 4.25).¹⁴⁹ An accompanying legend *T. DIDIVS IMP. VIL. PVB* suggests that T. Didius restored the Villa Publica (possibly damaged in the fire of 111); the emphasis on his status as *imperator* suggests that he used *manubiae*, and Varro's *Rerum Rusticarum* indicates that, as restored, the building was lavishly appointed, "plastered with paintings, not to speak of statues."¹⁵⁰ Of Didius' two triumphs, over the Scordisci in Macedonia as praetor in 100 and over the Celtiberians as proconsul in 93, the first is more likely to have yielded enough spoils for a restoration,¹⁵¹ and this would put the work at another peak of civil conflict. Tribune for a second time, Saturninus championed a law to found colonies which was sufficiently contentious to drive Caecilius Metellus Numidicus into exile.¹⁵² Still irked at his removal from the quaestorship of the *annona*, he also proposed a *lex Appuleia frumentaria*, which further reduced the price of corn distributed at *frumentationes* and took back the issue for progressives. Vetoed by the younger Q. Servilius Caepio, quaestor at the time, he nevertheless forced it through with violence. In remonstrance, the quaestors, Servilius Caepio and L. Calpurnius Piso, flooded the city with coins featuring an image of a *frumentatio* with the legend *AD FRV(mentum) EMV(ndum) EX S(enatus) C(onsulto)*.¹⁵³ Within the year Saturninus and his ally C.

Servilius Glaucia had met violent ends in factional fighting. Didius' allegiance in the conflict is clear: though a new man, he was a protégé of the Caecilii Metelli.¹⁵⁴ The censors' base of operations, the Villa Publica functioned at the center of procedures that involved citizen lists: the *frumentatio* and, another of the most incendiary issues of the day (given the allies' appeal for citizenship), the census itself. Just as conservatives used temple design and placement to dominate the Forum and political rituals that unfolded there, so manubial construction in the southern Campus seems to have been designed to control the rights of, and the right to, Roman citizenship.

An Imperative to Display: the Caepio Affair

The nature of plunder collected on campaign had an impact on manubial display. Coin and other metals were easily expended on architectural construction, but just as there are fewer indications of artworks among the spoils, so notices of the public exhibition of sculptural works, or indeed of any dedications of isolated *manubiae*, are few. Fulvius Flaccus displayed captured weapons on the walls of his house, and Marius mounted Cimbrian shields on the *tabernae argentariae* in the Forum;¹⁵⁵ Antonius erected the pirates' rostra on the speaker's platform;¹⁵⁶ and a statue of Athena by Euphranor that Catulus dedicated *infra Capitolium* may have been plunder.¹⁵⁷ Pliny places two cloaked figures by Pheidias at the Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei and describes them as Catulus' dedications; at the same temple, a set of seven nude sculptures and an old man by the Samian artist Pythagoras, possibly the Seven against Thebes, may also have been *manubiae*.¹⁵⁸

Meanwhile, allegations of inappropriate plundering or misuse of spoils seem to have abated; many territories that were rich in art and resources were no longer enemy states to be conquered and pillaged, but provinces to be administered, and politically motivated prosecutions shifted to focus on cases of misgovernment.¹⁵⁹ There was, however, one exception: a scandal involving the elder Servilius Caepio. While fighting the Cimbri as consul in 106, he plundered a vast store of gold from the Celtic national shrine at Tolosa, capital of the Tectosages, which in transit to Massilia inexplicably vanished. Prorogued into 105, he was joined by Mallius Maximus, the *novus homo* who had beaten his brother-in-law, Lutatius Catulus, at the consular polls. In a show of antipathy, just as Mallius Maximus was

about to seal a treaty with the Cimbri at Arausio, Servilius Caepio launched his troops into battle. The result was calamity, the consequences dire: the people stripped him of his command and declared him unworthy of office and membership in the senate.¹⁶⁰ There were charges against his consular administration, and in about 103, amid huge sensation, Saturninus championed a bill for an extraordinary tribunal to investigate charges that he had staged a robbery of the Tolosan treasure by a band of brigands to avoid having to register it. In a twist on the issue of sacrilege, some people claimed that the Tectosages had stolen the gold from the Temple of Apollo at Delphi in the first place, and that its disappearance was divine retribution for that original act of impiety.¹⁶¹ The case resulted in a massive fine and the confiscation of Servilius Caepio's property.¹⁶² Accounts of his eventual fate differ – some insist that he was brutally executed in prison, his body tossed on the Gemonian steps, others that he died in exile – but however he perished, a proverb circulated that “whoever touched a piece of gold from that sack died a wretched and agonizing death.”¹⁶³ The case testifies to continued expectations of accountability with regard to spoils and the fact that accusations of inappropriate disposal of spoils could still be deployed as a political weapon.

After Servilius Caepio's trial, the public was appeased by the expiation of his alleged crime. But for Lutatius Catulus the issue was far from over. He strove to expose the political basis of the suit and his brother-in-law as its hapless victim, threatening Saturninus with legal action, censure, and expulsion from the senate.¹⁶⁴ His own election to the consulship in 102 constituted victory over Saturninus and his partisans, and his success at Vercellae put final pay to the enemy whose glory at Arausio had disgraced Servilius Caepio and set the investigation in motion. Following a dispute among their soldiers as to which commander should be credited with victory, Marius and Lutatius Catulus shared the spoils, which in Plutarch's eyes were especially important to Lutatius Catulus:

The enemy's property became the booty of the soldiers of Marius, but the spoils of battle, the standards, and the trumpets, were brought, we are told, to the camp of Catulus; and Catulus relied chiefly upon this as a proof that the victory was won by his men.¹⁶⁵

On his homecoming, he disposed of them in an inconspicuously public manner: as well as financing the Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei, he built a porticus and decked it out with Cimbrian spoils; in Cicero's judgment, this *monumentum Catuli* housed an art collection on a par with

the Porticus Metelli and the porticus at the Temple of Felicitas.¹⁶⁶

Cicero places the porticus in the *area Flacciana*, probably in a residential zone on the north or northwest slope of the Palatine, close to the *clivus Victoriae*; this spot was fully visible from the Forum, the last word, as it were, in Lutatius Catulus' brother-in-law's debacle over transparency in dealing with *manubiae*. The choice of a residential zone is striking, and in the event that the portico was attached to Lutatius Catulus' residence, as some believe,¹⁶⁷ the installation of *manubiae* there evoked and exaggerated the tradition of mounting spoils outside houses of accomplished soldiers.¹⁶⁸ More than that, it occupied the one-time site of the house of Fulvius Flaccus, Lutatius Catulus' late relative by marriage, seized and destroyed by the *boni* in 121; so as Cicero recognized, the place was also steeped in conservative triumphalism:

You, Quintus Catulus, chose the house of Marcus Fulvius, though he was the father-in-law of your own brother, to be the monument of your victories, in order that every recollection of that man who had embraced designs destructive of the republic should be entirely removed from the eyes and eradicated from the minds of men.¹⁶⁹

The appropriation of the site, vacant for two decades, helped to purge Fulvius Flaccus from Lutatius Catulus' gentilician history, as well as from civic memory.

Interpersonal Rivalry: Manubial Display (and Response?)

Responding to Lutatius Catulus and the conservatives, Marius staked his own claim to the victory at Vercellae. Besides the Temple of Honos and Virtus, literary sources attribute to him a trophy on the Capitoline, and another for his triumph over Jugurtha and Numidia. For these he probably used spoils. Both monuments were destroyed by Sulla during the 80s, and as aedile in 69, C. Julius Caesar reinstalled the Gallic trophy. As described by Suetonius, it featured weapons and statues, among them images of victories and a portrait of Marius.¹⁷⁰ If a portrait appeared on the original monument, it was an audacious gesture, underlining Marius' judgment, expressed in his temple, that the state had his abilities rather than noble lineage or the grace of an auspicious god to thank for his successes.

For Sulla, Marius' insistence on taking credit for the defeat of Jugurtha, as underscored by the other trophy, was galling; even if the victory fell under Marius' auspices, it was Sulla who had brokered Bocchus' betrayal of the Numidian king. Returning to Rome from Cappadocia

in ca. 93 intent on a consulship, he found himself under prosecution, possibly at Marius' instigation, for extorting money from Ariobarzanes. When the trial came, the charges were dropped, but the damage was done.¹⁷¹ At the end of 91, he set his sights on the consulship again, and met Marius in a head-on visual offensive:

Sulla's quarrel with Marius broke out afresh on being supplied with fresh material by the ambition of Bocchus, who, desiring to please the people at Rome, and at the same time to gratify Sulla, dedicated on the Capitol some images bearing trophies, and beside them gilded figures representing Jugurtha being surrendered by Bocchus to Sulla. Thereupon Marius was very angry, and tried to have the figures taken down, but others were minded to aid Sulla in opposing this, and the city was all but in flames with their dispute, when the Social war, which had long been smoldering, blazed up against the city and put a stop for the time being to the quarrel.¹⁷²

The monument was a blatant challenge: through subject (the Jugurthine War) and location (the Capitoline) it took on both of Marius' trophies, retroactively restating Sulla's contention that credit for victory over Jugurtha was his.¹⁷³ The monument Plutarch describes is precisely what Sulla might have craved but had no authority to claim. Thus Bocchus' agency was a masterstroke: though he was presumably in collusion with Sulla and enjoyed the senate's backing, as the gift of a foreign king, for whom it promised a firm alliance with Rome, the monument circumvented restrictions on manubial display.¹⁷⁴ Moreover, it opposed Marius' self-glorification with the gratitude of a client king, and an ostensibly unbiased eyewitness account of events. Reactions to the monument – Marius' attempt to have it destroyed, and the Sullans' determination to preserve it – bear witness to its power and relevance.

Between the Gracchi and the Social War, the flow of plundered artworks into Rome lost pace, and with it, apparently, the installation of sculptural dedications. Manubial monuments were stilled erected, but the phase of rapid formal experimentation seems to have passed. Some commanders used manubial construction (if correctly understood) to communicate factional agendas. Conservatives stood against progressives, characterizing them as crowd-pleasers and themselves as the true champions of non-elite causes; to this end, their monuments commanded political space. Though less prevalent than before, issues of transparency in expenditure of spoils remained nevertheless a motive for manubial display; so too did the accumulation of prestige, which

was sufficient to prompt Sulla, in his want of *manubiae*, to devise a victory monument by other means.

CIVIC DEVELOPMENT

As strategies for gaining power grew polarized, and collaboration yielded to coercion and violence, civil issues dominated civic construction, as they did religious and manubial architecture. Building mandates that had stabilized over the years were disrupted: tribunes and consuls, and possibly even *privati*, began to engage in pointed civic projects alongside censors. Just as concrete challenged the long-standing restrictions on architectural sponsorship by providing a means of building fast and cheaply on a large scale, so the tribunes and the people began to challenge the very language of authority that was encoded in architectural sponsorship, to communicate through buildings in new ways. The tribunes' agendas, in turn, may have influenced the aediles' building strategies.

Censorial Construction

As censors in 125–124, Cn. Servilius Caepio and L. Cassius Longinus contracted for Rome's fourth aqueduct. The Aqua Tepula channeled water to the Capitol from L. Licinius Lucullus' Tusculum estate near the Via Latina's tenth milestone, at Monte Cimino in the Alban Hills, this time apparently without opposition (Fig. 4.1).¹⁷⁵ Frontinus shows little interest in the conduit, and the meager data he records, and the scanty physical remains, pertain to an extensive Agrippan overhaul. Coming hard on the heels of the Aqua Marcia, shorter, and of limited capacity, it may have been just an afterthought with a supplementary flow; it may have piggybacked on the Aqua Marcia's arches for at least some of its course (from modern Campanelle to Rome), which would have raised it sufficiently to reach elevated parts of the city.¹⁷⁶ Scholars link its construction to a population spike in the second half of the second century, to answer mounting water needs and provide jobs in the building industry once the Aqua Marcia and the Temple of Mars were completed.¹⁷⁷ By virtue of both functions it was euergetic, and the contract returned from the praetor's purview to the censors', to whom it offered prestige but little career advancement. At 16–17° C (60° F), the water was tepid and unpalatable, and may have been kept for industrial purposes, to reserve better water for drinking. For this reason, perhaps, or because of the secondary nature of the enterprise –or



Fig. 4.26 Naualia (?), late second century (?), actual state (Penelope Davies su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Soprintendenza Speciale per il Colosseo, il Museo Romano e l'Area archeologica di Roma)

even because of caution in the aftermath of Ti. Gracchus' tribuneship – it did not take either censor's name.¹⁷⁸

Toward the end of the century, probably, a vast building was erected at the foot of the Aventine, parallel to the Tiber and downstream from the commercial port (Fig. 4.26). As reconstructed from surviving tracts of wall and from the marble plan (fragments 23 and 24a–c: Figs. 4.27–28a–c), it measured roughly 487 by 60 meters and covered about 30,000 meters², making it by far the largest roofed structure in the city. Inside, 200 barrel vaults, set perpendicular to its long sides, were carried on a forest of 294 piers. They defined a series of long narrow rooms, 8.30 meters in width, which sloped toward the river at a gradient of roughly 1 : 13. On the north façade were fifty arched entry ways, framed by tufo pilasters; on the south, each room was lit and ventilated by four iron-grated windows.¹⁷⁹ Because of the partial label —*LLA* on the marble plan, the building was long recognized as the aediles' Porticus Aemilia of 193, as overhauled in 174, but typologically the building bears no resemblance to known porticoes, and one alternative theory sees it as a granary owned by the Cornelii;¹⁸⁰ more compelling is its identification as ship-sheds (*navalia*) (Figs. 4.29–30).¹⁸¹ Ship-sheds at sites such as the Piraeus, Oiniadai in Acarnania, and Carthage have rows of columns or piers defining long narrow rooms disposed in series, perpendicular

to a rear wall; access was limited to the façade for security reasons, and grated windows introduced light and ventilation.¹⁸² The building by the Aventine also responds to Vitruvius' later requisites for *navalia*:

Above all, they should face north, for the southern regions, because of their heat, give rise to rot, worms, termites, and all the other types of pests, and then keep them alive by continuing to nourish them. These buildings are the last of all that should be built of wood, because of the danger of fire. There should be no set limit to their size, they should be made to measure the largest ship, so that when ships are brought into them, they will be set in place there with room to spare.¹⁸³

While most Mediterranean ship-sheds were more or less aligned with the shore, the building in Rome (like *navalia* on the Atlantic, where tides are pronounced, or the Arsenale Mediceo on the Arno at Pisa) was set back about 80 meters from the bank and above normal water level, with ramps for access. This kept it functional during winter and spring floods, when the river could rise by meters in a short space of time; if it were closer to the Tiber, a flood could send ships crashing into the roof.¹⁸⁴ Opponents of this identification point to the difficulty of launching ships at a 90° angle to the Tiber, especially with the river in full spate.¹⁸⁵

If the structure was a ship-shed, it was probably not the first in the city. By the battle of Antium of 338, Romans

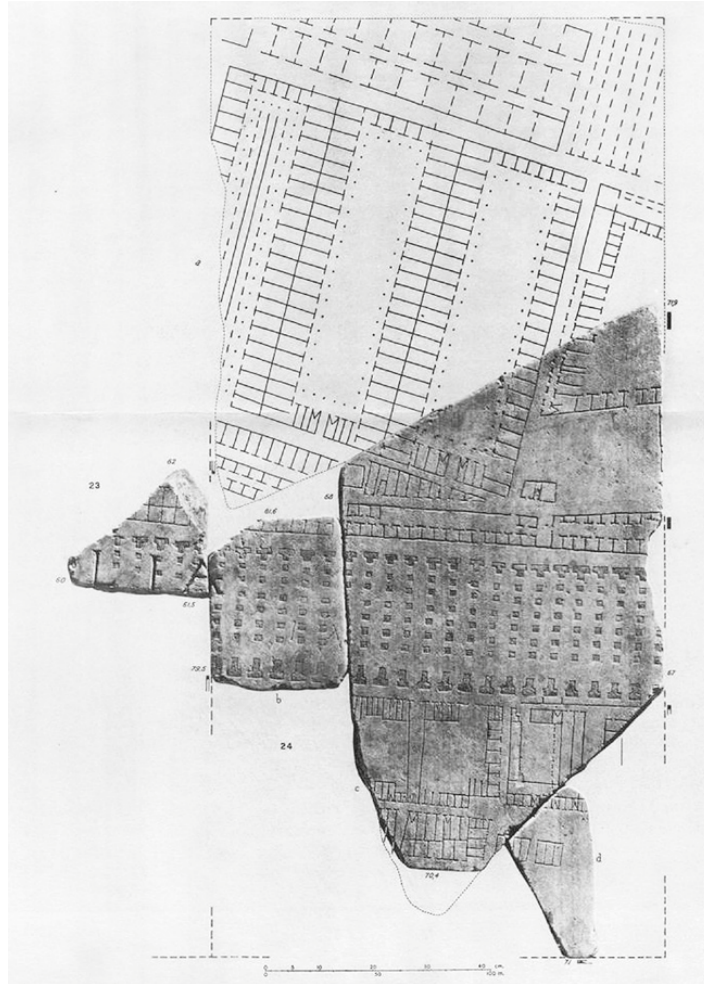
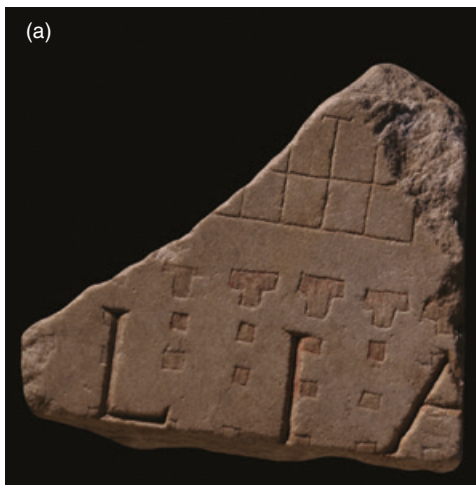


Fig. 4.27 *Forma Urbis Romae*, showing the *Navalia* (?) below and the *Horrea Galbana* above, from Carettoni *et al.* 1960, plate 24 (© Roma, Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali)



Figs. 4.28a–c *Forma Urbis Romae*, fragments 23, 24b–c (Digital Forma Urbis Romae Project, Stanford University)

were engaged in naval warfare, and in 311 Ap. Claudius had established *Ilviri navales* to oversee a fleet. The terms of early treaties often required allied states to furnish Rome with warships, obviating the need to maintain a large armada, but shipbuilding was under way in earnest by the First Punic War, when, in 261, 100 quinqueremes and 20 triremes were constructed.¹⁸⁶ Thereafter Rome kept a fleet on call and was equipped to build ships as needed; Livy describes fifty vessels departing against Antiochus in 191 and again in 172.¹⁸⁷ Though no trace of them was found in excavations for the Lungotevere or adjacent palazzo, *navalia* were probably dispersed along the urban shore upstream from the Insula Tiberina from the fourth or early third century.¹⁸⁸ Ennius also mentions a *textrinum* where ships were constructed, which is sometimes identified in a set of peperino walls to the west of Largo Argentina.¹⁸⁹ The *Navalia* by the Aventine, if such it was, complemented or substituted for these older installations, at a new and more convenient location – the first available tract downstream from the Pons Sublicius and the city walls beyond a narrow, unusable strip of land between the Aventine and the Tiber.¹⁹⁰ The bend in the Tiber also meant it was more north- than south-facing, as Vitruvius later prescribed.

The building's innovative arcuated design resulted from substituting concrete for the wooden or stone post-and-lintel construction of Greek ship-sheds (*neosoikoi*), and what the material lacked in beauty it more than made up for in its capacity to span the large areas needed for a utilitarian structure; that it was fireproof was a bonus for a building filled with timber. Missing from Livy's text, it probably belongs after 167, and the fabric (high-quality gray concrete faced with *opus incertum* of yellow-gray tufo, and tufo quoins) probably dates it to the end of the second century;¹⁹¹ archaeologists note similarities in structural concept and technique of execution with the substructure for the putative Temple of Fortuna Respiciens.¹⁹² If this date is correct, the building constitutes the first known deployment of concrete for a large-scale superstructure in Rome; indeed, concrete afforded the sponsor a scale of construction far beyond Republican norms. Its enormous dimensions, coupled with its radically innovative quality, suggest that the work was censorial. A fragment of Cicero connects *navalia* of some sort with Hermodorus; whether it refers to this structure is unclear, though it is possible the architect was still alive at the end of the second century, and there is evidence for ship-sheds with a similar ground plan at his hometown of Salamis.¹⁹³ In the same passage, Cicero

mentions Antonius, praetor with proconsular *imperium* in 102 to 100, who was charged with controlling the pirates around Cilicia, and who celebrated a naval triumph in 100 before advancing to a consulship in 99, a censorship in 97, and then perishing at the hands of Marius' henchmen in 87.¹⁹⁴ In the event that he was responsible for the *Navalia*, they probably belong, like the Porticus Minucia and the restored Villa Publica, in the context of the *optimates'* drive to expropriate the grain issue from progressives. Its monumentality bestowed symbolic authority on Antonius' (albeit tenuous) victory over the pirates, with its implications for the safety of the seas.

An Architecture of Antagonism: Tribunician Building (and Private Response?)

Building was not part of a tribune's mandate. Even so, following the lead of Licinius Crassus, who, as tribune in 145, had choreographed the crowd's conduct in the Comitium, tribunes began to manipulate the physical environment in pursuit of their agendas; by altering behavior alone, they functionally reshaped space with a view to challenging traditional procedures. Plutarch states that in 123, in an effort to carry a law to add 300 equestrians to the senate,

[C. Gracchus] is said to have shown remarkable earnestness in many ways, and especially in this, that whereas all popular orators before him had turned their faces towards the senate and that part of the forum called the "comitium," he now set a new example by turning towards the other part of the forum as he harangued the people, and continued to do this from that time on, thus by a slight deviation and change of attitude stirring up a great question, and to a certain extent changing the constitution from an aristocratic to a democratic form; for his implication was that speakers ought to address themselves to the people, and not to the senate.¹⁹⁵

By modern estimates, the Comitium could hold about 3,000 to 5,000 people, the Forum 10,000 to 30,000.¹⁹⁶ Gracchus' move therefore expanded political space, while also moving *contiones* out of the shadow of the senate house. With his law to reduce the width of the *pontes* to curtail interference and bribery during elections, Marius, too, reshaped space as a tribune in 119.¹⁹⁷ Taking a more aggressive approach, some tribunes also deployed acts of ideological vandalism to challenge the status quo.¹⁹⁸ In preparation for gladiatorial games in 122, for instance, Gracchus commanded the magistrates to remove seating they had erected

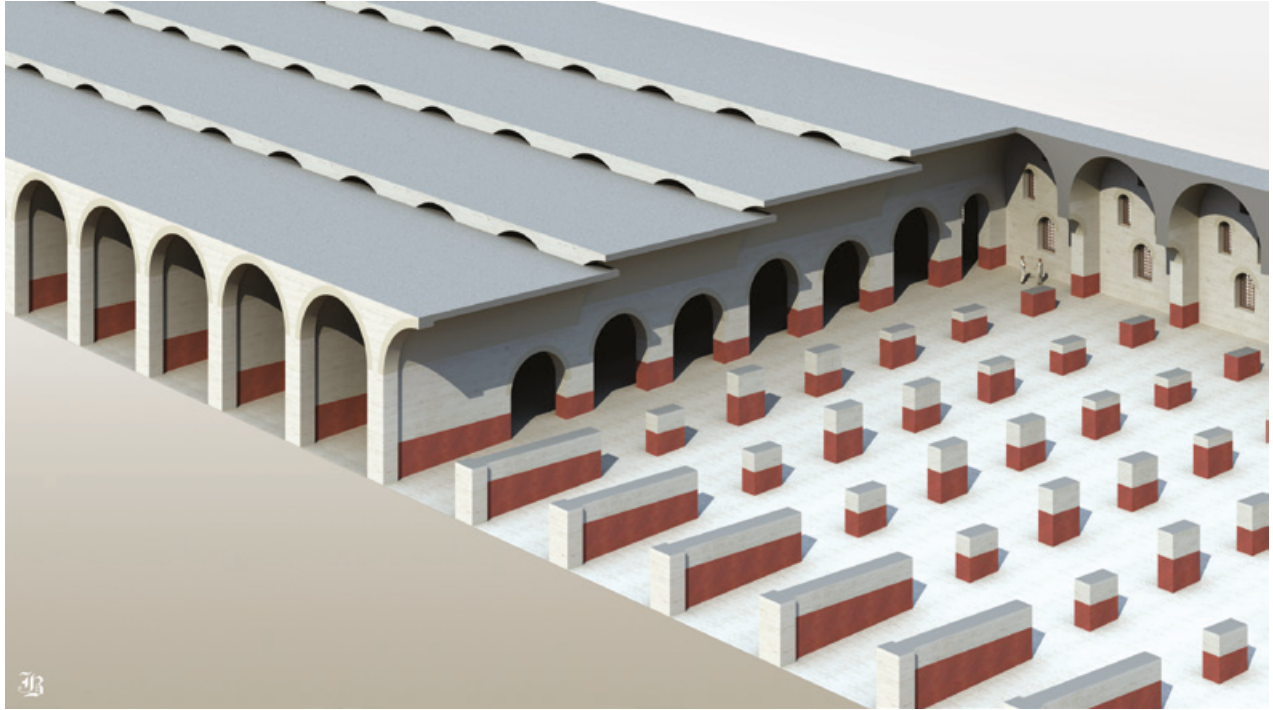


Fig. 4.29 Navalium (?) , late second century (?), hypothetical reconstruction (John Burge)

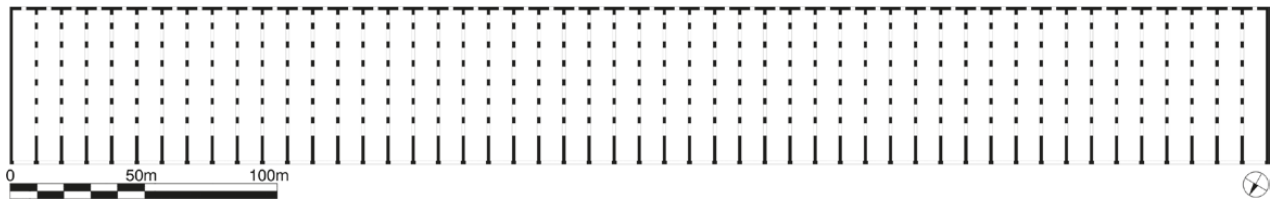


Fig. 4.30 Navalium (?) , late second century (?), plan (John Burge)

for hire around the Forum, so the poor could watch the spectacles without paying. According to Plutarch,

Since no one paid any attention to his command, he waited till the night before the spectacle, and then, taking all the workmen whom he had under his orders in public contracts, he pulled down the seats, and when day came he had the place all clear for the people. For this proceeding the populace thought him a man, but his colleagues were annoyed and thought him reckless and violent. It was believed also that this conduct cost him his election to the tribunate for the third time, since, although he got a majority of the votes, his colleagues were unjust and fraudulent in their proclamation and returns. This, however, was disputed.¹⁹⁹

Similarly, in 100, when the younger Servilius Caepio tried to obstruct the vote on Saturninus' *lex frumentaria*,

Saturninus overturned the ballot boxes and smashed the *pontes* at the *ovile*.²⁰⁰ The tribunes' platform was the people's cause, and their actions aired their grievance: that the system of architectural sponsorship, set up to keep the wealthy from self-advancement through construction, barred those outside the senate from harnessing a powerful language of authority to challenge a system that was heavily rigged against them. Denied a legitimate voice, they communicated in other ways, challenging the notion of a single means (construction) of using architecture as a vehicle for political communication, and matching it with deconstruction. The plebs, whose earlier protests had taken the form of isolated acts of graffiti, followed suit: in 100, when agents of Saturninus and Glaucia clubbed one of the consular candidates, C. Memmius, to death, Marius confined them and their supporters inside the Curia to protect them from the

furious crowds; but people swarmed the building and, tearing off roof tiles as weapons, stoned Saturninus and Glaucia to death along with a quaestor, a tribune, and a praetor.²⁰¹

Despite the tribune's want of a construction mandate, Plutarch still assigns building initiatives to C. Gracchus: among his measures, he states, he "introduced bills for ... constructing roads and for establishing public granaries."²⁰² His ability to undertake the work probably hinged on his position on the agrarian commission, achieved as a tribune, and lacking funds, he may have written them into his laws.²⁰³ This amounted to a bold manipulation of the tribuneship to usurp the mandates of other magistrates, especially the censor, and to this extent his initiatives were the architectural equivalent of his brother's encroachment on senatorial prerogatives in matters of financial and foreign policy. As with the Aqua Tepula, C. Gracchus' building projects provided jobs, and Plutarch specifies that he let the contracts and oversaw construction himself. Appian suspects an ulterior motive: he "put a multitude of contractors and artisans under obligations to him and made them ready to do whatever he wished."²⁰⁴

Appian claims that Gracchus' roads stretched throughout Italy, though no Via Sempronia has been identified archaeologically and no surviving milestone names him; with the exception of the Via Fulvia in Cisalpina, in fact, all known roads built between 133 and 109 were the work of his opponents, or at least men associated with the senatorial majority.²⁰⁵ It is possible that he reworked existing thoroughfares, replacing milestones with the names of the original constructors, or that his role was limited to promoting the importance of roads and encouraging construction, or that the project never progressed beyond planning stages; the senate may even have appropriated the scheme as its own.²⁰⁶

At least some of the granaries, however, or perhaps just one granary (the Horrea Sempronia), as Festus prefers, were realized.²⁰⁷ Warehouses must have existed in Rome, at least since the influx of foreign goods after the end of the Second Punic War, many of them probably in the port zone. Judging by the marble plan found on via Anicia, by the Augustan age commercial buildings lined the Tiber by the Circus Flaminius (Fig. 5.5).²⁰⁸ These warehouses seem to have been privately owned and rented out by the room or in their entirety to merchants as temporary storage for commodities, and to individuals for personal valuables. C. Gracchus' Horrea Sempronia, by contrast, is the oldest public granary on record in the city. Functionally, it stored grain for *frumentationes* and helped to reduce speculation; symbolically, it gave physical presence to the Gracchan reforms.²⁰⁹ Its whereabouts are unknown, as are those of

any other Gracchan granaries. Convenience would place them near the docks where grain was unloaded, but this would also make them vulnerable to flooding;²¹⁰ they may have been close to grain distribution points hypothetically located in the Circus Flaminius or elsewhere in the southern Campus Martius.²¹¹

A Horrea Sulpicia of the late second or early first century, mentioned by Horace and known subsequently as the Horrea Galbana, may offer an impression of the appearance of a Gracchan warehouse.²¹² The *Regio* Catalogs place it in *Regio XIII*, where, over the decades, excavations have exposed scattered remains of a vast building complex behind the Navalvia, in an estate or *praedia* in the shadow of the Aventine, owned from mid-Republican times by the wealthy Sulpicii Galbae. It corresponds in general terms to a structure etched on the *Forma Urbis* (fragments 24a [lost but preserved in a Renaissance drawing] and 24c: Figs. 4.27, 4.28c); additional fragments (24a–b) may belong close by, to yield the label [*praedia et horrea [G]alb[ana]*].²¹³ As represented on the plan, the building measured approximately 167 by 146 meters, comprising three rectangular colonnaded courtyards, each about 28 by 118 meters, where goods could be deposited by porters and sorted. Major entrances, roughly 5 meters wide, are indicated only on the north (river) side and a subsidiary door in the southwest corner of the west court, to ensure impregnability for the safe-keeping of contents.²¹⁴ About 140 rooms of various sizes were on the ground floor alone, and staircases or ramps led to an upper floor. In the east court, traces of a raised floor are preserved, for air circulation to discourage mold, and a gutter all around for drainage.²¹⁵

The Horrea Galbana was probably a private structure rather than a state building. Still, it may represent a new level of permeability in the boundaries between public and private architecture. The Sulpicii Galbae were notoriously wealthy, with large estates at Terracina, a hub for the transportation of Sicilian grain by the late Republic.²¹⁶ Since public office brought no salary or stipend, by necessity the governing elite were men of means; still, their attitudes to affluence were conflicted, especially in the second century, when many conservatives equated wealth with a level of private indulgence that clashed with ideals of public service. At issue was the source of wealth: Cato considered agricultural profit the fruit of old-fashioned, noble values; trade, though more lucrative, was also more hazardous than agriculture, which made it unsuitable for senators, whose financial security had to be guaranteed.²¹⁷ This served as a high-minded excuse to exclude new men from politics;

most literary texts express simple disdain for *mercatura* and *mercatores*.²¹⁸ Nevertheless, archaeological evidence indicates that the senatorial class routinely engaged in commerce, using slaves and agents as middlemen,²¹⁹ and their reticence over acknowledging properties related to trade may have changed slightly in the context of the Gracchan reforms. Privately owned warehouses may have assumed a positive public valency; this notion gains support from remains of four courtyards enclosed by small *tabernae*, flanking the north side of the Sacra Via as it descended into the Forum, dated to the early first century by *opus reticulatum* walls and *opus spicatum* floors. As the Forum grew increasingly politicized, this land constituted covetable real estate for self-presentation, and though nothing suggests these facilities were public (and one theory puts them in the ownership of the Ahenobarbi), if they were for grain storage, they were enmeshed in a larger political discourse.²²⁰

Consular Building

Along with the temple to Concordia, built to express the senate's *schadenfreude* on suppressing the Gracchans, Varro names a Basilica Opimia. One or other of these buildings Cicero calls a "most renowned monument" that would serve as Opimius' memorial.²²¹ Since Opimius was never censor, unlike all existing basilicas this was almost certainly a consular project, dating to 121. Varro's text implies that the temple and basilica were close, which sets the basilica in the northwest part of the Forum, perhaps adjacent to the temple on the south (Fig. 4.21).²²² This site – near the Basilica Porcia, the Carcer, and the *scalae Gemoniae*, where criminals' bodies were tossed for public abuse, and in the shadow of the Tarpeian Rock, where traitors were hurled to their deaths – placed a cautionary emphasis on punishment in the aftermath of the Gracchan defeat.

Like the Basilica Porcia, the Basilica Opimia was probably a venue for tribunals. Its construction occurred in the wake of controversial amendments to the judicial system, championed by populist tribunes. In 149, Calpurnius Piso presented a *lex Calpurnia repetundarum*, which established a permanent court, overseen by a praetor, where foreigners could seek redress for extortion by Roman officials. With a *lex Acilia* of 123–122, M'. Acilius Glabrio then transferred these cases from the civil to the criminal courts and raised the penalty to double repayment of damages and loss of status. To limit government corruption and promote publicity, his law removed adjudication of extortion cases from the senate, to which perpetrators belonged, and placed them in the hands of jurors drawn from an annual list of

equestrians.²²³ Conservatives were enraged; voicing the opinion of Gracchus' detractors, Diodorus and Appian characterized the law as a bribe, which offered the equestrians control of compensation cases in return for personal power.²²⁴ In this context, it is tempting to see the Basilica Opimia as a senatorial appropriation of judicial oversight as a political issue. Like Caecilius Metellus' restoration at the Temple of Castor just a few years later, it asserted senatorial control in the face of a threat to its members (through prosecution) and to its status (through loss of its monopoly over the juries). When commissioning it, Opimius may also have recognized his own vulnerability: on losing consular immunity in 120, he would be charged with executing the Gracchans without trial.²²⁵ By providing the very venue where he and other senators might be held accountable, he could portray the senatorial majority as champions of justice.

Aediles

For buildings by aediles, little information survives. The scrutiny of magistrates in the first half of the second century may have reined in their ambitions, making their activities less perceptible in the archaeological and literary record. That restoration projects continued is indicated by a late second-century inscription from the Tiber embankment near the Cloaca Maxima outlet, which records the rebuilding of a staircase to the docks by an otherwise unknown curule aedile, P. Barronius Barba (Fig. 4.31).²²⁶ Further upstream, east of the Temple of Portunus, excavations revealed a 30-meter tract of wall, 1.30–1.40 meters in width, supported by buttresses projecting 1.20 meters; another section of the wall emerged about 50 meters further north. Together they suggest that a stretch of wall – either part of the fortifications or a retaining wall for the higher terrain to the east – divided the Forum Boarium zone from the Tiber.²²⁷ Materials (Grotta Oscura, and Anio tufo, used in greater quantities as Grotta Oscura quarries neared exhaustion toward the end of the century) are consistent with a late second-century date.²²⁸ As infrastructure work, this may have been an aedilician project.

The tribunes' usurpation of the populist platform posed a challenge for aediles, who seem to have poured most of their energies and funds into winning immediate favor through public festivals, a strategy that was especially attractive for patricians, who were ineligible to be tribunes. Games had grown increasingly lavish since the Second Punic War, and at the end of the second century and the beginning of the

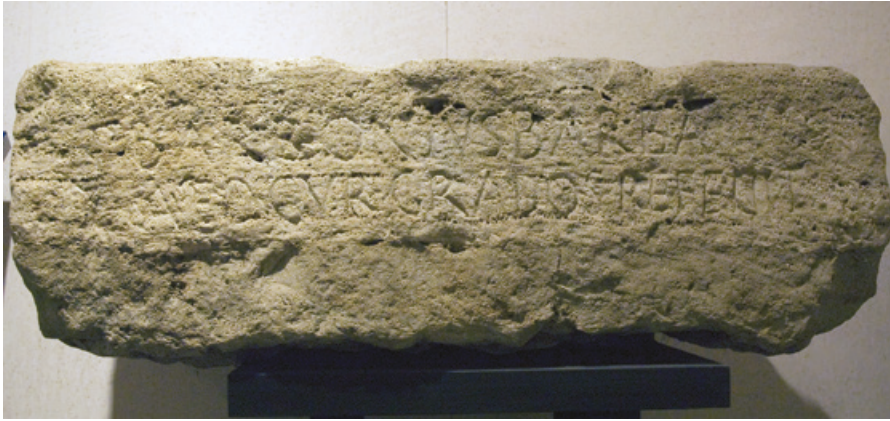


Fig. 4.31 Inscription recording the restoration of a staircase by P. Barronius Barba, late second century. Museo Nazionale delle Terme (Penelope Davies su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Soprintendenza Speciale per il Colosseo, il Museo Romano e l'Area archeologica di Roma)

first, extravagance was still on the rise. Animal hunts were sensational. After a poor showing at the praetorian election in 99, for instance, Sulla leveraged votes against a promise that, if elected, he would cash in on connections with Bocchus to procure African prey and hunters for the *ludi Apollinares* established by his ancestor, and he delivered, with spectacular canine hunts and fights between wild beasts from Libya; playing on the link between lions and Apollo, he even arranged for 100 fully maned specimens to be unchained in the arena.²²⁹ As the crowd's expectations mounted, aediles responded with luxurious amenities to lure and delight. The first of their kind in Rome, a set of columns of gray-blue Hymettian marble from a quarry near Athens probably furnished the stage of a temporary theater during L. Licinius Crassus' aedileship between 105 and 103, before he installed them in his house on the Palatine.²³⁰ C. Claudius Pulcher borrowed a marble sculpture of Eros by Praxiteles from Heius in Messina to embellish the Forum for aedilician games in 99, and commissioned a *scaena* for his theater with such masterful *trompe l'oeil* paintings of architecture that crows flew into the roof tiles.²³¹ Ephemeral as these theaters were, a new level monumentality was seeping into their design.

In the last decades of the second century and the opening years of the first, magistrates addressed civic concerns through architecture with heightened urgency. Population growth, necessitating greater supplies of water and grain, probably precipitated new construction. The efficiency, economy, and versatility of concrete were exploited for a massive extra-urban building, probably a new ship-shed, which raised Rome's defenses to an astounding level of

monumentality, both real and symbolic, and may have exalted a fragile victory over pirates who threatened the grain supply. As factional discord played out with mounting aggression in the city's public spaces, and the power of state architecture grew more palpable, normative magisterial mandates weakened; officials undertook building projects even when lacking the conventional authority to do so. Consuls, tribunes, and even, perhaps, *privati* manipulated the built environment to exert political pressure. As tribunes erected granaries and seized

control of political spaces through orchestration of crowd behavior and through acts of destruction, *boni* retaliated by reinforcing Rome's architecture of punishment, and, as they did with manubial building, by appropriating the progressives' agenda. Competing with the tribunes for the people's attention, aediles focused their energies on providing sensational public games in lavishly ornamented venues.

CONCLUSIONS

The years between the tribuneship of Ti. Gracchus and the Social War brought relentless challenge. Events moved fast, and fortune turned just as quickly; at times things must have seemed out of control. The struggles played out visibly in the built city: as violence edged out consensus and collaboration, magistrates grew more assertive in their use of architecture, often expressing civic concerns through building choices.

Factionalism was close to the surface. In his extraordinary fifth consulship, Marius, most celebrated of the populists, pressed home his views by commissioning a temple to Honos and Virtus, stressing the primacy of personal merit over exclusive access to divine favor. For conservatives, the solution was to cast him and his ilk as demagogues whose real goal was their own rise to power, and themselves as the true champions of the people in the purer interests of the *res publica*. This agenda seems to have taken priority over (though not entirely dispelled) the gentilician rivalries of earlier years,²³² as is apparent in the commission of the temple to Concordia by Opimius, which spoke of the urgency of restoring the

status quo. Meanwhile new temples to established divinities (Venus, Fortuna), and multiple temple restorations, portrayed them as diligent guardians of the *mos maiorum*. Greek influence dignified these temples, but materials – predominantly travertine, local tuff, and concrete – were Italic, possibly stressing Italic *mores* over Greek. Restorations of the Temples of Castor and Magna Mater were especially aggressive: through their design the *boni* choreographed movement, raising the authority of the senate and exerting control not over the tribunes and *populares* but over the people they represented and/or courted. As before, manubial initiatives – the Fornix Fabianus, the Porticus Minucia, a restoration of the Villa Publica – promoted the sponsor’s achievements and offered proof of transparency with regard to spoils, but new agendas seem to have crept in as well: to denounce kingship abroad as a means of denouncing demagoguery at home, and to characterize the *optimates* as the people’s benefactors through the management of *frumentationes*. Civic buildings apparently expressed similar themes: a new aqueduct addressed water needs and under-employment, and the Basilica Opimia characterized conservatives as seekers of justice in the face of C. Gracchus’ judicial reforms.

Across the board, there is a striking breakdown of previous patterns. C. Gracchus used extraordinary authority – membership on the grain commission – to commandeer a building mandate as a tribune; Opimius built as a non-military consul; censors engaged in civic construction but so did Opimius as a consul. Manubial monuments – a portico and the Villa Publica restoration – took on a more civic character with their emphasis on *frumentationes* and the allied issue, and the Horrea Sulpicia may indicate that boundaries distinguishing public and private architecture were also becoming more permeable. Two factors particularly contributed to the breakdown. One was concrete, now mastered as a building fabric, which weakened Republican restraints on magistrates’ construction ambitions and broadened their imaginations to conceive of larger building projects than before (such as the vast

Navalia, if such it is); these, in turn, gave them greater presence in the landscape. The other was the actions of a handful of tribunes – C. Gracchus, Marius, and Saturninus – and alongside them, the people. Over the course of three and a half centuries, restrictions on architectural sponsorship had reserved the architectural language of authority for the governing elite at high levels, to the exclusion of the tribunes and the people they represented. By re-orchestrating movement within established spaces, and perpetrating acts of ideological vandalism, these tribunes refused that language respect, and subverted it to devise a language of their own that replaced construction with alteration and destruction; thus, the very structures traditionally used to express, impose, and legitimize power, they *misused*, in order to challenge, reject, and delegitimize that power.²³³ In doing so, they broke the senate’s monopoly on public architecture as a means of exerting authority – and opened the door for themselves, the people, and even the senate to explore new ways of using architecture for political ends.

Throughout all this, sensitivity to location intensified. On the west side of the Palatine, the restoration of the Temples of Victoria and Magna Mater, and the construction of the nearby Porticus Catuli, laid claim to sites riven with factional controversy, and a sharp focus fell, once again, on the primary spaces of politics, which conservatives and progressives targeted with a new level of urgency. *Optimates* strove for control of the Forum, monumentalizing the entrance with the Fornix Fabianus, and framing the piazza with the domineering forms of the Temples of Concordia and Castor and the punitive presence of the Basilica Opimia; the tribunes focused their destructive energies there, and Marius built his Temple of Honos and Virtus close by, on the Sacra Via. Other work was concentrated at the Villa Publica, Largo Argentina, and the zone between, where the Porticus Minucia was a resolute assertion of optimate presence at the site of *frumentationes*, the census, and voting. These spaces of public business grew intensely politicized. The stage was set for confrontation.

FIVE

CIVIL WAR AND AFTERMATH: *ca.* 89–70

POLITICAL FRAMEWORK

Conflict, Foreign and Civil

As the Social War drew to a close, Rome was in turmoil. Allied citizenship brought massive change: an influx of wealthy men intensified rivalry; the urban population exploded, and the cry for food and employment grew louder. Meanwhile crowds of unpropertied soldiers, who had fought in anticipation of land grants, now discharged, expected settlements. Bankruptcy threatened.

Foreign conflict, meanwhile, morphed into civil crisis. In 89, following invasion by Nicomedes IV of Bithynia, Mithridates VI of Pontus overran Bithynia, Cappadocia, and the Roman province of Asia. Hailed by locals as a liberator, in 88 he ordered the East Greek cities to slaughter at least 80,000 Roman and Italian men, women, and children living in their midst in a single day.¹ Attacking by land and sea, his forces then captured most of the Aegean region. Athens vacillated between Rome and Mithridates before inviting Pontic armies into mainland Greece; Mithridates' friend, Aristion, assumed control of the city and murdered all the aristocrats who had favored Rome. Another of his subordinates, Menophanes, overran the island of Delos and butchered most of its Italian trading community.²

On the strength of his performance in the Social War, Sulla won a consulship for 88 and an offensive against Mithridates fell to his charge. Incensed, Marius struck a deal with a tribune, P. Sulpicius, that in return for Marius' support on the tribal distribution of the Italians, Sulpicius would commandeer for him the Mithridatic campaign. Riots ensued in the Forum.³ When Marius' officers arrived at Nola to assume control of Sulla's army, the consul turned his troops and marched on

Rome. Clashing violently on the outskirts of the city, Sullan forces defeated Marians. Addressing a *contio*, Sulla justified his armed transgression of the *pomerium* as the act of a consul defending Rome against demagogues; he declared Marius, Sulpicius, and their principal supporters enemies of the state and persuaded the senate and people to annul their legislation.⁴ He then departed for Athens to face Mithridates.

In Sulla's absence, conflict was unabated. When the new consuls, L. Cornelius Cinna and Cn. Octavius, disagreed on allied enrolment, Octavius drove his colleague from Rome, replacing him with L. Cornelius Merula, the priest of Jupiter (*flamen dialis*); backed by Marius and the allies, Cinna set siege to the city. Conditions deteriorated, and when the senate reinstated Cinna and reversed Marius' enemy status, the two men had their opponents brutally assassinated. Re-elected for 86 in a closed contest, they named Sulla a public enemy and repealed his legislation. Within the year Marius died.⁵

Across the Adriatic, Sulla recaptured Greece after a long siege of Athens, and in 85 sealed the Peace of Dardanus, requiring Mithridates' withdrawal to Pontus. On returning to Athens from the Hellespont, he negotiated the terms of his homecoming, and by early 84, on learning of Cinna's assassination by his soldiers and the senate's disarray, began a second march on Rome.⁶ Exiled senators rallied to his side, and when he reached Italy, allies throughout the peninsula joined his train; so too did a young Cn. Pompeius (Pompey), who as a *privatus* raised three legions from his clients on Sulla's behalf. By 82, Sulla's forces had besieged C. Marius, consul and son of the deceased *triumphator*, at Praeneste, and in a violent conflict on November 1, defeated the Marians near Porta Collina in northeastern Rome. Praeneste surrendered,

Marius killed himself, and Pompey went in pursuit of Marian sympathizers; he executed Cn. Papirius Carbo in Sicily, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus in Africa.⁷ As consular elections for 81 approached, Sulla sent to L. Valerius Flaccus (*princeps senatus* and *interrex*) offering his services as dictator;⁸ as an emergency measure, the people appointed him to the post with Valerius Flaccus as his *magister equitum*.

At Home: Sulla's Dictatorship

The *lex Valeria* described Sulla as *dictator legibus scribundis et rei publicae constituendae*.⁹ His mandate was to write laws and restore the Republic, and in this much his office differed markedly from previous dictatorships. Moreover, unlike a dictatorship by consular appointment, which expired with the consul's term, his authority lacked time limit; nor was it territorially restricted, but extended over Rome, Italy, and the whole inhabited world. Should he choose to exert them, his powers were immense: to declare war or peace, to found and destroy cities, establish colonies and bestow or retract client kingdoms; to impose law without a popular vote, control the treasury and the courts and, like a censor, determine membership in the senate. He also received the power of life and death and property confiscation. His authority thus defined, he stamped out enemies with proscriptions that were as ruthless as they were systematic, until a formal termination on June 1, 81. Estimates of the dead range from 520 to 4,700 members of the political elite, who perished in their houses, in the streets, in the fora and at temples; thousands of others lost property and status.¹⁰ To forestall further opposition, Sulla secured the backing of his veterans, settled throughout Italy, and an army of 10,000 freedmen in Rome known as "Cornelii."¹¹

To achieve his vision of a restored Republic, Sulla enacted sweeping changes, many of them building and expanding on ad hoc measures of the past century. His chief priority was a robust senate. He filled the 125 seats left vacant after the civil war, and increased enrolment from 300 to around 600, appointing soldiers from his troops and *equites* nominated by their tribes; a grant of senate membership to ex-quaestors maintained the numbers.¹² He also overhauled the magistrates' purviews. A *lex Cornelia annalis* tightened the *cursus honorum*, and military service was abolished as a prerequisite for office. Consuls received provincial commands at the start of their term but could stay in Rome during their year of office, with

the expectation that they would take an active role in legislation. The number of quaestors was increased from twelve to twenty; praetors rose to eight, and they, too, remained in Rome, to preside over the courts, assuming their *provinciae* as *propraetors*.¹³ Most significantly, perhaps, Sulla neutralized the tribunes, by debarring them from further political office, abolishing their right to initiate legislation, and restricting their veto power.¹⁴ Other reforms targeted the judicial system, establishing criminal courts and returning senators to the juries in a reverse of Glabrio Acilius' law of 123–122.¹⁵ Appointment to the pontifical and augural colleges was reassigned to senatorial co-optation, not popular election, and membership increased from nine to fifteen; the *Xviri sacris faciundis* were augmented to *XVviri*.¹⁶ Sumptuary laws addressed gambling, exotic foodstuffs, banqueting costs, and funerary commemoration; there were attempts to curb sexual immorality.¹⁷

In July of 81, perhaps, but maybe as late as mid-79, Sulla abdicated.¹⁸ Elected consul for 79, he nevertheless retired from public life and from Rome; at a villa in Puteoli or Cumae, between bouts of hunting, fishing, fraternizing with theater friends, and raising funds for a restoration of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, he wrote a history to justify his actions. In 78 he died.¹⁹ Led by Q. Lutatius Catulus, son of the victor at Vercellae, the senate announced a burial at public expense, complete with magnificent pageantry. On a pyre on the Campus Martius, scented with spices gifted by matrons, his body was cremated, thus preventing the posthumous fate of the younger Marius, whose disinterred corpse had been cast into the Anio: Sulla's partisans strove to make him inviolable, to negate the possibility of change to his physical body and by extension to his *acta*.²⁰ His ashes were buried in a tumulus at the heart of the Campus Martius, where legend placed the apotheosis of Romulus.²¹ Women mourned for a year, as Livy believed they did for the Republic's first consuls, and as they would for a father.²²

Aftermath: Conflict and Recalibration

Sulla's allies were left to manage the fallout from the civil war and his dictatorship, when both sides had been culpable of atrocious and illegal acts. Lacking his personal authority, apparent charisma, and power of intimidation, they strove to maintain status while surviving victims of the proscriptions demanded reinstatement of their civil and political rights, restoration of their property, a recall

of exiles, and a repeal of Sulla's decrees. When a group based at Faesulae (Fiesole) ousted Sullan veterans from land expropriated from them, rebellion broke out. Sent to suppress them, the consul M. Aemilius Lepidus joined their ranks instead and led a march on Rome. The senate issued Lutatius Catulus, his colleague, with a *senatus consultum ultimum*, battle lines were drawn up, and a defeated Aemilius Lepidus took exile in Sardinia; the senate also granted Pompey an extraordinary command against M. Iunius Brutus, an opposition commander in Cisalpine Gaul.²³ In Hispania Ulterior, meanwhile, Q. Sertorius, praetor of 83, established a rival government in exile; when Caecilius Metellus Pius struggled to contain it, the senate sent Pompey with proconsular power, and by 72 the rebellion was suppressed.²⁴

Other adversaries exploited the disorder. Though an ally, Mithridates supported the resistance, and when Nicomedes died in 74 leaving his kingdom to Rome, he invaded Cappadocia and Bithynia. Hostilities with Rome were reignited. Consul in 74, L. Licinius Lucullus drove him back to Pontus and in 72 destroyed his army; Mithridates fled to Armenia.²⁵ Meanwhile piracy had returned to such a dangerous pitch that, in 74, the senate gave a praetor, M. Antonius Creticus, a special naval command to control it, which he failed to do.²⁶ The following year Spartacus, an escaped gladiator, led an army of gladiators, slaves, and the destitute in an insurrection that spread throughout Italy and into Cisalpine Gaul; in 71, with special *imperium* and unlimited resources, M. Licinius Crassus crushed them.²⁷

As the senate managed the threats, rivalries resurfaced. The increased number of praetors meant greater competition for consulships, and the presence of praetors and consuls together in the city made for a more immediate collision of powers than before.²⁸ The preponderance of special commands, designed to skirt Sulla's regulations without overturning them, must also have ignited individuals' ambitions. As members of the political elite fought to bring down their rivals, prosecutions were rife.²⁹ Meanwhile Sulla's eastern conquest had enriched many and introduced new heights of luxury, and despite an economic recovery, the gulf between rich and poor was growing wider. Living conditions for the plebs must have become more cramped as the population grew, and food shortages were frequent. Unemployment probably soared, and without an income most Romans could not subsist, even with the grain dole.³⁰ In their desperation, people displayed reactions verging on adulation for those

who tended to their plight. Before long there was agitation for a restitution of the tribunes' powers, and despite opposition, as consul in 75, C. Aurelius Cotta reversed the prohibition on their advancement to higher office.³¹

On the strength of Pompey's successes against Sertorius and Spartacus, the people elected him consul for 70 alongside Crassus; he was underage and underqualified, but the senate exempted him from the *lex annalis* and allowed him to stand for office *in absentia*. The censors, Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Clodianus and L. Gellius Poplicola, even pandered to him by staging the *transvectio equitum*; riding with the equestrians through a cheering crowd, he could claim to have performed military service under his own command.³² As promised in a first *contio* as consul-elect, his tenure with Crassus saw further reversals of Sullan reforms: they lifted remaining restrictions on the tribuneship, and with his *lex Aurelia*, the praetor L. Aurelius Cotta steered a compromise on jury panels, dividing them among senators, *equites*, and *tribuni aerarii*.³³ To heal civil-war wounds, (A.?) Plautius, a tribune, championed an amnesty bill for supporters of Aemilius Lepidus and Sertorius who had not been on the proscription lists.³⁴ Relative civic calm was achieved.

RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS

On suppressing the Gracchi, conservatives had justified their actions through religious architecture, casting themselves as the guardians of sacred matters and the *mos maiorum*, and in the aftermath of the civil war, Sulla continued their strategy. Nevertheless, he faced an additional challenge: to distinguish himself in civic memory from Marius and Cinna, condemning their conduct while legitimizing similar behavior on his own part. This he achieved by characterizing himself as the gods' favorite, and by implying the birth of a new age. He, and his allies after his death, seem to have deployed sacred architecture to cleanse the city of the traumas of the past (Fig. 5.1).

Agents and Honorands: the 80s

Three new foundations and two restorations seem to fall under Sulla's purview. The Regionary Catalogs name an undefined "Hercules Sullanus," perhaps a statue or a temple to commemorate the defeat of Marius in 88;³⁵ literary and epigraphical evidence document a sanctuary to the Cappadocian goddess Ma, known in Rome as Bellona, which may have memorialized Sulla's conquest of the Samnites;



Fig. 5.1 Map of Rome, ca. 89–70 (Penelope Davies, Onur Öztürk, and Bogdan Perzyński)

and two inscriptions record a temple to Venus Felix, site unknown; the epithet suggests Sulla's agency.³⁶ Ovid's *Fasti* state that Sulla let a contract for a Temple of Hercules Custos, perhaps a new vow but more likely a restoration of a temple founded between 293 and 218 on the west side of the Circus Flaminius;³⁷ and on the night of July 6, 83, as Sulla advanced on Rome, the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus caught fire and burnt to the ground, along with the cult statue of Jupiter and the Sibylline Books. On becoming dictator, Sulla embarked on its reconstruction.³⁸

At some point Pompey, too, restored a temple to Hercules, known thenceforth as the Temple of Hercules Pompeianus; near the Circus Maximus, it may have been associated with the Ara Maxima. This probably occurred after his first triumph over resistance fighters in North Africa in 81 (and therefore during Sulla's dictatorship), or after his second triumph in 71 over Sertorius (or, less likely still, after his triumph of 61).³⁹

Taken together, Sulla's initiatives in religious construction suggest a deliberate self-fashioning in the interests of, first, promoting his rise, and then buttressing his regime. As presented by Plutarch, who relied heavily on Sulla's own writings, he was, or acted the part of, a deeply religious man. Like his ancestor, Scipio Africanus, he imputed a prophetic quality to his dreams, and kept an eager watch for divine signs, which he was inclined to interpret in his favor; in his view, they proclaimed his eventual helmsmanship of Rome predestined and inevitable.⁴⁰ Ancient sources imply that while omens and prophecies affected him personally, like Marius he also used them to buoy up morale among his troops, secure loyalty, and make others do his bidding.⁴¹ In light of this, it stands to reason that his selection of patron gods was carefully considered. Most of all, it is distinctive for its plurality. He introduced the cult of Ma-Bellona from Cappadocia, claimed ancestral ties to Apollo, and cultivated an affinity with Venus, assuming the title *Epphroditos*, approved by the senate in 82.⁴² In the same year,

A. Manlius minted a coin showing Sulla in a chariot crowned by a flying Victoria, even before his triumph.⁴³ A tithe of his spoils he offered to Hercules; Martial and Statius claim that he owned a bronze miniature of the hero seated on a rock, sculpted by Lysippus for Alexander and famed for witnessing Hannibal's childhood oath of hatred for Rome.⁴⁴ He insisted that Jupiter had promised him victory; as Cicero put it, Jupiter, chief among gods, was Sulla's heavenly counterpart.⁴⁵ Where others had boasted the favor of one god or two, in fact, Sulla characterized himself as beloved of them all. His soldiers dubbed him *felix*, the fortunate, *Felicitas* being a manifestation of universal divine favor, and he adopted this epithet at his triumph in place of a geographical *cognomen*.⁴⁶ Thus he took an extreme position in the long debate on the source of military success. Marius, with his Temple of Honos and Virtus, had credited his success to his own raw talent, and for Sulla this proved a useful foil: his adversary's claim could easily be reconstituted as evidence of relative godlessness. Sulla's broad embrace of the gods, by contrast, implied that he acknowledged their extraordinary favor, and was their anointed one; he attributed his success not to personal merit but to massive, foreordained divine intervention.

Of all the supra-mortals, it was Hercules whom Sulla singled out for a temple, possibly two. The attraction may have been his status: a hero, only semi-divine, Hercules was neither man nor god. Like others before him, Sulla gained a measure of heroic status through his homage, but epithets suggest a distinction: where Fulvius Nobilior, Scipio Aemilianus, and Mummius merely implied association with Hercules, as companion of the Muses or as victor, with a monument to Hercules Sullanus the assimilation of man and hero was complete. The restoration of the Temple of Hercules Custos, in turn, imputed to Sulla a custodial role with regard to the state (and therefore probably dates after his second march on Rome in 83–82, when he claimed to act in the state's defense);⁴⁷ it justified his actions.

New construction:

- 5.1 Sanctuary of Bellona
- 5.2 Monument to Hercules Sullanus
- 5.3 Temple of Castor and Pollux
- 5.4 *Substructio*, *tabularium* and mint
- 5.5 Subterranean galleries
- 5.6 *Gradus Aurelii*
- 5.7 *Tribunal Aurelium*
- 5.8 Horrea Seiana?

Restoration:

- 1.8 Temple of Juno Moneta?
- 1.9 Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus
- 1.12 Comitium
- 1.13 Rostra
- 1.14 Curia Cornelia (Hostilia)
- 1.20 Temple of Castor
- 1.21 Lacus Iuturnae
- 1.22 Precinct of Vesta

- 2.11 Temple of Hercules Custos
- 2.29 Temple of Portunus
- 2.31 Temple of Hercules Invictus
- 3.22 Temple of Veiovis
- 3.26 Basilica Aemilia (Fulvia)
- Fortification walls
- Cloaca Maxima

Fig. 5.1 (*cont.*)

The restoration of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, the heart of Rome's religion, strengthened the impression of mass divine favor. The blaze must have sent shudders through the city. Julius Obsequens and Cassiodorus blamed it on the negligence of temple custodians, which does not rule out the possibility of arson; whatever the cause, in Plutarch's account it was a presage of doom that Sulla was empowered to avert: "At Silvium, a servant of Pontius met [Sulla], in an inspired state, declaring that he brought him from Bellona triumph in war and victory, but that if he did not hasten, the Capitol would be burnt; and this actually happened, he says, on the day which the man foretold."⁴⁸

More than that, for Appian, the conflagration belonged with a series of inauspicious omens that presaged the passing of an era. He concluded, "All things seemed to point to the multitude of coming slaughters, to the conquest of Italy and of the Romans themselves, to the capture of the city, and to constitutional change."⁴⁹ In Plutarch's version, Etruscan seers traced the omens back to the Social War, and foresaw a new age:

For according to them there are eight ages in all, differing from one another in the lives and customs of men, and to each of these God has appointed a definite number of times and seasons, which is completed by the circuit of a great year. And whenever this circuit has run out, and another begins, some wonderful sign is sent from earth or heaven, so that it is at once clear to those who have studied such subjects and are versed in them, that men of other habits and modes of life have come into the world, who are either more or less of concern to the gods than their predecessors were.⁵⁰

Through destruction, fire purifies, and catharsis was exigent, for the *area Capitolina* was polluted: it was there in 133 that, in an awful act of sacrilege, Scipio Nasica had lynched Ti. Gracchus, and there, too, in 87 that Merula, chief priest of Jupiter, had severed his veins with a terrible oath against Marius and Cinna, spattering the altar and cult statue with his blood.⁵¹ Once rebuilt, the temple would signal a fresh age under Jupiter's renewed guardianship. And if the temple's dedication marked the founding of the *res publica*, its restoration was Sulla's refounding.

In the face of Sulla's claims, Pompey seems to have thrown down the gauntlet. His Temple of Hercules fits a pattern of defiant behavior first evidenced after his suppression of the Mario-Cinnans in Sicily and North Africa, when Sulla instructed him to disband all but one of his legions and await a successor; instead Pompey led

his army back to Rome. In Plutarch's account, a capitulating Sulla greeted him as *magnus* – a sarcastic allusion to Alexander the Great – and at first denied his demand for a triumph, citing his irregular status; he relented after Pompey's deriding caution "to reflect that more worshipped the rising than the setting sun." When Pompey triumphed he was not yet thirty or a senator – the only *eques* ever to achieve the honor; in the people's eyes, one of their own had seized the most coveted prize.⁵² The ceremony was memorable for another reason besides:

When many showed displeasure and indignation at his project, Pompey, we are told, was all the more desirous of annoying them, and tried to ride into the city on a chariot drawn by four elephants; for he had brought many from Africa which he had captured from its kings. But the gate of the city was too narrow, and he therefore gave up the attempt and changed over to his horses.⁵³

Regal beasts, formidable war machines, in Roman mythology elephants also drew the chariot of the triumphant Dionysus, Alexander's ancestor.⁵⁴ With even casual assessment, Pompey could have concluded that they would not clear the gate; deliberate, provocative, the maneuver implied that Rome's norms and institutions were too restrictive for a man of his caliber; the state would have to make exceptions for him.⁵⁵ Probably dating to this period, the Temple of Hercules Pompeianus challenged the dictator's Hercules Sullanus: it implied Pompey's part in Sulla's victory over the Marians. More than that, if it was a reworking of a temple at the Ara Maxima, it trumped Sulla's monument by targeting Hercules' most venerable cult center.⁵⁶

Agents and Honorands: the 70s

The decade after Sulla's death saw one new foundation: a temple to Castor and Pollux in the Circus Flaminius, mentioned by Vitruvius.⁵⁷ Its inclusion in the Antiate calendars sets it before the mid-first century; Plutarch notes that when Caecilius Metellus decorated the Temple of Castor and Pollux with paintings and statues, he placed there a portrait of Flora, a courtesan acquaintance of Pompey, and since restoration work on the Temple of Castor in the Forum pre-dates Pompey's birth, he presumably means the temple in the Circus Flaminius. This suggests that Caecilius Metellus Pius commissioned it, probably on returning from his Spanish campaign with Pompey in 71.⁵⁸



Fig. 5.2 Substructure on the Capitoline saddle, ca. 78, actual state. Rome, Musei Capitolini (Penelope Davies)

The bulk of sacred construction in the 70s took the form of restorations. Some were probably necessitated by fires, others by the ravages of civil war and economic hardship. At the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, reconstruction was scarcely under way when Sulla died; anticipating his demise, he is said to have remarked that its dedication “was the only thing that his good fortune was refused.”⁵⁹ The role of *curator restituendi Capitoli* fell to Lutatius Catulus, consul of 78, to whom an inscription, once visible in Michelangelo’s Palazzo Senatorio on the Campidoglio, attributes a second building contract as well:

Q(VINTVS) LVTATIVS Q(VINTI) F(ILIVS)
Q(VINTI) [N(EPOS)] CATVLVS CO(N)S(VL) |
SVBSTRVCTIONEM ET TABVLARIVM | DE
S(ENATVS) S(ENTENTIA) FACIVNDVM COER-
AVIT [EI]DEMQVE | PRO[BAVIT].⁶⁰
[Q. Lutatius Catulus, son of Quintus, grandson of Quintus, consul, by will of the senate let the contract for the substructure and tabularium, and approved them.]

The *substructio* (substructure) is usually associated with the massive concrete platform bridging the natural saddle

between the Capitol and the Arx, which now supports the Palazzo Senatorio (Fig. 5.2).⁶¹ On the *substructio*, some scholars place a hall that served as a *tabularium* (records office or archive), with a Corinthian colonnade facing the Forum, others a central peristyle surrounded by one or more rows of rooms, or the Atrium Libertatis; others still see the platform as a monumentalization of the Asylum purportedly founded by Romulus and reconceived as a garden.⁶² Yet the layout of the voids within the substructure, once vaulted and inaccessible, suggests a large central temple, possibly flanked by subsidiary temples to north and south (Figs. 5.3 and 4a–b, showing alternative reconstructions).⁶³

No ancient source explicitly names a temple (or temples) that belong(s) on the platform. According to one view, based on imperial editions of the *Fasti Fratrum Arvalium*, a central temple honored Venus, with smaller temples to Fausta Felicitas and the Genius Populi Romani.⁶⁴ For the principal temple, however, archaeological and literary sources favor a rebuilding of the Temple to Juno Moneta, possibly relocated from the ashlar walls in

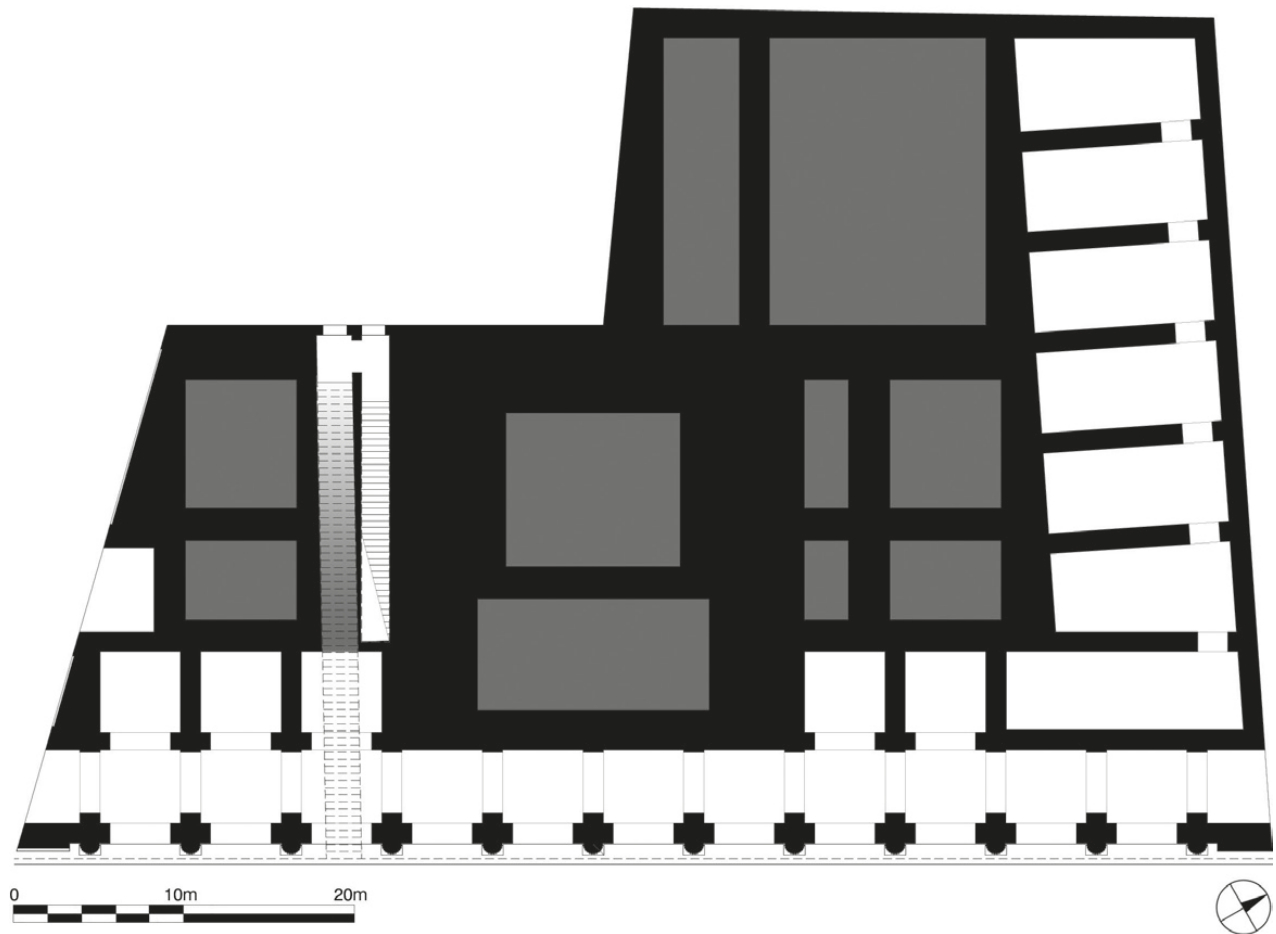


Fig. 5.3 Substructure and temples on the Capitoline saddle, ca. 78, plan (John Burge)

the Aracoeli gardens (Fig. 1.19),⁶⁵ or from a site beneath the *substructio*.⁶⁶ Calendars record festivals for Juno on the Arx on both June 1 and October 10, which are best explained if a restoration had occurred by the date of the *Fasti Antiates Maiores*, between 84 and 55, which would in turn be consistent with damage in the conflagration of 83.⁶⁷ Though it is conceivable that Sulla instigated work on the temple, it was more likely Lutatius Catulus who let the contract, as he apparently did for the substructure on which it stood.⁶⁸

Nearby, physical remains also suggest a reconstruction of the Temple of Veiovis, perhaps a little earlier than the *substructio* and also as a result of the fire. Restoration occurred at the Temple of Portunus between 80 and 70, and at the Sanctuary of Vesta sometime in the first half of the first century,⁶⁹ either or both perhaps part of a broad initiative of 75, when the consuls, L. Octavius and C. Aurelius Cotta, drew up a contract for the maintenance of city temples at large, assigning its supervision to two praetors, C. Sacerdos

and M. Caesius. Some unfinished projects passed to praetors of the following year, C. Verres and P. Caelius, including a contract for the Temple of Castor in the Forum over which Cicero accused Verres of fraud.⁷⁰ At this time the Lacus Iuturnae was probably raised by about a meter and reconstructed with *opus quasi-reticulatum*; extended northwards, it was transformed into a square of 7.5 meters on a side, with a ledge running around the inner face. A rectangular platform at the center, roughly 3 by 2 meters, presumably supported the statue group of the Dioscuri found in the basin (Figs. 3.33a–d). Nearby concrete walls may indicate an associated building.⁷¹

After Sulla's dictatorship, those who sponsored religious building initiatives, where they are named, were principally consuls and proconsuls, acting either as *triumphatores* or in a civic capacity during a term spent in Rome thanks to Sulla's reforms. They had grown in stature under Sulla's aegis, and were probably deeply conservative. Lutatius Catulus was his closest ally; with Sulla's



Fig. 5.4a–b Substructure and temples on the Capitoline saddle, *ca.* 78, alternative hypothetical reconstructions: (a) with a single gallery and a single temple; (b) with a double gallery and three temples (John Burge)

protection and support he had achieved a consulship in 78, and his loyalty was on public display when he took on Aemilius Lepidus over granting Sulla a state funeral.⁷² C. Aurelius Cotta walked in Sulla's triumph as a returned exile, and Octavius had witnessed his father's opposition to Cinna in 87, and his violent death at the hands of Mario–Cinnan troops; he may even have gazed on his father's severed head posted at the Rostra.⁷³ Caecilius Metellus Pius, for his part, was Sulla's co-consul in 80.

For these men, sacred building helped to shore up the senate's authority, as it did after the fall of the Gracchi. While the state mourned the dictator, the ongoing restoration of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, highlighted on *denarii* minted by M. Volteius in 78, assured Jupiter's continued protection, and fostered stability.⁷⁴ The temples to the Castores, long associated with senatorial power, embodied their sponsors' conservative values and, through the gods' duality, their adherence to the ideal of collegial government. If triumphal, moreover, the temple in the Circus Flaminius rejoiced in a fresh defeat of Mario–Cinnans in Spain, and may even have been a nod to the twin *triumphatores*, Caecilius Metellus and Pompey.⁷⁵ As a broad enterprise, the restorations, which, in 75 at least, amounted to an informal "program," were inherently conservative in concept; they affirmed the senate's responsibility for the *pax deorum*, now fully in its hands through Sulla's reinstatement of priestly co-optation. At the same time, they provided employment as the population escalated, and in this much demonstrated concern for popular welfare.

For its part, if the temple on the Capitoline saddle honored Juno Moneta, it was highly symbolic in policy terms. Guardian of standards of measure and coinage, from whom the mint derived its name, Juno Moneta embodied the economy's recovery under Sulla, and this was no light matter.⁷⁶ As a tribune in 91, Livius Drusus had proposed debasing the coinage. This suggests that resources were already low when the Social War broke out and Rome faced the cost of fielding a large army.⁷⁷ Stockpiles of bullion and coins were quickly exhausted; the city verged on bankruptcy. Crisis persisted into the 80s when, to cover state expenses, a desperate senate resorted to extraordinary sources, such as the *sanctius aerarium* (a reserve treasury funded by taxes on manumitted slaves). To meet the cost of buying grain in 89 it even sold public properties on the Capitoline administered by the priesthoods.⁷⁸ When war disrupted production at rural estates, and land used as collateral was seized, a credit crisis followed; the foundation of the economy, *fides* (confidence in the repayment of loans and the economy's strength), was badly shaken. Creditors

called in loans and, since the economy depended on coins in circulation, when people took to hoarding money in anticipation of conflict, debtors were unable to pay. Already in 89 the situation was so incendiary that when a praetor, A. Sempronius Asellio, urged creditors to relieve defaulting debtors, a crowd of moneylenders tore him limb from limb at a public sacrifice.⁷⁹ No sooner had the consuls passed a debt relief law in 88 than the Mithridatic War threw trade in the eastern Mediterranean into turmoil and cut tax revenue from Asia. To finance his campaign against the king, Sulla requisitioned 90,000 pounds of gold from temple treasuries, and preparations to counter him in 82 exacerbated the situation; a fearful senate allowed Papirius Carbo and the younger Marius to seize a further 14,000 pounds of temple gold and 6,000 pounds of silver for the impending conflict.⁸⁰

Relieving the crisis grew critical, and promised popular favor. *Boni* and *populares* rushed into the fray. As suffect consul in 86, L. Valerius Flaccus passed a radical *lex Valeria de aere alieno* for repayment of loans at a quarter of the amount owed, which gratified the wealthy; the praetors and tribunes of 86 or 85 responded with a currency reform that won over the *equites* and the plebs.⁸¹ But it was Sulla who replenished the treasury. His triumph displayed mounds of gold and silver plundered from eastern adversaries, as well as the temple treasures Marius and Papirius Carbo had removed to Praeneste.⁸² Cities that had acquiesced to the massacre of 88 he made liable for five years of back taxes, and he levied an indemnity on the entire province of Asia to pay for the war. For ready cash he sold some provinces immunity from taxation; on others he raised taxes.⁸³ He also confiscated property belonging to victims of his proscriptions, and, selling it at auction, raised 350 million sesterces, of which a small percentage was due to headhunters; most of it must have flowed into the treasury (and his own pocket, making him the richest man of his day).⁸⁴ To encourage stability, as dictator he remitted a tenth of all debts and fixed a maximum interest rate; a *lex Cornelia de falsis* of 81 then established a permanent court for forgery cases.⁸⁵ Against this backdrop, the rebuilt Temple of Juno Moneta and the accompanying mint, if such they were, were a call for, and a cause for, restored *fides*, and they credited economic recovery squarely to the agency of Sulla and his allies.

For the *boni*, as for Sulla, temple reconstruction was a means of dealing with the immediate past, and one of their challenges was to manage civic memory of his regime. Forced to acknowledge its appalling brutality, they appear to have followed up his suggestion of a new age with

offensives to cleanse the city. To erase individuals' memories was unrealistic; but an act of cultural forgetting could divest places (or people, objects, or events) of symbolic meaning so as to delete them from communicative circulation.⁸⁶ The restorations of 75 probably served this goal, and three renovations especially stand out. Appian states that it was at the Temple of Castor that Opimius received the severed heads of C. Gracchus and Fulvius Flaccus, and rewarded those who brought them with their weight in gold;⁸⁷ and, according to Plutarch, it was from its tribunal that, to public dismay in 81, Sulla had issued a kill order for a one-time trusted general who challenged his authority:

[Q.] Lucretius Ofella, who had reduced Marius by siege, gave himself out as a candidate for the consulship, and Sulla at first tried to stop him; but when Ofella came down into the forum with a large and eager following, he sent one of the centurions in his retinue and slew him, himself sitting on a tribunal in the temple of Castor and beholding the murder from above. The people in the forum seized the centurion and brought him before the tribunal, but Sulla bade them cease their clamour, and said that he himself had ordered this deed, and commanded them to let the centurion go.⁸⁸

The temple's restoration, which involved re-stuccoing the façade columns, literally whitewashed the event from civic memory. Similarly, work at the sanctuary of Vesta may have expiated its double violation in the bloodshed of 82, when the *pontifex maximus*, Mucius Scaevola, took refuge at the sanctuary reserved for the Vestals, pursued by assassins, and then perished at their hands within its walls.⁸⁹ Restoration of the Temple of Portunus, in turn, may have atoned for the dumping of bodies in the Tiber during the massacres of 87 and 82–81. A curse on the unburied dead, a violation of the waters, so extensive was the carnage, according to Lucan, that it stopped ships in their course and stanchied the river's flow; in Dio's eyes it was the climax of all the savage acts that exposed the evil at Sulla's core.⁹⁰ As with the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, the renovations purged miasma; they were mandates for civic oblivion.

As critical as it was to buttress the senate as a body, competition within that body remained fierce, and temple initiatives continued to accrue prestige for rivals. The Temple of Castor and Pollux in the Circus Flaminius made an apt choice for Caecilius Metellus, whose *gens* cultivated a bond with the twin gods;⁹¹ by assuming responsibility for the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Lutatius Catulus, meanwhile, became guardian of the dictator's legacy, a *continuator* *Sullae*. The slow

progress of the work kept him in the public eye at least until its rededication in 69, and when Lutatius Catulus served on the jury at Verres' trial in 70, Cicero characterized the temple as a memorial to his name, inscribed on the façade.⁹² Such was Lutatius Catulus' reputation as a patron, in fact, that L. Cornelius, who worked for him as an engineer during his consulship and as an architect during his censorship in 65, defined himself by this relationship in the inscription on his tomb.⁹³

The restoration of the Temple of Juno Moneta, if such it was, also served the consul. It formed a sacred complement to the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, and together these temples to the Capitoline Olympians outshone the Temples of Jupiter Stator and Juno Regina in the Porticus Metelli, elevating Lutatius Catulus above the Caecilii Metelli. It probably also struck a deep personal note. One of the praetors involved in the monetary reform of 86/85 was M. Marius Gratidianus, Marius' nephew and a bitter opponent of Sulla. Publicizing the reform under his name, he had assumed sole credit for it, to resounding gratitude: people voted statues to him in their neighborhoods, or *vici*, as they had for the deceased Gracchi, and made offerings of incense, candles, and wine in his honor.⁹⁴ This extraordinary acclaim must have stuck in Lutatius Catulus' craw, for it was Marius Gratidianus who, in 87, had prosecuted his elderly father so doggedly that he had killed himself, by inhaling charcoal fumes in a freshly plastered room.⁹⁵ Payback had come with Sulla's dictatorship: people threw down the statues and Marius Gratidianus was hunted to a goat-pen where he had taken refuge – probably by L. Sergius Catilina, but possibly by Lutatius Catulus himself. Bound in chains, he was led to the very tomb in which the elder Lutatius Catulus lay, and there he was murdered, as if in a sacrifice: while he was still alive, his arms and legs were broken, his ears, tongue, and hands cut off, and his eyes gouged out. Sulla received his decapitated head, still dripping blood, at the Temple of Apollo Medicus, where the murderer was purified.⁹⁶ For Lutatius Catulus, conceivably, economic recovery and the temple that proclaimed it were more than policy issues; they marked Marius Gratidianus with the brand of demagoguery and achieved a second revenge.

Location and Design, 80s and 70s: Control and Dominance

If correctly understood, the monuments to Hercules Sullanus, Bellona, and Castor and Pollux resulted from war, and their votive character influenced their siting. Neither Sulla's monument to Hercules Sullanus nor his temple to



Fig. 5.5 Fragment of the Via Anicia marble plan, Augustan (Amministrazione Beniculturali)

Bellona stood on the Via Triumphalis, perhaps in order to deflect ambivalence over commemorating civil victories; instead they probably marked sites of battle, the first in *Regio V Esquiliae* near the Forum Esquilinum (southeast of piazza Vittorio Emanuele, possibly on via Labicana), where Sulla clashed with Marius in 88, the second inside Porta Collina where he defeated the Samnite army in 82.⁹⁷ More conventionally, the Temple of Castor and Pollux was on the procession's path.⁹⁸ Shown on the Via Anicia plan, it is the only known temple on the south side of the Circus Flaminius (Fig. 5.5), and is variously located beneath the church of S. Tommaso in Cenci, in Piazza delle Cinque Scole, or, most likely, beneath a block of apartment buildings in the Jewish ghetto known as the *villini*.⁹⁹ In this vicinity, two colossal statues of the Dioscuri with their horses, now displayed in Piazza del Campidoglio, came to light in the sixteenth century (Figs. 5.6a–b). Their dimensions would fit square bases flanking the stairs, shown on the marble plan. Assessments of their style date them as far apart as the 70s and the Antonine period.¹⁰⁰

The frequency of processions (the triumphs of M. Terentius Varro Lucullus over the Bessi, and Caecilius Metellus Pius and Pompey over Spain, and Crassus' ovation over Spartacus, all in 71) and the large crowds assembled for *contiones*, apparently made the Circus desirable enough to influence the temple's design. Both the marble plan and Vitruvius' text describe it as a transverse cella temple, with a tetrastyle pronaos porch on its long north side. This allowed it to be wedged into a plot of land between the Circus on the north and commercial buildings on the riverbank.¹⁰¹ The plot accounts equally for its orientation: unlike recent buildings on the Circus – the Temples of Juno Regina, Jupiter Stator, and Hercules Musarum – which were oriented roughly north-northeast to square with the Circus, the Temple of Castor and Pollux is only slightly off north.

In terms of design, restorations tended toward conservatism; most seem to have preserved the essence of earlier phases. Vitruvius names the Temple of Hercules Pompeianus as an example of araeostyle design, which pointedly emphasized its antiquity as a venue for Hercules worship. The Temple of Jupiter

Optimus Maximus occupied the vast foundations of the late regal period and it, too, retained its ancient footprint (frontal, araeostyle, and peripteral on three sides).¹⁰² *Denarii* minted by Volteius before its completion give it a Tuscan tetrastyle (not hexastyle) façade, and the treatment of the pedimental and acroterial decoration is summary (Fig. 5.7).¹⁰³ The finished temple is shown more accurately on *denarii* issued in 43 by Petillius Capitolinus, as hexastyle and Tuscan (or Ionic), with a seated figure at the center of the pediment and acroterial figures at the corners and apex of the pediment (Fig. 5.8).¹⁰⁴ The Temple of Veiovis kept its transverse cella plan, though the foundations were augmented for a slightly wider cella and a deeper pronaos, and its orientation was modified to accommodate the *substructio* taking form nearby (Figs. 3.14 and 5.9).¹⁰⁵ The Temple of Portunus rests on earlier foundations,¹⁰⁶ though its engaged lateral and rear Ionic columns (Figs. 2.2 and 2.12) may have been a new addition, evoking the accessibility of a Greek peristyle temple through a pseudoperipteral design. Spur walls flanking the staircase, probably also an innovation, emphasized the façade.



Figs. 5.6a–b Statues of Castor and Pollux from the Temple of Castor and Pollux *in circo*, imperial (?) Rome, Musei Capitolini (Penelope Davies)

As before, travertine was the preferred building material, along with other Italic stones.¹⁰⁷ In some instances the fabric was upgraded: for the cella walls of the Temple of Veiovis, Grotta Oscura blocks from the previous phase were recycled, but better stones were used in more visible places: the podium's revetment and cornices were travertine, as were the façade and trabeation, and the exterior corner pilasters and door jambs were newly crafted in a lithoid tufo.¹⁰⁸ Despite conservatism in design, in fact, there are signs of attempts to dignify these buildings by other means. At the Temple of Castor, for instance, renovations were largely cosmetic: Cicero mentions four re-stuccoed columns; a new mosaic floor – black lozenges in a rectangular border against a white ground – could also belong to this phase,¹⁰⁹ and the Temple of Veiovis also received a new white mosaic pavement.¹¹⁰ According to Aulus Gellius, moreover,

[Varro] recalled that Quintus Catulus, when in charge of the restoration of the Capitol, had said that it had been his desire to lower the area Capitolina, in order that the ascent to the temple might have more steps and that the podium might be higher, to correspond with the elevation and size of the pediment; but that he had been unable to carry out his plan because the *favisae* had prevented it. These, he said, were certain underground chambers and cisterns in the area, in which it was the custom to store ancient statues that had fallen from the temple, and some other consecrated objects from among the votive offerings.¹¹¹

Still, he did succeed in enriching the temple, even outdoing Mummius' gilded ceiling: according to Pliny, "a variety of judgments were passed on Catulus by his contemporaries for having gilded the brass tiles of the Capitol."¹¹² The cost must have been huge and the effect



Fig. 5.7 *Denarius* minted by M. Volteius in 75, with a reverse image of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus (Roma Numismatics Ltd., www.RomaNumismatics.com)



Fig. 5.8 *Denarius* minted by Petillius Capitolinus in 41, with a reverse image of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus (Classical Numismatic Group, www.cngcoins.com)

commensurately staggering: high on the Capitoline, the temple must have glowed with a reflected light that even time would not tarnish. The new cult image, enthroned, may have resembled the Pheidian Zeus at Olympia, in the neo-Attic style; in all likelihood, portions were crafted in gold.¹¹³ Opulence communicated solvency, deployed for the dignity of the gods and their temples; indeed, for Cicero, the Temple of Jupiter's magnificence is nothing less than Lutatius Catulus' religious duty:

It is you who must concern yourself, and you who must exert yourself, to ensure that as the Capitol has been rebuilt with greater splendor, so it shall be adorned with greater richness than before; let us feel that conflagration to have been the will of heaven, and its purpose not to destroy the temple of Almighty Jupiter, but to require of us one more splendid and magnificent.¹¹⁴

Of all the sacred (re)construction undertaken at this time, the most impressive was on the Capitoline saddle, where design, material, and location worked hand-in-hand

to intensify the conservative presence in the Forum established by the Temples of Castor and Concordia. If properly reconstructed, the principal temple followed conservative trends: hexastyle or octastyle, possibly Corinthian, a *peripteros sine postico* with a single cella.¹¹⁵ The concrete platform on which it sat, by contrast, was radically innovative, possibly the work of Cornelius. Trapezoidal in plan, with an inset at its southwest corner for the Temple of Veiovis, it incorporates at least four distinct components. First, at the lowest level, a corridor runs the length of the east flank, with six small rooms facing the Forum, lit by windows with iron bars (Figs. 5.10a–b and 5.11). Perpendicular to the corridor at the south end, a staircase leads down to a doorway opening halfway up the substructure wall, where it probably joined an upper story in the Southwest Building. At the north end of the corridor another staircase leads up to a suite of four interconnected, travertine-paved rooms on the short side of the substructure; as many as three more rooms may have extended westward, and additional rooms are likely on an upper story (Figs. 5.12a–c).¹¹⁶ Second, above the lower corridor, a monumental *via tecta* links the Capitol and the Arx (Fig. 5.13).

Eleven massive arches, measuring over 8 by 3.50 meters, frame views across the Forum (e.g. Fig. 1.10). Five rooms, probably shops, lead off this gallery to the west.¹¹⁷ Third, on the south side of the substructure, a large niche, roofed with Rome's earliest known voussoir lintel, about 5 meters in span, contained remnants of a mud-brick hut, likely preserved in antiquity as the house of Titus Tatius or Romulus.¹¹⁸ Finally, a staircase runs from the Forum through the substructure up to the Temple of Veiovis, where it turns to ascend to the temple terrace, or to a second gallery and on to the temple; the travertine revetment of the steps was never completely finished, perhaps because of problems with subsidence (Figs. 5.14a–b).¹¹⁹

As with the restored Temple of Magna Mater, now a quarter of a century old, the Temple of Juno Moneta was merely one part of a more magnificent whole, made possible through an ambitious exploitation of concrete. These complementary sanctuaries, set on the sites of Rome's earliest settlements – as emphasized by



Fig. 5.9 Temple of Veiovis, restored in *ca.* 78, hypothetical reconstruction (John Burge)

archaic huts conserved as metonymic devices – evoked the authority of the past, and watched over the city’s commercial and civic districts. Yet if Lutatius Catulus’ complex responded to the Palatine structure, it was more daring in scale and more outrageous in its transformation of the landscape: with its construction, political and sacred topography was radically reshaped.¹²⁰ Where a gentle valley had dipped between the Capitoline’s peaks, the substructure blocked the way with a soaring vertical wall (Figs. 5.2 and 5.11). Visually, it resumed the process of defining the Forum, begun in the second century, which, highly politicized, was undergoing its own refashioning as the substructure rose to completion (see below). On the north and south sides of the piazza, the colonnades and porticoes of the Basilicas Sempronia and Fulvia established permeable boundaries of light travertine and stuccoed tufo, a language of openness and access, which had subsequently been appropriated for the Temple of Concordia and the Basilica Opimia; now, on the west, the substructure’s solid surface, sheathed with unreflective Gabine and Alban stone, made an uncompromising backdrop for these icons of optimate triumph (Fig. 5.15). With its height and massiveness, the substructure dignified the Temple of Juno Moneta magnificently, but also marked a formal, authoritative separation of the Forum from a fortress-like Capitoline, as if to set religious space beyond popular grasp with the return of priesthoods to

co-optation. Repositioned, Juno Moneta dominated the Forum, an inescapable presence. Patron of the mint, she was, first and foremost, a guardian, who watched over the workings of the state. By the time Livy was writing, the site of her temple was linked with Manlius Capitolinus’ house, demolished in *ca.* 384 after his execution;¹²¹ irrespective of the event’s historicity, in Roman consciousness the temple was tied to the suppression of populism.

Within the substructure, too, form fashioned experience. Where the Capitoline’s contour receded to the west between Capitol and Arx,¹²² an ancient path or staircase had probably led to the forecourt of the Temple of Veiovis, the entrance to the *area Capitolina* opposite and the Asylum beyond. The sights and sounds of the Forum and Capitoline would have encouraged lingering on this open-air climb, drenched in natural light. With the construction of the *substructio*, a steep staircase took its place, encased by concrete, dark and deafeningly silent: access to the Capitoline was arduous and controlled, another built analogy for popular access to the gods. Meanwhile, roofed with soaring pavilion vaults and surfaced in lava blocks, the *via tecta* was a passage of a different order;¹²³ not only a shopping venue, it was a processional way for the final leg of the triumphal procession, and a link between the Arx and the Capitoline, two stages for the senate’s self-presentation. From the Auguraculum on the Arx, augurs scoured the sky for



Figs. 5.10a–b Substructure on the Capitoline saddle, *ca.* 78, lower gallery and rooms, interior. Rome, Musei Capitolini (Penelope Davies)

signs as they took the auspices with which state processes began.¹²⁴ An inauspicious sign, during the ritual as at other moments, could bring political life to a halt, and as consensus disintegrated, controlling the rite of augury had become paramount: the *lex Aelia* and the *lex Fufia* of around 150 (which probably provided that a magistrate other than the overseer of an assembly could announce an inauspicious omen to invalidate the assembly's action) are early indications of the senate's use of *obnuntiationes* to keep tribunes in check.¹²⁵ As Sulla presented things, signs revealed divine will and justified his actions; his legacy was to restore a senatorial monopoly over their interpretation. The *area Capitolina*, in turn, was the site of the capstone rituals of Republican government – the consuls' first sacrifice and the senate's first meeting of the year – where generals made offerings before departing for war, where triumphal processions concluded, and officials consulted the Sibylline Books.¹²⁶ The grand arcade framed the pontiffs and augurs as they advanced in their regalia between functions on these two peaks, among them the most powerful senators of the day: Caecilius Metellus Pius, *pontifex maximus*; pontiffs Lutatius Catulus, C. Aurelius Cotta, Caecilius Metellus Creticus; and augurs Licinius Lucullus, M. Aurelius Cotta, and Pompey.¹²⁷ In the gallery, they stood above the fray, overseers with a privileged vantage point. If the architecture's open form instilled in them a sense of responsibility and accountability, it must also have engendered a feeling of control. From the Forum, in turn, where crowds assembled, the arcade drew the eye with its engaged half-columns and decorative entablature, outlining the actors in space (Fig. 5.2); the gallery embodied the notion of surveillance. In its totality, the complex projected an ideal conservative vision of society and its hierarchies, in which the senate held authority over all religious and political processes; and into that vision, viewers were drawn.

During the 80s and the 70s, first Sulla, then his allies, used sacred architecture to accrue prestige and to buttress their authority. Through temple construction, they apparently embarked on careful management of the brutalities of civil war and its aftermath, forging a separation between themselves, self-proclaimed guardians of Republican values, and their progressive opponents whom they cast as demagogues. A broad renovation initiative in the late 80s and the 70s, in part necessitated by fire and neglect, implied a fresh start, a clean break from

the past, and a renewal of religious propriety. The senate's visible control over religious affairs gave it the authority of the gods and the *mos maiorum*, while implying its absence for their adversaries. To reinforce a message of traditionalism, most buildings tended toward conservative design, but not so the sanctuary on the Capitoline saddle; deeply innovative, it reasserted long-established hierarchies through an audacious deployment of concrete. Location remained critical; sites that provided visibility in the *loci* of *contiones* remained especially desirable, while pride of place went to the Forum and adjacent areas, the principal arenas of political conflict.

SPOILS AND THE CITY

For the decades of the civil war and its aftermath, information on plunder and its disposal is scarce. One apparent innovation, pillaged building components, may have altered the appearance of Rome's public architecture, but otherwise there is little evidence that spoils directly shaped the city, except inasmuch as to return it to solvency. What does emerge from archaeological and literary sources, however, is an impression that the consensus guiding plundering practices in the past began to fray, yielding to a level of rapacity that claimed the city's attention in the high profile trial of Verres. In its turn, the renown of the case probably redirected attitudes to spoils and their use.

The Nature of Spoils

Of several triumphs of the 80s and 70s, the grandest, and the only one described in ancient literature, was Sulla's over Mithridates on January 27–8 of 81. On the first day, Pliny records, he displayed 15,000 pounds of gold and 115,000 of silver seized from the king, and, on the second, the gold and silver removed to Praeneste by the younger Marius.¹²⁸ With regard to foreign plunder, Plutarch remarks upon “the costliness and rarity of the royal spoils” but divulges no details;¹²⁹ Pliny, meanwhile, cites Fenestella's belief that, though at first small and of little value, pearls were introduced to Rome in Sulla's time, a claim he quickly refutes.¹³⁰ Other sources name items plundered from Athens after the siege of 86, and perhaps also during Sulla's sojourn there in 84. From the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherius he pillaged inscribed shields, and he “seized for himself the library of [the bookseller] Apellicon the Teian, in which were most



Fig. 5.11 Substructure on the Capitoline saddle, *ca.* 78, lowest level, exterior. Rome, Musei Capitolini (Penelope Davies)

of the treatises of Aristotle and Theophrastus, at that time not yet well known to the public.”¹³¹ He took a painting of a centaur with her young by Zeuxis, which sank in a wreck off Cape Malea; another of Theseus by Parrhasius in the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, known to have originated in Athens, may have been part of his loot.¹³²

The greatest novelty, probably, was Sulla’s expropriation of building fabric. Pliny records that he removed columns from the unfinished Temple of Zeus Olympius, perhaps colored marble columns from inside the temple, or even large exterior ones; a proud monument to Peisistratid rule, the Temple of Zeus Olympius may have resonated for Sulla as he strove to paint Marius and Cinna as tyrants.¹³³ Moreover, a ship wrecked off the Tunisian coast near Mahdia, on its way to Italy in *ca.* 80–70, contained a cargo of objects apparently looted from Athens. Alongside numerous inscriptions, sculptures in bronze and marble, and home furnishings, were approximately seventy marble columns, capitals, and other architectural members, possibly plundered by Sulla.¹³⁴ And a metope of fine-grained white marble (Pentelic?) found in a Republican level near via Cavour may have come to Rome with him (Fig. 5.16); sculpted with the torso of a shielded warrior, it is probably a late fifth-century Attic work.¹³⁵

The seizure of marble fits squarely with the tastes that developed in Rome in the era of Greek conquest,

evidenced in the Temples of Jupiter Stator and Hercules Victor (?) and, increasingly, in the temporary theaters erected for state games. Yet the spoliation of tailored materials from existing buildings was more aggressive than acquiring virgin stone from a quarry. It entailed dismantling; symbolically at least, for Athenians it approached the destruction meted out to cities such as Corinth and Carthage in 146. For Romans, who in the case of the Temple of Zeus Olympius could identify the spoils’ site of origin, it amounted to a literal dismemberment of an enemy state with a view to subsuming it into Rome’s built fabric.

The Disposal of Spoils

Pliny states that Sulla reused the columns from the Olympieion in *Capitolinis aedibus* (temples on the Capitoline).¹³⁶ There, by implication, Zeus Olympius was subordinated to his Roman counterpart, and the columns were a literal embodiment of the spoils that funded restoration. For Sulla, however, triumph and booty alike were tasked with more than just signaling conquest: as he and his opponents alternately declared one another enemies of state, they reified his claim to have been the Republic’s champion in its adversity and a legitimate proconsul in the eastern Mediterranean,¹³⁷ and the choice of the Capitoline may reflect this heightened valency. How he disposed of any other architectural plunder is unknown; no manubial buildings are recorded, nor are there traces of grand displays of sculpture that Athens might have yielded. Some of the proceeds from his spoils he probably channeled into temple construction; but it is likely that the bulk of them went to restoring the treasury to solvency and rewarding troops for their loyalty. The evidence is equally sparse for the period after Sulla’s death: Cicero records bronze equestrian statues in front of the Temple of Iuturna, dedicated by Q. Staienus, a quaestor of 77; these may have been spoils.¹³⁸



Figs. 5.12a–c Substructure on the Capitoline saddle, *ca.* 78, interior: (a) stairs from the lower gallery; (b) room on the north side; (c) stairs from rooms on the north side to upper level (not surviving). Rome, Musei Capitolini (Penelope Davies)

Shifting Attitudes, and Repercussions

Even if Sulla's use of spoils leaves relatively little trace, there is, nonetheless, evidence of a shift in pillaging practice at this time, which had wider repercussions in

Rome. As Sulla set off for Greece in 87, the treasury had only meager resources to allocate him. Traveling by land from Epirus to Athens, he therefore levied supplies from Aetolia, Thessaly, and Thebes. In 86, on receiving news of



Fig. 5.13 Substructure on the Capitoline saddle, *ca.* 78, *via tecta*. Rome, Musei Capitolini (Penelope Davies)

his enemy status, and recognizing that the senate would send no additional funds to a man it did not consider the state's representative, he responded with a flagrant contravention of Roman consensus on the treatment of foreign sanctuaries. He charged agents to gather up valuables from the wealthy centers at Epidauros, Olympia, and Delphi, and to circumvent the appearance of sacrilege he characterized these seizures not as spoils of war but as loans that he would duly reimburse. This he seems to have done, in some measure at least.¹³⁹ Given his ambivalent status, Sulla also had reason to anticipate obstacles to his soldiers' remuneration on their return home, and their welfare was his responsibility, for if Marius had introduced the concept of a client army by formalizing the enrollment of unpropertied soldiers, it was Sulla who realized its potential; on joining his ranks his men looked to him for their material well-being and, with the promise of rewards, twice marched on Rome

in his name.¹⁴⁰ In Athens, where the siege drove them to threaten mutiny, spoils were essential for repaying loyalty, and when the siege finally broke Sulla spared the city from fire, purportedly because of its illustrious past, but gave his men free rein to sack and pillage.¹⁴¹ The conqueror's right perhaps, but literary sources describe this occasion as unusually violent and cruel, and Sullan destruction debris in the Agora, the Kerameikos, and elsewhere bear witness to utter devastation.¹⁴² The consummate soldier on the battlefield, at leisure Sulla was the poster-child for luxurious living, and in Sallust's view, in their eagerness to emulate him, his booty-laden soldiers introduced an unprecedented standard of *luxus* on their return to Rome.¹⁴³

These pillaging practices did not shape the city directly. An abrupt break with precedent, however, they probably did change attitudes in the short term, encouraging behaviors that would, in turn, influence generals in their use of spoils thereafter. Sulla's conduct showed that accepted guidelines on the treatment of allies and sanctuaries were less black-and-white than once supposed, and opened the door to willful interpretations of what constituted legitimate expropriation. It set the stage for acts of excessive peacetime extortion by provincial administrators such as C. Antonius, who was prosecuted by M. Lucullus on behalf of the Greeks in 76 for misconduct in 84, Cn. Cornelius Dolabella, whom Aemilius Scaurus sued for rapaciousness as governor of Cilicia from 80 to 79, and Verres, whose plundering as quaestor to Dolabella and then as propraetor in Syracuse from 73 to 71 was the subject of Cicero's sensational trial in 70.¹⁴⁴

As quaestor, Verres indulged in unscrupulous pillaging of temples and sanctuaries in Asia and Pamphylia. He expropriated all the statues in Aspendos "from temples and public places alike," stripped the sanctuary of Diana at Perga, and tried to haul off "several ancient and beautiful statues" from the sanctuary of Apollo on Delos (which washed ashore after a shipwreck, inspiring outrage even in Dolabella);¹⁴⁵ he even removed gold from Phidias' statue of Athena Parthenos in Athens and the statue of Artemis at Perga.¹⁴⁶ For these infractions he contrived a pardon by testifying against Dolabella, but his actions caught up with him when Cicero prosecuted him on behalf of the Sicilians on a charge of extorting 40 million sesterces, demanding 100 million in retribution.¹⁴⁷ In four speeches, Cicero cataloged Verres' torturous murders, judicial abuses, and thefts of artworks and other objects of value.

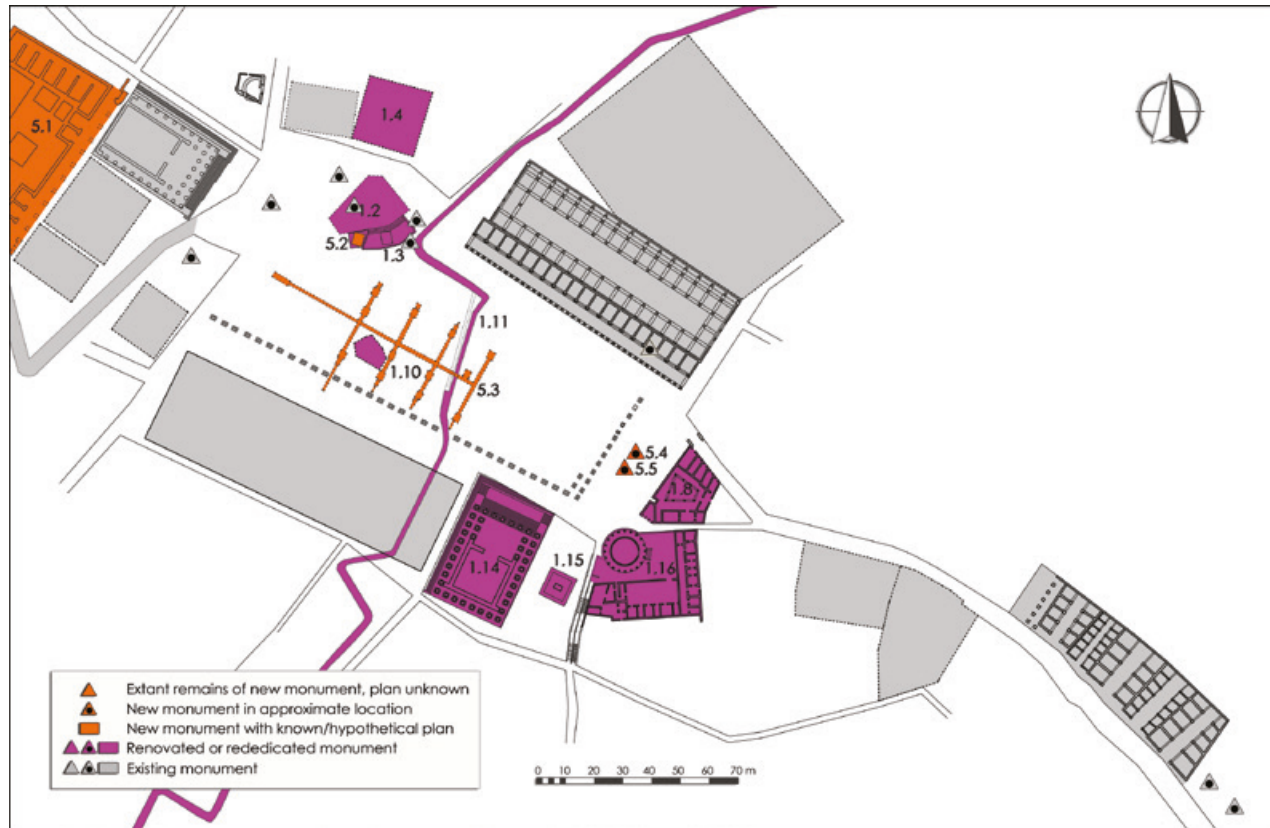


Figs. 5.14a–b Substructure on the Capitoline saddle, ca. 78, stairs from the Forum Romanum to the Temple of Veiovis, and from the Temple of Veiovis to an upper level. Rome, Musei Capitolini (Penelope Davies)

That Cicero saw Verres' conduct as the corollary of plundering practices is evident. He uses the defendant's history of pillaging to buttress his case, and repeatedly describes the fruits of Verres' extortion as *praeda* and *spolia*.¹⁴⁸ Evoking familiar themes on inappropriate plundering, he emphasizes the sacrilegious quality of Verres' actions, the terror his disrespect instilled in locals, and the divine wrath it might incur against Rome; in a throwback to Fulvius Flaccus' suicide after purloining the marble tiles from Juno's temple at Croton, he suggests that the gods in their vengeance had unhinged Verres' mind.¹⁴⁹ Like Fulvius Nobilior, Verres violated standards of *decor* by displaying public and sacred art in private residential spaces, and in an echo of Polybius' exposition on Claudius Marcellus' plundering, Cicero laments the damage Verres perpetrated on foreign relations.¹⁵⁰ For the purposes of prosecution, Verres'

behavior on military campaign formed a seamless analogy for his actions in Sicily. Yet despite the relevance and effectiveness of the analogy, by popular consensus, pillaging, when executed properly, was legal; profiteering while governing a province, in any circumstance, was not.

Extortion by governors had been a growing problem since the mid-second century. Money and artworks thus acquired did not feed the treasury; secreted away into private estates, they nourished a hunger for foreign artworks among the wealthy which, as a corollary, probably influenced triumphing generals when disposing of their booty, since the temptation to retain works of art by purchase or to auction them at high price rather than dedicating them publicly must have been strong. What distinguished Verres' case was the extraordinary extent of his depredations; in fact, scholars characterize him as



New construction:

- 5.1 *Substructio et tabularium*
- 5.2 *Lapis Niger*
- 5.3 Subterranean galleries
- 5.4 *Gradus Aurelii*
- 5.5 Tribunal Aurelium

Restoration:

- 1.2 Comitium
- 1.3 Rostra
- 1.4 Curia Cornelia (Hostilia)
- 1.8 Regia
- 1.10 Lacus Curtius

1.11 Cloaca Maxima

- 1.14 Temple of Castor
- 1.15 Lacus Iuturnae
- 1.16 Precinct of Vesta

Fig. 5.15 Forum Romanum and environs, *ca.* 89–70, plan (Penelope Davies, Onur Öztürk, and Bogdan Perzyński)

a collector intent on owning whatever he coveted or, more likely, an unscrupulous art dealer supplying the collections of other wealthy Romans.¹⁵¹ Cicero marvels that he expected to get away with his crimes; Verres may have been confident that juries composed of the very senators he was supplying would acquit him if tried, but in any case his behavior belongs to a particular, short-lived moment in pillaging practice, when Sulla's conduct in Greece had seemingly removed all restrictions on expropriation.¹⁵² Cicero so masterfully outmaneuvered the famed Q. Hortensius Hortalus, lawyer for the defense, that after hearing no more than his opening statements, Verres fled into exile in Massilia (Marseilles). The renown of the case, Cicero's first prosecution, was immense, and probably exerted a powerful impact on

habits of manubial display, reinforcing earlier habits of transparency.

The meager evidence for the nature of spoils in the 80s and 70s suggests that the main innovation of the time was the expropriation of building parts to integrate into the landscape of Rome as a sign of cultural absorption. The same years appear to have witnessed a dramatic shift in attitudes regarding pillaging as a practice. In another sign of a breakdown in standards governing Roman conduct, controls on plundering lost their force with Sulla's solutions for funding his campaign and guaranteeing troop loyalty. His example apparently inspired excesses by provincial governors that were so extreme as to bring issues of plundering and extortion



Fig. 5.16 Fragment of a marble metope with a warrior and shield, found in via Cavour. From Attica? Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, inv. MC 1627/S (Archivio Fotografico dei Musei Capitolini)

to the forefront of attention, and probably inspired a recalibration of campaigning behavior and manubial display in the 60s.

CIVIC DEVELOPMENT

With the outbreak of civil war in the 80s, civic building all but ground to a standstill. When it resumed with Sulla's dictatorship, patterns governing mandates remained in flux as they had been after the Gracchi, and continued this way after his death. Some censorial duties were subsumed into Sulla's office; otherwise, between 86 and 70 there were no independent censors.¹⁵³ Consuls and/or praetors built, while tribunes, disempowered, turned once again to alternative means of communication. For Sulla and his successors, civic architecture apparently accrued prestige and legitimization for their government, and again, as with sacred architecture, they addressed the

damaging legacy of the civil war by forging a resolute separation from the past.

The 80s and Sulla's Dictatorship

From the conclusion of the Social War to Sulla's dictatorship, little civic construction took place. In anticipation of Cinna's assault in 87, the consuls, Octavius and Merula, "fortified the city with trenches, repaired the walls, and planted engines on them;"¹⁵⁴ to this phase may belong the concrete and yellow tufo chambers built into the walls for ballistic machines, preserved in piazza Albania and at Palazzo Antonelli in piazza Magnanapoli (Fig. 5.17).¹⁵⁵ In the short span of his dictatorship, by contrast, Sulla embarked on a number of pointed civic projects. Ancient authors document an extension of the *pomerium*, and an inscription recording sewer maintenance may date to the Sullan period. Indeed, two late phases of work on sewers lining the east-west artery into the Forum on the Velian are evident, the second lasting through the first half of the first century, and at either end of the Forum are tracts of cappellaccio sewer roofed with a single stone slab, a technique designated as Sullan.¹⁵⁶ Other initiatives were concentrated in the north-west corner of the Forum, where, according to literary sources, Sulla rebuilt and enlarged the Curia Hostilia, where protesters had torn off roof tiles to hurl at Saturninus in 100, and where civil war conflicts may have caused additional damage. Pliny comments that statues of Pythagoras and Alcibiades that had stood in the Comitium since 343 were removed at this time, so the new building, known as the Curia Cornelia, may have protruded further than before.¹⁵⁷ There may have been a restoration of the adjacent Basilica Porcia, where remains of two rooms built of *opus incertum*, a fine white floor mosaic, a column base, and an Ionic capital, were discovered, all probably dating to the first half of the first century.¹⁵⁸ At the Comitium, the ground level was elevated by about half a meter and paved with travertine slabs; the Rostra, too, was raised (Figs. 5.18a–c), the Graecostasis elevated and monumentalized, and the altar at the west end paved over in black marble, to be known as the *Lapis Niger* (Fig. 5.19).¹⁵⁹ Mounted on the new Rostra was a gilded equestrian statue of the dictator, vowed soon after the battle at Porta Collina.¹⁶⁰

Sulla's civic works mesh closely with his changes to political institutions, as Cicero recognized with regard to the Curia. For him, at least, the new senate house was



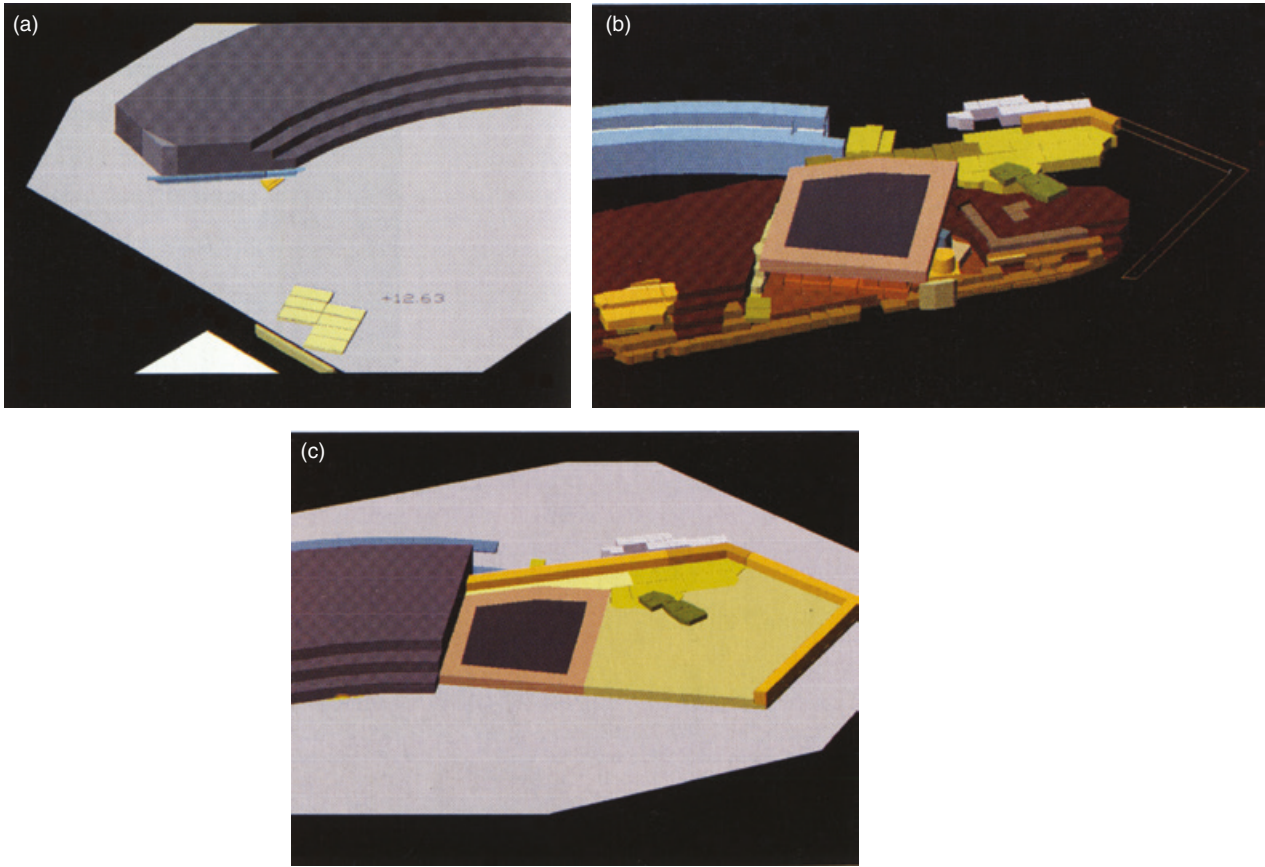
Fig. 5.17 Fortification walls at Piazza Albania, *ca.* 87 (Penelope Davies)

metonymic with Sulla and his reforms: in *De finibus* of 79, M. Pupius Piso Calpurnianus remarks that the building, though larger, seemed lesser than its predecessor, and by 54, Cicero would note the gravity and strength of leadership it imparted to the dictator.¹⁶¹ Now doubled, the senate was well served by a more spacious hall, but the renovation also communicated Sulla's vision of its place in government: reinvigorated and returned to authority in all public spheres, the senate was the heart of his restored Republic. Towering over the Comitium, crowding its space, the Curia articulated the senate's position with regard to the people and their tribunes and gave it an aura of permanence.¹⁶² If restored, the next-door Basilica Porcia evoked Cato's conservative rigor and reinforced the modified judicial system.

Precisely as the Comitium grew functionally weaker, its restoration proclaimed the strength and stability of the citizen body, and, symbolically if not in fact, drew assemblies back to the shadow of the senate house. As in *ca.* 338, when a Comitium enlargement accompanied an increase in the citizenry, Sulla's restoration went hand in hand with the enrollment of allied citizens in the wake of the Social War, and in a sense, it masked a tactical retreat on his part to ensure their loyalty. On registering in 89, new citizens had been assigned to a restricted number of tribes, to contain their electoral impact. The following year, Sulpicius passed a law distributing them across

all thirty-five tribes, which at Sulla's behest was quickly annulled. Yet he recognized, as he planned his return from Athens in 84 and courted Italians for support, that tribal registration would influence their allegiance, and sent emissaries throughout the peninsula to announce a change of stance: agreeing formally with a *senatus consultum* ensuring equitable enrollment, he drew up a pact proclaiming respect for their *ius suffragii*.¹⁶³ Even as rebuilt, the Comitium held only a fraction of the citizenry, but it denoted the policy that, in theory at least, gave them an equal share in electoral power.

The equestrian statue, a companion for those of Maenius and Furius Camillus, heroes of Antium, exalted and exaggerated the dictator's role in the outcome. As represented on *aurei* minted by A. Manlius, quaestor in 80 (Fig. 5.20), he was clad in a military *sagum* (mantle) and, seated on a horse at rest, his arm raised in address. A departure from the warrior pose of earlier equestrian statues shown on coins (such as that of Q. Marcius Tremulus erected in front of the Temple Castor in *ca.* 306, on a coin of L. Marcius Philippus of 113/112), the sculpture more closely resembled a fragmentary equestrian statue of King Demetrius Poliorcetes of *ca.* 303–302, found in the Athenian Agora.¹⁶⁴ Static and commanding, an image of stolid authority, it stood sentinel over *contiones*, gleaming gold against the masonry of the senate house. An inscription named him *L. Cornelius L. f. Sullae Felici Imperatori*



Figs. 5.18a–c Rostra, ca. 81, (a) reconstruction of the east end; (b) axonometric view of the remains of the west end, with the reconstructed *Lapis Niger*; (c) axonometric reconstruction of the west end (Carla Maria Amici)

(according to Appian) or perhaps *L. Cornelius L. f. Sulla Felix Dictator* (the legend on coins).¹⁶⁵

The pomerial extension propagated a similar message. Literary sources attribute the right of *prolatio* (*ius pomerii proferendi*) to those who increased the city's inhabitable space or augmented the *ager Romanus* through conquest, both of which conditions Sulla could claim to have met.¹⁶⁶ The ceremony was highly ritualized and performative: girding his toga and drawing it over his head in the style of the ancient Gabines, the protagonist yoked a white bull and cow to a bronze ploughshare and cut a furrow around the city, to purify and protect the territory within. Great crowds must have assembled to watch, and as in later years, inscribed boundary markers probably memorialized the event.¹⁶⁷

If these civic projects fortified Sulla's policy, at the same time, a theme of catharsis and rebirth seems to have permeated them, as it did his sacred architecture. This is most apparent in work on the sewers, which suggested a

purging of the city's miasma; but the pomerial extension was also redolent with meaning. An act of refreshment, it was simultaneously one of separation, setting Sulla's own armed transgression in the past and resealing the boundary against future breaches by Roman troops. Romans attributed the first *pomerium* to Romulus at the time of the city's founding and an extension to Servius Tullius, and since both events hovered in the hallowed past, by implication, this first *prolatio* of the historical period was a return to origins. Sulla was Rome's refounder.¹⁶⁸

As with temples, moreover, certain buildings may have been deliberately chosen for their recent history. It was at the Curia, for instance, in 82, that, at Marius' instruction, a praetor, L. Iunius Brutus Damasippus, called a meeting as a trap for high-ranking Sullans. C. Papirius Carbo Arvina and P. Antistius, tribunes in 90/89 and 88, were assassinated in their seats, L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, consul of 94, as he fled through the door; Mucius Scaevola, consul of 95 and *pontifex maximus*, escaped as far as the Temple



Fig. 5.19 *Lapis Niger*, ca. 81, actual state (Penelope Davies su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Soprintendenza Speciale per il Colosseo, il Museo Romano e l'Area archeologica di Roma)



Fig. 5.20 *Aureus* minted by A. Manlius in 80, with a reverse image of the equestrian statue of Sulla. British Museum (© Trustees of the British Museum)

of Vesta before he too was felled.¹⁶⁹ The demolition of the Curia, now over 400 years old, erased those events from communicative circulation. Its replacement, like the restored Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, marked a new day, a Republic reborn, and its name, the Curia Cornelia, identified the agent for the renaissance.¹⁷⁰

The Rostra, too, had seen its share of horrors. In a chilling distortion of the tradition of honoring martyrs with statues on the platform, in 87, Marius and Cinna had installed there a gruesome display of their enemies'

severed heads; particularly poignant was that of the consul, Octavius, a macabre companion piece for a statue of his homonymous antecedent, placed there in 162.¹⁷¹ Five years later, Sulla had posted proscription lists at the Rostra, with the disembodied heads of his own choice victims, including the younger Marius.¹⁷² Superimposed upon the old, a fresh Rostra implied a fresh start. The treatment of the archaic altar monument on the Rostra reinforced this impression. The black stone that covered it, a vivid contrast to the creamy travertine all around, overwrote the altar visibly to highlight its absence and the act of its concealment (Fig. 5.19). Ancient authors disagreed over its original function: Varro, writing before its burial, saw it as Romulus' tomb, guarded by stone lions, while Festus, citing the late first-century scholar Verrius Flaccus, described it as a place connected with death, a *locus funestus* designed as Romulus' sepulcher but used for his foster father Faustulus or for Hostilius, grandfather of Tullus Hostilius. What they concurred on was its antiquity.¹⁷³ Its ritualized termination may have signaled the end of the first age of Rome.

The 70s, Consuls and/or Praetors

After Sulla's retirement, it was not censors who assumed control of civic works projects but consuls, and perhaps praetors. As rivalry was rekindled, they directed their energies at aggressive self-advancement; and since, in the face of persistent opposition, their safety resided, in large part, in Sulla's authority, they also underlined his policies even while slowly adapting them to the realities of



Fig. 5.21 *Denarius* minted by M. Aemilius Lepidus in 61, with a reverse image of the Basilica Aemilia (Numismatica Ars Classica NAC AG, Auction 63, lot 288)

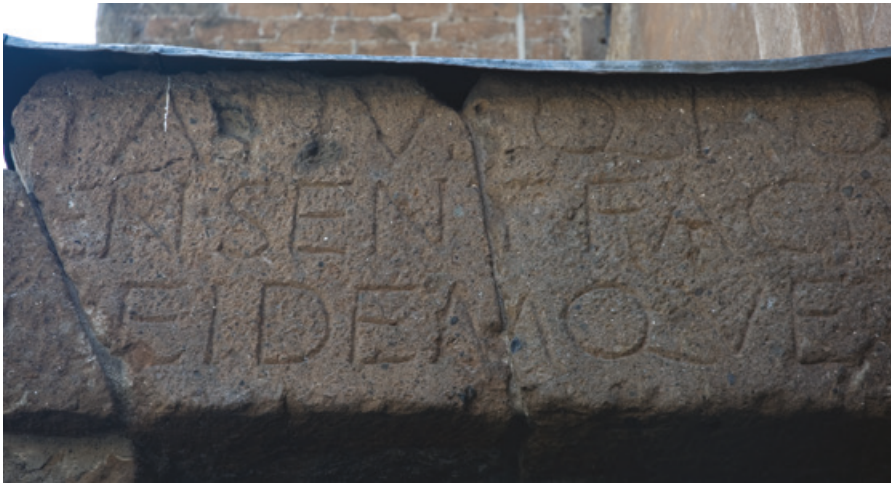


Fig. 5.22 Inscription detailing construction sponsored by Lutatius Catulus in 78. Capitoline. Rome, Musei Capitolini (Penelope Davies)

political life. Some of their works appear, like Sulla's, to have been aimed at managing civic memory.

Two initiatives of the 70s made an appeal to the prestige of patrician lineage. As consul in 79, according to Pliny, Ap. Claudius Pulcher mounted shields, emblazoned with portraits, in his ancestor's Temple of Bellona. He "desired them to be in full view on an elevated spot, and the inscriptions stating their honours to be read. This is a seemly device, especially if miniature likenesses of a swarm of children at the sides display a sort of brood of nestlings."¹⁷⁴ Again according to Pliny, as consul the following year – and presumably before the conflict that led to his exile – Aemilius Lepidus followed suit: he set up portrait shields in the Basilica Aemilia, as the Basilica Fulvia came to be known either at this point or a few decades later, and a *denarius* minted

in 61 by his homonymous son or brother shows the shields decorating the attic level of the interior or the north side (Fig. 5.21).¹⁷⁵ The shields evoked an earlier era, when in 308 Papirius Cursor displayed Samnite shields on the *tabernae argentariae*.

Pliny considers these installations private.¹⁷⁶ The portraits on the shields probably represented a long chain of family members, and thus staked a gentilician claim on a building first contracted by Fulvius Nobilior, co-censor with Aemilius Lepidus' homonymous ancestor by adoption. At the same time, they, and perhaps the restoration, came in the context of Sulla's judicial reform. An obvious benefit to senators, a return to senatorial juries for criminal courts could be framed as a public benefit by maintaining that elected officials, bound by gratitude to the electorate, would more reliably work toward popular goals than equestrians, who were motivated by self-interest.¹⁷⁷

Construction on the Capitoline saddle was more overtly insistent on Sulla's legacy. As

building progressed on the *substructio*, a contract was probably let for an office for the mint, which in Livy's time accompanied the Temple of Juno Moneta. An earlier facility, perhaps beneath the *substructio*, may have burnt in the fire of 83.¹⁷⁸ One hypothesis places this new mint in the north rooms of the *substructio* (Figs. 5.3, 5.12a), from which coins could be securely transported through the lower corridor to the treasury's annex in the Southwest Building.¹⁷⁹ It might make sense, however, to envisage it on top of the substructure with the Temple of Juno Moneta, perhaps to the rear of the platform; as at the Sanctuary of Magna Mater, the platform probably accommodated structures related to the cult. From there coins could still be conveyed to the Southwest Building through the corridor below. The north rooms, in turn, may have been the

archive for the mint;¹⁸⁰ and read as a quasi-hendiadys, the words *substructionem et tabularium* in the lost inscription could describe the substructure (the mass) and the rooms contained within it (the voids).

The establishment of a new mint, if it occurred, probably accompanied an increased, more regulated pattern of emission;¹⁸¹ at the least, it communicated the intention to produce coins and, by implication, the treasury's solvency. In doing so, it aimed to allay collective concerns over the economy, while promoting Sullan policy. Sponsor of the *substructio*, likely as not Lutatius Catulus also let the contracts for attendant buildings such as the mint, which were probably named in separate inscriptions; such a text, etched over three voussoir blocks, was found in the northeastern sector of the "Tabularium" in 1845. Restored to a lintel on the north side, it refers to Lutatius Catulus' contract for an unspecified building (Fig. 5.22):

[QVINTVS LV]TATIVS Q(VINTI) F(ILIVS)
Q(VINTI) N(EPOS) C[ATVLVS CO(N)S(VL) |
DE S]EN(ATVS) SENT(ENTIA) FACIVNDV[M
COERAVIT] | EIDEMQVE PROB[AVIT].¹⁸²
[Q. Lutatius Catulus, son of Quintus, grandson of
Quintus, consul, by will of the senate let the contract
and approved it.]

A fragment of a third inscription, found on the impost of the lintel of the door on which this inscription was installed, reads —/VS | —/O | —/LAS | —/M | —/VNT. The third-person plural verb likely indicates a collaboration, perhaps between Lutatius Catulus and his co-consul, Aemilius Lepidus (or, less likely, his architect, Cornelius).¹⁸³ If the mint can be attributed to Lutatius Catulus, it too may have referred to the incident involving Marius Gratidianus.

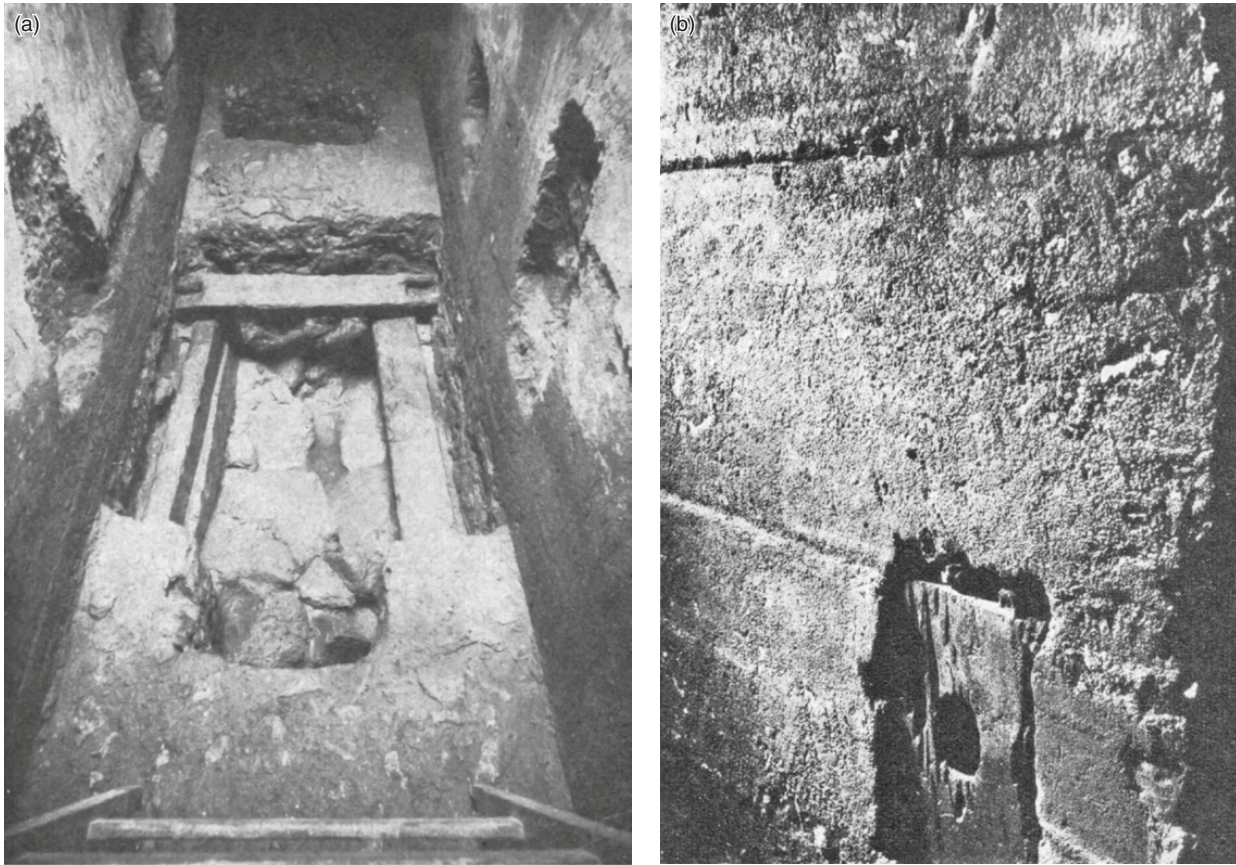
Meanwhile, a series of changes was taking place in the Forum (Fig. 5.15). At some point in the first half of the century, a row of *opus incertum* barrel-vaulted chambers was built as a substructure for a ramp between the sanctuary of Vesta and the Temple of Castor, from the Sacra Via to the higher Nova Via. Framed by tufo arches, the chambers were likely used as *tabernae*.¹⁸⁴ The principal modifications, however, concerned the piazza, and seem to have been instigated by C. Aurelius Cotta, consul of 75, and/or his brother M. Aurelius Cotta, consul the following year; they may have been praetors in 78 and 77 respectively, so the projects likely belong between 78 and 74. On a number of occasions Cicero mentions a *tribunal Aurelium* used for trials, and a nearby staircase for spectators, the

gradus Aurelii, which, probably built of wood in the form of a grandstand, was new at the time of C. Iunius' trial in 74.¹⁸⁵ The staircase stands out against the backdrop of the prohibition on permanent seating: it encouraged people to step up to their collective role as witnesses, which, according to a frustrated Cicero, they did:

Those steps of Aurelius ... appeared as if they had been built on purpose for a theatre for the display of that tribunal. And when the prosecutor had filled them with men in a state of great excitement, there was not only no opportunity of speaking in favor of the defendant, but none of even rising up to speak.¹⁸⁶

Together, the tribunal and the stairs were probably located at the east end of the Forum, near the Temple of Castor, and removed the praetors' activities from the Comitium area, where crowds at tribunes' *contiones* were often noisy and difficult to contain; the need for separation may have grown acute with the tribunes' re-empowerment through the *lex Aurelia* of 75.¹⁸⁷

More radical was a grand reconception of the central area of the Forum. Framed by basilicas on the long sides, by Opimius' buildings on the west, and with the solid wall of the *substructio* rising behind, the piazza itself was probably repaved at this time with travertine slabs. Parts of the surface survive (Paving VI), and a fragment of Festus, once amended, suggests the hand of a Cotta.¹⁸⁸ As part of the same initiative, presumably, the Lacus Curtius was restructured in travertine.¹⁸⁹ Moreover, beneath the Forum pavement, at a depth of 3.50 meters, a network of galleries was excavated, retained with concrete and travertine walls and sealed with waterproof cement. A vaulted corridor ran the length of the Forum, accessed at the west end, and intersected at 15-meter intervals by four perpendicular galleries. Modest rooms were built at the end of these galleries and in three additional places, and furnished with drainage wells, some with small annexes. In each room, there was also a rectangular slab of travertine at the center of the floor, with a pivot hole; these and other insets in the walls and floors were housing for wooden machinery, remnants of which were still in evidence at excavation. Archaeologists reconstruct the equipment as a system of elevators operated by teams of men turning winches (Figs. 5.23a–b and 5.24). Rising into the Forum through twelve vertical shafts and hatches rimmed with travertine, they transported men or small animals into the piazza during gladiatorial shows.¹⁹⁰



Figs. 5.23a–b Galleries under the Forum pavement, 78–74? Evidence of machinery at the time of excavation (Carettoni 1956–59, figs. 6–7)

Gladiatorial games were first staged in Rome at D. Brutus Pera's funeral in 264. They had an obvious public dimension, yet they were provided by elite families in honor of their dead, not by the state. From at least 216, when the sons of M. Aemilius Lepidus, consul of 232, celebrated the memory of their late father, the Forum and the Forum Boarium were their primary venue.¹⁹¹ Temporary viewing stands were erected around the piazza, and the *maeniana* offered a premium vantage point. As all types of games grew more sensationalized, one of the Aurelii Cottae apparently used his mandate to furnish the arena with a new surface for combat, and galleries for dramatic flourish. Because of the immense popularity of gladiatorial games, and their useful emphasis on lineage, people offered them at strategic moments for career advancement, often some time after the death they ostensibly commemorated; it is therefore conceivable that in one of their terms of office the Aurelii Cottae celebrated *munera* in honor of

their father, L. Aurelius Cotta, consul of 119, whose date of death is unknown.

As the agents behind the Forum project, the Aurelii Cottae won acclaim for themselves, but this does not preclude a broader purpose. Along with other Sullans, they stood to gain by erasing civil war atrocities and restoring stable civic processes, and to this end the Forum initiatives made a persuasive contribution to the conservative agenda. As violence escalated in the city, more often than not the Forum was its setting: struggles broke out there before the deaths of Saturninus and Servilius Glaucia in 100, and again when tumult crested in 87 and 82. During the worst conflicts the Forum's normal functions were grimly subverted. Vicious fighting among elite Romans and hired ruffians usurped the place of staged contests between trained gladiators; would-be magistrates pushed their way into power in the spaces of lawful electoral canvassing; trials were sidestepped, and proscription lists posted death sentences among routine announcements of jury appointments and

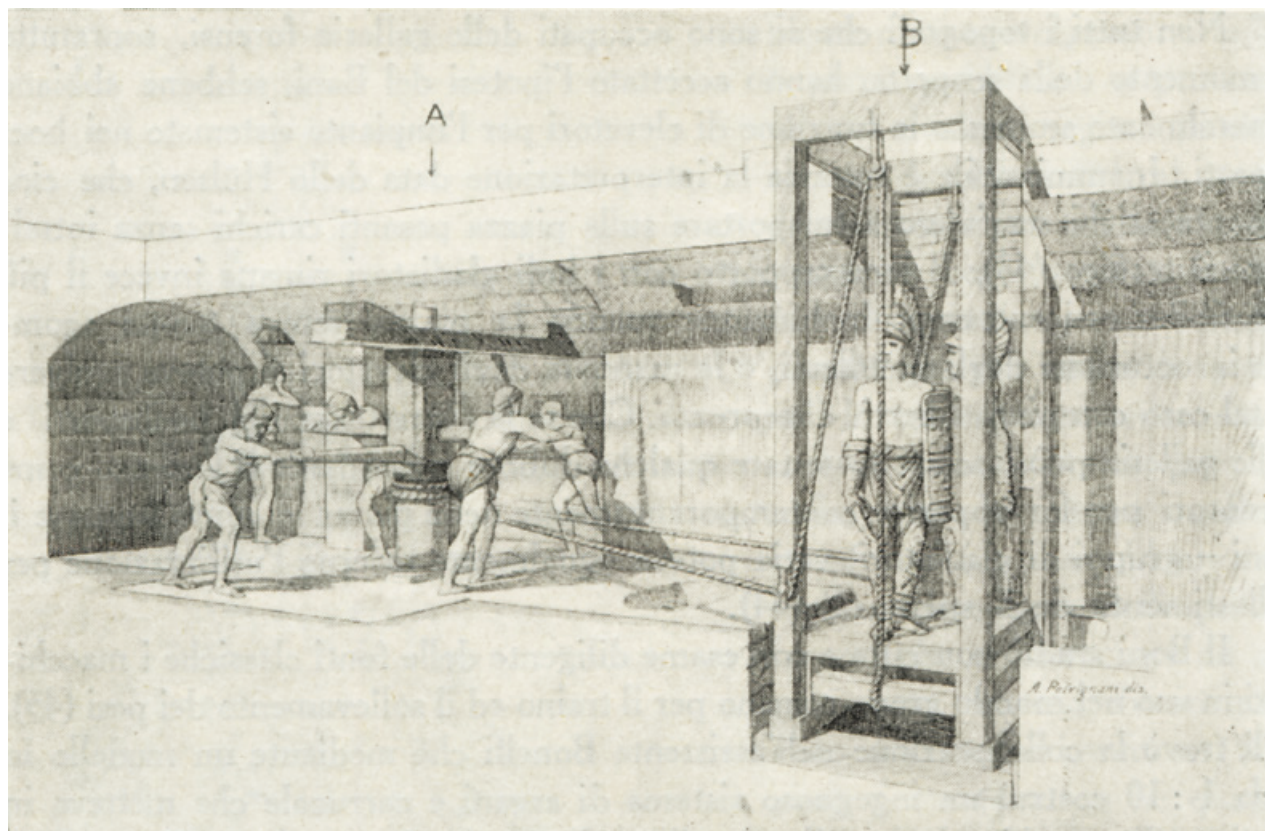


Fig. 5.24 Galleries under the Forum pavement, 78–74 (?) Hypothetical reconstruction (Carettoni 1956–59, fig. 13)

public works contracts. Confiscated property was auctioned amidst daily money trading; and a sinister display of the heads of the hunted formed a chilling twist on elite eulogies for the dead. In the light of recent events, of the terrible costs of civil war and Sulla's process for ending it, the Forum refurbishment was another powerful directive toward collective oblivion. Even underfoot, creamy white, and easily cleaned with run-off from fountains, the pavement's effect must have been stunning. Its color harmonized with the light stone and stucco of contingent temples and basilicas to unify the piazza. This new, washable pavement literally buried the memories; it cleansed the physical center of Rome's constitution, underscoring the Forum's restored function as a place of organized combat, civil processes, and controlled punishment.

Aediles

Judging by available evidence, after Sulla's resignation, aediles resumed the competitive use of their mandate.

For the *ludi* that fell within their jurisdiction, standards of lavishness inched steadily upwards, and they embellished public spaces to match increasingly novel juxtapositions of animals, such as elephants and bulls in the aedileship of Licinius Lucullus and M. Terentius Varro Lucullus in 79.¹⁹² Aedile in 75, Hortensius Hortalus borrowed Asian and Achaean artworks from Verres for the Forum and the Comitium, "a decoration splendid to the eye" as Cicero bitterly recalled.¹⁹³

Games were a distraction from life's realities; more pressing was the grain supply, long the aediles' domain but recently appropriated by tribunes, and one aedile at least seems to have taken on the issue aggressively. In 1911, excavations in the region of the *Navalia* and the *Horrea Galbana* exposed remains of an *opus reticulatum* structure. Too fragmentary to yield a form, they are nevertheless associated with nearby inscriptions that name a *Horrea Seiana*, usually linked with M. Seius, aedile in 74.¹⁹⁴ Its construction fell amidst fresh anxiety over the food supply. In 87 Marius had captured Ostia, where

Rome usually stockpiled grain. With Sertorius, he cut off the capital from its provisions and thereby exposed its shocking vulnerability to famine.¹⁹⁵ As dictator, Sulla addressed this weakness: he was probably responsible for walls around Ostia to protect the stores, and by sending Pompey to wrest Sicily and North Africa from the Marians he took steps to secure the harvest and the shipping lanes for supplementary grain from Egypt and Thessaly. Troops were deployed to Sardinia and Corsica for the same purpose. Yet even while increasing supply, Sulla also abolished subsidies, and this became a rallying point for Aemilius Lepidus after Sulla's death.¹⁹⁶ During a food shortage in 75, furious crowds even attacked the consuls, C. Aurelius Cotta and Octavius, on the Sacra Via. Two rival advocates saved the day: quaestor in Sicily, Cicero secured grain, and Hortensius Hortalus released city stores below market price.¹⁹⁷ When the widely unpopular Seius became aedile the following year, he used state funds or his own resources, or a combination of the two, to offer all citizens grain and oil at reduced prices, and the warehouse may have accompanied this policy. The act of generosity brought him extravagant acclaim: statues honored him on the Capitol and the Palatine, and when he died crowds bore him to his pyre on their shoulders.¹⁹⁸

Tribunes

In his life of M. Porcius Cato Uticensis, grandson of the censor of 184, Plutarch describes his protagonist's reluctant venture from a life of philosophical solitude into the Forum, an episode that probably occurred in the 70s. What spurred him to action was a plan mooted by the tribunes to remove or relocate a pier in the Basilica Porcia, where they had taken to conducting business, ostensibly because it stood in the way of their seats.¹⁹⁹ Cato's eloquence won the day and prevented the modification. Nonetheless, the scheme fits a Gracchan mold: lacking a building mandate, and hobbled by Sulla's reforms, the tribunes tried to exercise a subversive form of architectural manipulation: an act of destruction in an iconic conservative building.

Archaeological and literary evidence suggests that, as dictator, Sulla deployed civic architecture to lend physical form and permanence to the reforms that framed his vision of a restored Republic – rooted in the *mos maiorum*, anchored by a strong senate and supported

by a loyal citizenry. He also used it to instill a sense of separation from the civil war and to reinforce the notion of a new age dawning. In the following decade, as consuls and/or praetors strove for prestige through civic commissions, they underscored Sulla's reforms and, following his lead, seemingly labored to set recent atrocities firmly in the past. Like the *optimates* of the post-Gracchan period, they also showed themselves to be engaged with two of the people's core concerns, the economy and entertainment, while aediles trained their sights on settings for games and the food supply. Though thwarted, tribunes, meanwhile, tried to subvert the language of authority as exercised through architecture. Focus on the Forum and contingent areas, where Romans expressed their will through elections and also, increasingly, though acts of political violence, remained intense.

CONCLUSIONS

Patterns of architectural production in the 80s and 70s yield the impression of a friable state. Immediately after the Gracchi, building mandates had begun to break down, and in this respect the dictatorship proved no exception. A small handful of temples, a rebuilt senate house, Basilica Porcia (perhaps) and Comitium, a redefined *pomerium* and possibly sewer works, Sulla's projects were not as numerous as scholars often suppose. In quantity they did not set him apart from Fulvius Nobilior or Aemilius Lepidus over the course of their long careers; they were not architecturally daring or innovative, nor were they unusually ambitious in scale. Yet whereas previous dictators only engaged in building as a corollary to the more urgent task at hand (such as Fabius Maximus, who in 217 reinforced the walls under Hannibalic threat), Sulla assumed the construction mandates of all the relevant magistracies. As a result he instigated more building in a condensed period than any earlier magistrate, setting in motion a surge of construction that gave the urban plebs employment. The concentration of building power, in itself, fortified his atypical status; and at the same time, it established new standards for self-promotion through architecture and weakened the state's constraints. Beyond that, his initiatives were symbolic. The Capitoline Temple, the Curia, the Comitium, and the *pomerium* hit at the heart of Rome's central institutions and, all at once, made incursions into the dominant realms of public life – the religious, the civic, and the judicial. In these realms,

they gave Sulla's reforms solidity and permanence. All the buildings he restored, moreover, belonged to, and formally echoed, the earliest days of the Republic; they referred back to, but obscured continuity with, its origins. The rupture implied that the political elite had strayed from the *mos maiorum*, and gave him freedom of rein in restoring the state.²⁰⁰

Conscious, perhaps, of the city's war-weariness, Sulla did not engage in ostentatious manubial building of the kind undertaken in the second century, despite his success in dealing with Mithridates and his celebration of an exuberant, booty-laden triumph. In fact, through his buildings he negotiated a careful message on the civil war (which, in his triumph, he subsumed into the Mithridatic War), forging an artificial separation between himself and his opponents in both character and time. His architecture championed the notion of a true Republic, now cleansed and refounded in the mold of tradition; a new age had begun, with a new citizenry, a strengthened senate, the patronage of the state's chief god, and the favor of the heavens at large. Through his buildings, Sulla justified his own role in the war and its difficult resolution: casting himself as the custodian of the *pax deorum*, he was at once Hercules, Romulus, Servius Tullius, and Brutus – hero, city founder, giver of law, founder of the Republic. In a sense, Sulla's buildings answered the call of the people at his triumph when, echoing the Greeks' exaltation of Alexander and Mithridates, they proclaimed him father, *pater*.²⁰¹ In this much, his buildings helped to open the door to kingship.

After Sulla's resignation and subsequent death, building processes did not return to previous norms. Consuls and praetors, now more present in Rome, seem to have behaved more like censors and aediles of earlier years. Lutatius Catulus, for one, built on a huge scale (and perhaps with a personal agenda), made possible by his close association with the dictator and by the speed and economy of concrete construction. Just as Sulla

had carved a gulf between himself and his adversaries, in fact, so, through temple renovations and public works in the Forum, his successors strove to manage civic memory and their own complex place within it, editing the dictator's atrocities out of civic consciousness. At the same time, they used building projects to underline and protect the reforms that legitimized and strengthened their position. They deployed temple restorations – conservative in concept and in form – to characterize themselves as traditional Republicans, adherent to the *mos maiorum* and responsible for the *pax deorum*, as dictated by Sulla's reforms of the priesthoods. In at least one case, the putative Temple of Juno Moneta, architectural form expressed this hierarchy of access and authority.

Thus established, their conservative credentials provided the same magistrates – Lutatius Catulus, the Aurelii Cottae – with a foil for initiatives that were manifestly populist, mobilizing crowds in their favor as cohesion in elite ranks weakened: thus they established a firm presence in the “theatricalized” space of the Forum, and emphasized entertainment, food, and the economy.²⁰² Their special emphasis on the needs and pleasures of the urban plebs corresponds with the decade when the people's representatives, the tribunes, and their attempted initiatives, were neutralized; consul/praetors and aediles seem to have moved seamlessly into the vacuum, expropriating progressive issues. Through this two-pronged approach the *optimates* could present themselves not simply as conservatives intent on nurturing Rome's revival after the struggles of the previous decade, but as statesmen who understood and catered to non-elite concerns without yielding to demagoguery – of which, by implication, they accused their opponents. At the same time, the dual agendas of traditionalism and professed attention to popular concerns nudged the magistrate's role ever closer to caretaker or *pater* of the Republic.

SIX

POMPEY, CAESAR, AND RIVALS: *ca.* 69–55

POLITICAL FRAMEWORK

Foreign Conflict

During Sulla's dictatorship, the young Pompey had begun to show his mettle, and his subsequent ascent, in the 60s, was as spectacular as it was unconstitutional. At the end of his consulship in 70, he refused to withdraw to his appointed province; setting his sights on the command against Mithridates, he started machinations to remove Lucullus, who had held it since 74. Plutarch describes a praetor of 68, perhaps L. Quinctius, alleging that Lucullus was treating Mithradatic territory as his personal pillaging ground, and equestrians and troops alike lodged accusations that he was prolonging the war for his own glory. Soon his commands in Cilicia, Bithynia, and Pontus were reassigned. For Pompey, opportunity presented itself in the failure of Antonius and his son to check the pirates, who, with Mithridates' collusion, were raiding shrines in Greece and Asia Minor; they even targeted Italy, where they took captives (including Caesar and P. Clodius) and threatened Rome's corn supply.¹ Tribune in 67, A. Gabinius proposed a law to concentrate extraordinary power in one man to control them, a post that was tailor-made for Pompey. Grain was the people's issue, overseas trade the equestrians', and after a violent standoff with the senate, hordes of voters passed the bill into law; a second law named Pompey to the task and allotted him unprecedented resources. In the space of three months he cleared the Mediterranean of piracy and stood poised to assume further command.² In December of 67, another tribune, C. Manilius, proposed that he be assigned Cilicia, Bithynia, and Pontus, along with the mission against Mithridates. Astounding authority accompanied the post: *imperium maius* over other regional governors, and autonomy to declare war and

peace on Rome's behalf.³ By the end of 66 Mithridates had been driven from Asia Minor and Tigranes reduced to a Roman dependent. Turning his campaign against Albania and Iberia, Pompey established a protective buffer to the east and northeast of Pontus, and subjugated Antiochus of Commagene; while he was restructuring Judaea, Mithridates died. In spring of 62, Pompey began his return to Italy, and on reaching shore disbanded his troops.⁴

The campaign was a resounding success for Rome and Pompey alike. New provinces – Pontus, Bithynia, Asia, Cilicia, and Syria – ringed the south shore of the Black Sea and the coast of Asia Minor, and an inner ring of client kingdoms included Bosphorus, Colchis, Armenia Minor, Paphlagonia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Commagene, the Syrian and Cilician princedoms, Judaea, Armenia, and Sophrene.⁵ Pompey requisitioned huge tributes for the state, and for equestrians new territories promised profits in trade and tax farming. For himself, he established a vast *clientela* and amassed a fortune that made him the richest man in the city.⁶ Recognizing his achievements while he was still abroad, the tribunes proposed the unprecedented right to attend games in triumphal dress (an honor he purportedly exploited on a single occasion) and the theater in a *toga praetexta* and golden crown; despite opposition, their motion passed. For his part, Cicero suggested expanding the usual one- to two-day supplications to ten and twelve days.⁷ On his return Pompey celebrated the most spectacular triumph Romans had ever known.

In Rome

During Pompey's absence, Rome was unsettled. In 70, a surge of Italians had enrolled as citizens in the first

census since 86. They swelled the teeming *vici*, and compounded existing underemployment and debt problems. Many lacked bonds of obligation, so the political elite fought aggressively for their support. Bribery grew rampant. The *lex Calpurnia de ambitu* of 67 disqualified those found guilty of electoral corruption from public office, with scandalous results: in 65, both consuls-elect (P. Autronius Paetus and P. Cornelius Sulla) were convicted and went into exile. Violence became commonplace in voting arenas where, increasingly, members of the political elite mobilized teams of supporters to achieve physical domination.⁸ Their power restored, tribunes seem to have been the principal agents of change, and some, beginning with Manilius in 67, stoked a political consciousness that was smoldering in the *vici* and exploited its subversive potential.⁹ A handful of old patrician families – such as the Aemilii, the Claudii, the Corneli, and the Fabii – enjoyed sustained public loyalty, but their power, and the senate's domination as a whole, was apparently in decline.¹⁰

In aspiring to authority through a constitutional means, Pompey was not alone. In 63, alarm spread through the city when L. Sergius Catilina, twice defeated in consular elections, plotted a coup against the government, and sympathetic rebellions broke out in Etruria and Transalpine Gaul. Informed of the threats by Cicero, the senate passed a *senatus consultum ultimum*, and on their apprehension the conspirators were sentenced to the *ultima poena*: at the senate's instruction Cicero ordered that they should be strangled in the prison. Escorted home as a hero, he was hailed as *pater patriae*, the father of his country. Yet support was not unanimous. The tribune Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos urged that Pompey be recalled and accused Cicero of violating provocation laws; stationing troops outside the city, Cicero countered that anyone who condemned those responsible for the Catilinarians' fate should be named an enemy of state. Only with a second *senatus consultum ultimum* was violence quashed.¹¹

In the same year, Caesar, now moving into the foreground of politics, backed the tribune T. Labienus in a law to restore the priesthoods to election rather than co-optation, and in a surprise landslide won the role of *pontifex maximus*.¹² In 61 he left to govern Hispania Ulterior, and engaged with tribes in Portugal and northwest Spain. On his return the following year, in a calculated gamble he ceded a triumph by crossing the *pomerium* to run for consul. As consul-designate, he

then approached Pompey and M. Licinius Crassus to propose an informal coalition (the "First Triumvirate"), cemented the following year through the marriage of his daughter, Julia, to Pompey.¹³

Caesar's tumultuous consulship in 59 dealt a grievous blow to the senate's authority. One of his first acts was to have the daily proceedings of the senate and assembly posted publicly, making both bodies accountable for their acts. He streamlined voter registration rolls, and put an end to Cicero's post-Catilinarian witch-hunts.¹⁴ His *modus operandi* was intimidation and violence, and both were on full display in a series of events that came to shape his future. To honor the terms of the triumviral alliance, he tried to strong-arm into law the land grants Pompey had requested for his veterans, as well as his eastern *acta*, both of which the senate had resolutely denied.¹⁵ Opposed to the agrarian bill, Cato, the conservative voice of the senate, filibustered the debate, whereupon Caesar had him arrested and removed to prison. In solidarity, the rest of the senate followed.¹⁶ When Caesar then proposed a popular vote, his co-consul, M. Calpurnius Bibulus, promised to watch for inauspicious signs in advance of any assembly. Caesar packed the streets with Pompey's veterans, who controlled the city with terror. Forcing his way through them to the Temple of Castor, Bibulus was heaped with excrement, and fighting kept him from delivering his *obnuntiatio*. When the bill passed and Caesar called on the senators to swear obedience, Bibulus boycotted public life, and devoted his consular year to scanning the heavens, pronouncing adverse omens to challenge the validity of Caesar's entire legislation.¹⁷

The disruptions continued. Caesar had invited Cicero to join the coalition, but the latter, having declined, spoke out forcefully against it. To diminish Cicero's influence with the senate, Caesar therefore facilitated the rise of his adversary, Clodius, who had soared to infamy through a scandal in December 62, when as a quaestor-elect he was caught intruding on all-female nocturnal rites in honor of Bona Dea at Caesar's home, disguised as a woman, and through his conduct at the ensuing trial.¹⁸ By 59 Clodius enjoyed widespread senatorial backing as a spoiler for the triumvirs, and an eager following among the lowest social ranks in the *vici*, the *infima plebs*, earned by championing popular issues. With Caesar presiding as *pontifex maximus*, and Pompey in attendance as augur, Clodius changed his status from patrician to plebeian, an extraordinary move

that enabled him to stand for tribune. Winning the post easily for 58, he used it to challenge the leading senators of the day through unusually aggressive tactics.¹⁹ His first acts, among them a free monthly corn dole at enormous cost to the state, were aimed at rewarding the *vici* for their support.²⁰ Early in his tenure he also secured from a reluctant senate a law that condemned Cicero to exile for executing the Catilinarians without trial.²¹ He then turned his attack on Pompey, and with the backing of the *plebs urbana* and much of the senate managed to immobilize the most powerful man in Rome and take control of the city.²² Because Caesar supported Pompey, Clodius also threatened to annul his consular *acta*.²³

When his tribunate ended, Clodius lost his advantage. Though he fought to block Cicero's recall, two tribunes, T. Annius Milo and P. Sestius, raised gangs and fought back. For the vote, Pompey mobilized additional support from the municipalities, and his move paid well: when, immediately after Cicero's return, a food shortage occurred and the plebs and some of the *boni* called for Pompey's intervention, a grateful Cicero championed him for an extraordinary five-year *cura annonae* that named him to *omnis potestas rei frumentariae toto orbe terrarum* (complete control over the corn supply throughout the entire world).²⁴ A riposte to Clodius' dole, the charge allowed Pompey to demonstrate his talents in Rome, not just in the provinces, and to reposition himself as the people's politician.²⁵ Still, his recovery was short-lived: by early 56, the senate denied requests by the ousted Egyptian king, Ptolemy Auletes, to be reinstated by Pompey, and grew frustrated with his lack of leadership in discussions of Caesar's land laws. His popularity with the non-elite waned as well when he proved unequal to the task of controlling the streets except by opposing gangs with more gangs.²⁶

In return for support over his land grants in 59, Pompey had helped to ensure Caesar the governorship of Gaul and Illyricum for an astounding five years, and in 58 Caesar departed from Rome.²⁷ His unscrupulousness as consul had alienated the senate majority and cost him support among the people, to whom his tenure had delivered little benefit. Large segments of the equestrian order had also turned against him.²⁸ In his absence, his enemies closed in: a tribune attempted to have him recalled to face trial for his conduct as consul, and L. Domitius Ahenobarbus resolved to end his governorship. Recognizing that he needed to stay away from Rome until a second

consulship guaranteed him immunity from prosecution, and planning new campaigns in Britain, Germany, and the Balkans, in 56 Caesar met with Crassus and Pompey at consecutive conferences in Ravenna and Luca. The triumvirate regrouped and decided on a five-year command for each of its members – Caesar in Gaul, Crassus in Syria, and Pompey in Spain – and that Pompey and Crassus should be the consuls of 55.²⁹ Present at the meetings was Clodius' brother, Ap. Claudius Pulcher, who assured the triumvirs of his family's cooperation.³⁰ Caesar's command was forced through the senate in the summer of 56, but the triumvirs' scheme was only realized in full by obstructing elections until early in 55 and then inciting violence to keep hostile voters away. Cato intoned that the Republic's liberty was at stake, and the senate dressed in mourning.³¹

During their second joint consulship, Pompey and Crassus took measures to reassert order in political and forensic life. They passed laws on electoral bribery, on the composition of juries, and on the exploitation of *collegia* (private voluntary associations, clubs, or guilds, of mostly lower class membership, including neighborhood associations) in canvassing. The most memorable event of the year was the dedication of Pompey's theater.³²

RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS

In the years between 69 and 55, the sponsorship of new temples remained infrequent, and renovations, too, seem to have slowed. Perhaps the restoration initiatives of the 70s had diminished the urgency for repairs, and/or construction crews were focused on Pompey's theater-portico complex, or perhaps, as extant evidence suggests, a deeper change was afoot. Of the meager restoration work that did take place, some has a decidedly populist character; more than that, it occurred alongside a new development in religious architecture: purposeful acts of destruction, orchestrated by a tribune. In fact, the sacred building activity of this period suggests that the conservative core of the senate, which lost its monopoly over religious matters with the resumption of priestly elections in 63, was under siege.³³ The value previously assigned to temple building, rebuilding, and embellishment – the preservation of the *mos maiorum* – was losing traction as a legitimizing message, and a new priority – gratifying the people – was taking its place (Fig. 6.1).



Fig. 6.1 Map of Rome, ca. 69–55 (Penelope Davies, Onur Öztürk, and Bogdan Perzyński)

New Foundations: Agent, Honorands, Design, Location

At most, two fully fledged temple foundations occurred, both the work of a single *triumphator*: Pompey. After his spectacular triumph, he expended spoils on a *delubrum* to Minerva.³⁴ Probably using *manubiae*, he also embarked on a vast complex on the Campus Martius, along the route of the triumphal parade, which included – as well as a stone theater, a porticoed garden, and a senate house – a votive temple to Venus Victrix. Ancient calendars record that Romans also performed sacrifices to Honos, Virtus, Felicitas, and perhaps Victoria (or another deity with a name beginning with V) at the theater, where these gods presumably had shrines.³⁵

Pompey's selection of honorands was a commentary on his military prowess. A martial goddess, Minerva made a natural choice for a votive. Moreover, she featured in the Capitoline triad alongside Jupiter and Juno, whose temples Sulla and Lutatius Catulus had magnificently restored. With the divinities at the theater complex, in turn, Pompey took a stand in two current discourses. One revolved around Venus, with whom Sulla had claimed a special affinity; by the time of Pompey's triumph, according to Suetonius, Caesar had also capitalized on a gentilian link to the goddess, in a eulogy for his aunt Julia delivered when he was a quaestor in 69:

The family of my aunt Julia is descended by her mother from the kings, and on her father's side is akin to the immortal Gods; for the Marcii Reges (her mother's family name) go back to Ancus Marcius, and the Julii, the family of which ours is a branch, to Venus. Our stock therefore has at once the sanctity of kings, whose power is supreme among mortal men, and the claim to reverence which attaches to the Gods, who hold sway over kings themselves.³⁶

Pompey's temple to Venus Victrix staked his claim to the goddess, in turn, and endowed her with an epithet that privileged her military quality. What attracted all three men to Venus was her link to Rome's origins: at a time when progressives and conservatives jostled to position themselves as the genuine Republicans, and when high-ranking magistrates like Sulla and Cicero

could be cast as enemies of state, Venus' validation was proof of *Romanitas*.³⁷

A second discourse was the perennial debate on ascribing credit for success on the battlefield. Where Claudius Marcellus and Marius, through temples to Honos and Virtus, had challenged first patrician and then optimate values by exalting their own agency, and where Sulla had credited his deeds to widespread divine favor and the gift of fortune, Pompey declined to choose: with subsidiary dedications to Felicitas, Honos, and Virtus he pronounced that, for him, the gift of divine charisma and personal talents were matched.

With regard to form and location, little is known of the *delubrum* to Minerva; it may have been an open-air precinct, or an *aedes* in a portico, and scholars variously place it at the foot of the Pincian hill, outside Porta Capena, or in the city center.³⁸ The Temple of Venus Victrix and the attendant shrines, Suetonius indicates, stood high up in Pompey's Theater, subordinated to the greater whole of the complex; judging by references in ancient sources, which privilege the theater over the temple, that subordination was reflected in Roman thought.³⁹ This much marks a change: though the complex combined religion and entertainment, a culmination of the *optimates'* two-pronged tactic, nevertheless, asserting authority through divine reverence now took second place to public gratification. Archaeologists surmise that the shrines were dispersed along an *ambulacrum* at the top of the *cavea* or auditorium, while the temple to Venus Victrix stood at its central axis, protruding either into the *cavea*,⁴⁰ or, more likely, beyond the external curve of the façade, where substructures beneath Palazzo Pio-Righetti extend westward and probably supported a platform for a huge building of peperino *opus quadratum*, originally reveted (Fig. 6.6).⁴¹ The foundations are consistent with indications of an apsidal structure on the *Forma Urbis*, measuring between 15 and 25 meters in width and lined with pilasters or buttresses (fragments 39a–c: Figs. 6.2 and 6.3a–d). If this is the Temple of Venus Victrix, it is the first known temple with an axial apse in Rome, a form that was also rare in pre-Roman Greece.⁴² One

New construction:

6.1 *Horti* of Lucullus

6.2 Theater-Portico Complex of Pompey

6.3 Pons Fabricius

6.4 Pons Cestius

6.5 Shrine of Libertas

Restoration:

1.9 Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus

2.28 Temple of Aesculapius

3.3 Temple D, Largo Argentina (Nymphs?)

3.26 Basilica Aemilia (Fulvia)

4.4 Trophy of Marius

4.7 *Fornix Fabianus*

4.11 Porticus of Catulus

Fig. 6.1 (cont.)

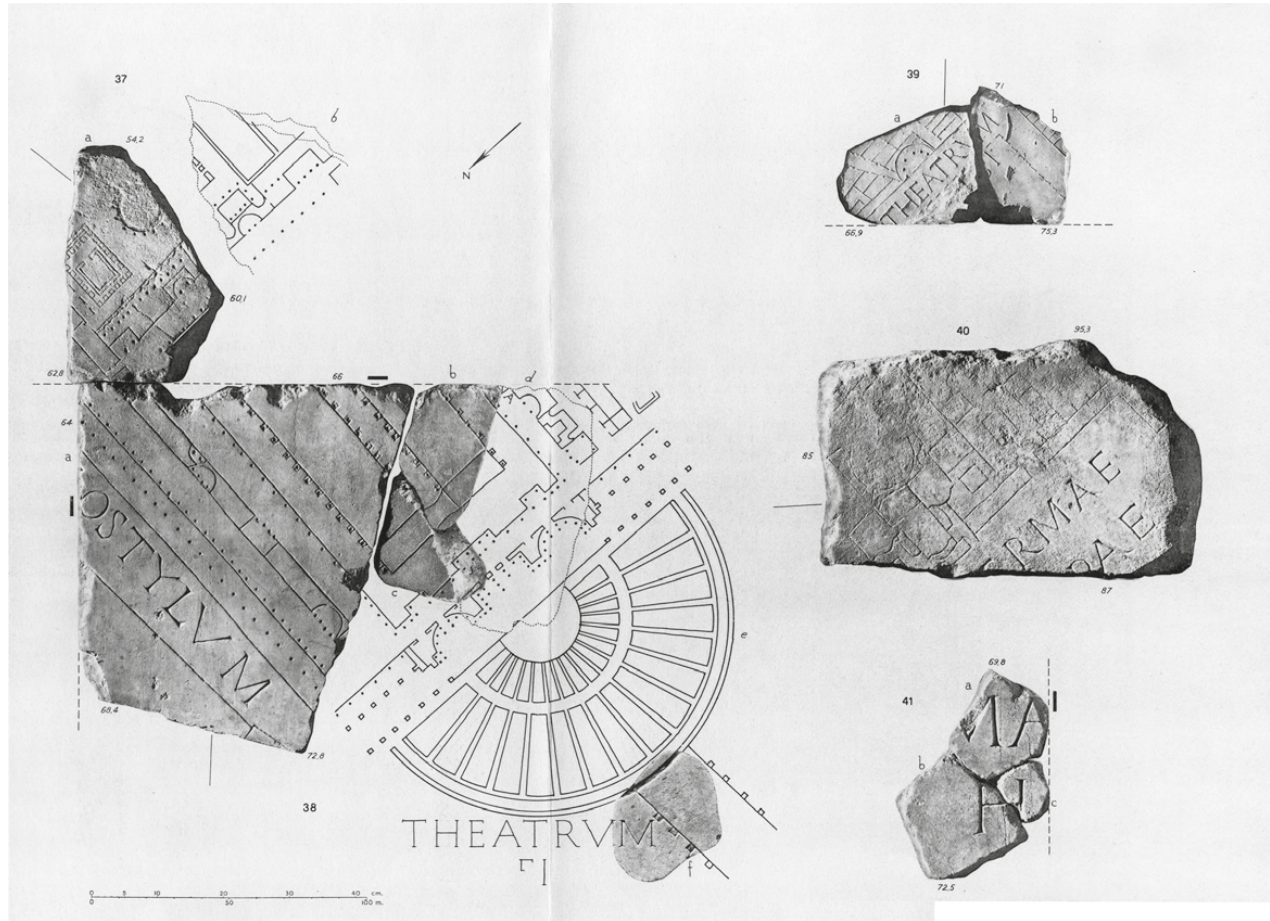


Fig. 6.2 *Forma Urbis Romae*, showing the Theater-Portico Complex of Pompey from Carettoni *et al.* 1960, plate 32 (© Roma, Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali)

hypothesis links it with Venus: an evocation of a shell, it referred to her birth from the seas.⁴³ Another envisages it as an enlarged version of the niches in domestic *lararia* or household shrines, which in imperial times exalted the divine ancestors of the emperors.⁴⁴ In the latter case, with the temple's design Pompey matched Caesar's claim to Venus as a forebear.

Expropriation, Destruction, Reconstruction

In the 60s and the first half of the 50s, magistrates targeted several existing temples for attention. These initiatives were not, for the most part, demonstrations of adherence to traditional values by conservatives. In fact, they seem to represent a backlash against the senatorial majority by individuals intent on garnering popularity through manifestly anti-conservative gestures.

At the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, rebuilding continued beyond the rededication in 69. According

to Dio, Lutatius Catulus was still overseeing the work in 62, when, as quaestor, Caesar denounced him:

He had been endeavoring to secure the removal of the name of Catulus from the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, charging him with embezzlement and demanding an account of the expenditures he had made, and to have Pompey entrusted with the construction of the remainder of the edifice; for many parts, considering the size and character of the work, were but half finished, or at any rate Caesar pretended this was the case, in order that Pompey might gain the glory for its completion and inscribe his own name instead. Caesar was not so anxious, however, to do him a favor that he would run the risk of having passed against himself any such decree as that concerning Nepos. For it was not really for Pompey's sake that he was doing this, but in order that he himself might win over the populace even by this means.⁴⁵

The episode underscores the prestige delivered by involvement in the project – but also signals that by this point, in



Figs. 6.3a–d *Forma Urbis Romae*, fragments 37a, 39ac, 39b, and 39f (Digital Forma Urbis Romae Project, Stanford University)

Dio's view at least, popularity with the people could be earned by denigrating the conservative core of the senate.

Judging by a lost inscription, the Temple of Aesculapius on Tiber Island also underwent renovation, probably at the instigation of an aedile named (Valerius?) Flaccus and a colleague.⁴⁶ Here, too, a populist agenda is likely. As part of the project, the island was reinforced with a travertine embankment that defined and enhanced its natural ship-like form, while simultaneously evoking the foundation

myth of Aesculapius' cult in Rome. At the southern tip of the island, the stone was carved to resemble the prow of a warship, part of which survives. Nearby, sculpted in relief, is a bust of Aesculapius holding his caduceus (Figs. 6.4a–b), and a bull's head mooring fixture. Sixteenth-century drawings show that the island's north end was once carved in the form of a ship's stern.⁴⁷ Of the many prayers that Romans offered their gods, most appealed for the restoration of health, and copious inscribed



Fig. 6.4a–b Reliefs depicting a ship's prow and a figure of Aesculapius, *ca.* 60–50. Isola Tiberina (Penelope Davies)

ex-votos found near the temple site suggest that, from the moment of the cult's introduction, the vast majority of its devotees were freedmen or slaves.⁴⁸ As diverse forms of medicine gained a foothold in the city, especially during and after the sojourn there of the Greek physician, Asclepiades of Cos, around the end of the second century and the beginning of the first, a gulf opened between rich and poor with regard to available healthcare options. Notoriously expensive, physicians were the privilege of the wealthy; the rest relied on faith healing and Aesculapius worship.⁴⁹ The temple's restoration, well advertised by the glowing white embankment walls and the healing god's image, gave the agents the authority implicit in serving the gods, but acknowledged, first and foremost, the people's reliance on the medicine cult.

None played to the populace so aggressively as Clodius, as he maneuvered to diminish his eminent rivals. Lacking a building mandate as tribune in 58, he nevertheless exploited the symbolic power of architecture as a polarizing force. Like C. Gracchus in 123–122, and as attempted by the tribunes in the 70s, he engaged in calculated acts of destruction that functioned as an analogy for the reduction of his adversaries, and implied the people's opposition to prevailing authorities.⁵⁰ By Cicero's account, as urban violence escalated, he and his gangs picked the Temple of Castor in the Forum as a rallying point and as an arsenal for munitions. Their choice – a usurpation of the seat of the consuls and the senate's bastion – spoke volumes. At one point, apparently, they even tore up the temple's steps:⁵¹ a denial of entrance, their vandalism both defended their headquarters and, symbolically, reversed traditional hierarchies of access to the gods and authority.

With the support of the consuls, L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus and Gabinius, Clodius also declared that his *lex exsilio Ciceronis* authorized him to confiscate Cicero's property and arrange for its sale at auction, the proceeds going to the sanctuary of Ceres. Using a certain Scato as a front, he took possession of the ex-consul's Palatine *domus*, which rioters had plundered as soon as Cicero left the city, and began to demolish and burn it, possibly making a public spectacle out of the event; meanwhile its appurtenances were distributed like plunder. Clodius then invited his brother-in-law, Q. Pinarius Natta, most junior of the *pontifices*, to sanction a shrine to Libertas on part of the repossessed lot, incorporating Lutatius Catulus' adjacent portico as well.⁵² In doing so, he became the only documented tribune to engage in religious construction.

When Cicero describes the sanctuary in an impassioned plea to the senate for the restoration of his house, delivered the following year, he mentions a peristyle portico with subsidiary rooms and a principal façade 300 feet long, a cult statue that Clodius' brother supplied from a hetaira's tomb in Tanagra, and a sculpture of Clodius dedicated by a man named Menulla from Anagnia.⁵³ One reconstruction places a tholos in the center of the portico, surmounted by a cult statue; another characterizes the portico as an annex to the Sanctuary of Magna Mater, while a third sees the complex as a two-story structure set against the side of the hill.⁵⁴ Judging by the speed of construction, the precinct may simply have been an adaptation and expansion of Lutatius Catulus' portico, with the tribune's name in the inscription in place of the ex-consul's.⁵⁵

With the complex, Clodius celebrated Cicero's exile and also the death, in 61, of the younger Lutatius Catulus, homonymous son of the portico's builder, chief representative of the Sullan old guard and *princeps senatus*. Not without personal interest, Cicero considered the site of his house, and thus of the sanctuary, the most visible in the city and the most beautiful,⁵⁶ and its extended history made Clodius' expropriation extra poignant: Lutatius Catulus' portico had occupied the site of the demolished house of Fulvius Flaccus, C. Gracchus' cohort, so with his shrine and portico, Clodius could claim to re-expropriate the place in the people's name. Since Cicero indicates that the shrine of Libertas was either integrated into or appended to Clodius' house,⁵⁷ credit for the state's liberation from tyranny was implicitly due to Clodius. Scholars place the complex on the northwest slope of the Palatine, where traces of domestic buildings survive;⁵⁸ the site faced Lutatius Catulus' complex on the Capitoline saddle, and if that structure included a Temple to Juno Moneta and a taunt to Gratidianus' memory, Clodius' complex was a populist rejoinder.

The choice of Lutatius Catulus' portico, as a monument type, was also loaded. For over a century, the genre had borne triumphal overtones, which suggests that Clodius meant his initiative to celebrate the people's triumph over the tyranny of Cicero and other conservatives, who before Cicero's departure had used his house as a headquarters.⁵⁹ Not by chance did Cicero use the term *monumentum*, commonly employed for victory monuments, to describe Clodius' building.⁶⁰ At the same time, the expropriation and renovation of Lutatius Catulus' portico must have evoked another porticus under construction simultaneously: the portico-garden of Pompey,

Clodius' rival for popular support, on whom he turned after Cicero's departure. The challenge – and menace – implicit in Clodius' action became more apparent later in the year: on Pompey's agitation for Cicero's recall, Clodius staged an assassination attempt, with the result that Pompey barricaded himself in his house in the Carinae for the remainder of the year while Clodius' gangs lurked ominously outside – and the tribune threatened to match the shrine of Liberty with a portico on the site of Pompey's house.⁶¹

Destruction continued into Clodius' aedileship of 56. Pompey's *cura annonae* the previous year had undercut Clodius' corn dole, enabling Pompey to position himself, once again, as the people's man. To fight back, early in the year, Clodius accused him of starving the plebs to death, probably by limiting eligible recipients of free grain. One of Clodius' henchmen, Sex. Cloelius, apparently incited a food riot, during which Clodius' gangs burnt down the Temple of the Nymphs where the census lists were probably stored.⁶²

The ready symbolism of the Clodians' targets makes it unlikely that these acts of vandalism were random. Rather, like C. Gracchus, Clodius and his followers seem to have resorted to a means of political expression that resided outside the dominant language of authority. Where conservatives built, they destroyed; and their actions drew reactions. After Cicero's return from exile in May of 57, the tug-of-war for control of the politically charged site of Clodius' shrine to Libertas continued. Now disenchanted with Clodius, the senate declared the shrine's consecration invalid, and by November Lutatius Catulus' portico was almost completely restored. In a second phase of violence, Clodius' bands took up weapons to demolish it again, simultaneously disrupting the rebuilding of Cicero's *domus* and the next-door house of his brother, Q. Tullius Cicero.⁶³

Moreover, at around this time, a substantial restoration took place at Temple D, Largo Argentina, probably the Temple of the Nymphs (Figs. 3.7 and 4.7–8).⁶⁴ This second phase, which constitutes the visible remains, sits on a ground level that apparently corresponds to the tufo pavement of ca. 102, which is therefore its *terminus post quem*, and *cyma reversa* cornice mouldings on the podium suggest a date around the mid-first century.⁶⁵ The extent of the restoration, its design, and the materials used suggest that the work may have been a rebuttal to the vandalism perpetrated by Clodius and his gangs. The temple was restored from the ground up, engulfing the old podium with a monumental new one measuring a grand 23.50 by 37 meters, built of concrete with revetment and

decorative features of travertine, and accessed by a frontal staircase flanked by spur walls.⁶⁶ Extended westwards, it protruded beyond the rear walls of Temples A, B, and C. The cella, which occupied almost two-thirds of the podium's length and its entire width, would have been sufficiently spacious to house the censors' archives.⁶⁷ If the building was the Temple of the Nymphs, the magistrate responsible for the work was likely a conservative senator, intent on a visible reassertion of the *mos maiorum*.

Evidence for temple construction and reconstruction in the 60s and early 50s suggests that the tide had turned. Fewer magistrates seem to have commissioned new foundations or renovations than in the decades immediately before; there was apparently less political capital to be gained from parading traditionalism and reverence to the gods on behalf of the state than from direct appeals to the people. Moreover, where before magistrates used religious construction as an expression of their rivalry, in these years sacred buildings became a more literal battleground, in tune with the greater violence of the era. Clodius and his gangs used an alternative architectural language – a language of destruction – to protest conservative dominance.

SPOILS AND THE CITY

In the 60s and first half of the 50s, two triumphal events made a deep impression on the city. In 66, Lucullus requested a triumph over Mithridates and Tigranes. According to Plutarch, the tribune C. Memmius, hoping to curry favor with Pompey, persuaded the tribes to refuse it. For three years Lucullus camped outside the *pomerium*, exerting all his efforts to turn the vote; only in 63, when people began to perceive him as a useful check on Pompey, did he succeed.⁶⁸ As for Pompey, at his homecoming from campaign at the end of the following year, his expectation of universal acclaim was sorely disappointed. In his absence Cicero and Caesar had grown in stature, and many senators anticipated his return with apprehension.⁶⁹ That he had earned a third triumph was hard to deny, but on entering Rome he received no additional honors; the senate persistently thwarted him over land grants, his eastern *acta* and his request for deferred consular elections, and people were preoccupied with the Bona Dea scandal and Clodius' impending trial in May of 61.⁷⁰ In the hope of drawing attention and gratitude, at least temporarily, Pompey timed his third triumph, over Mithridates and a “crowd of nations” too diverse for ancient authors to agree upon, to coincide with his forty-fifth birthday on

September 28–29 of 61.⁷¹ Comparisons between the two triumphs over Mithridates (and Sulla's before them) were inevitable.⁷² Particularly fraught were alleged differences in the way the generals deployed their spoils.

The Nature of Booty

While Lucullus waited outside the city, much of the wealth from his conquest was consumed on affairs of state. Still, the spoils displayed at his eventual triumph were rich. As Plutarch records it,

in the procession, a few of the mail-clad horsemen and ten of the scythe-bearing chariots moved along, together with sixty of the king's friends and generals. A hundred and ten bronze-beaked ships of war were also carried along, a golden statue of Mithridates himself, six feet in height, a wonderful shield adorned with precious stones, twenty litters of silver vessels, and thirty-two litters of gold beakers, armor, and money. All this was carried by men. Then there were eight mules which bore golden couches, fifty-six bearing ingots of

silver, and a hundred and seven more bearing something less than two million seven hundred thousand pieces of silver coin. There were also tablets with records of the sums of money already paid by Lucius to Pompey for the war against the pirates, and to the keepers of the public treasury, as well as of the fact that each of his soldiers had received nine hundred and fifty drachmas.⁷³

In a separate context Plutarch notes that Lucullus displayed Tigranes' crown, and Varro places a library among the Pontic spoils.⁷⁴ The emphasis on regal objects, once the property of Mithridates or Tigranes, echoes Fabius Maximus' prominent display of Bituitus' silver chariot in 120, underscoring Roman rejection of kingship. It may also have been a jibe at Pompey's behavior, which, verging on the autocratic, had cost Lucullus first his command and then a timely triumph. The ships, displayed in their entirety, stressed the broad scale of Lucullus' military undertaking by sea as well as by land.⁷⁵

As impressive as Lucullus' spoils were, Pompey's haul was far greater, and proved him Mithridates' definitive



Fig. 6.5 Bronze krater of Mithridates Eupator, late second or early first century. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Appartamento dei Conservatori, Sala dei Trionfi, inv. MC 1068/S (Archivio Fotografico dei Musei Capitolini)

conqueror. His plunder seemed infinite; according to Plutarch, after two days there was still enough left over to equip another splendid triumph. Wagons bore weapons and rostra representing over 800 pirate ships, 700 of which Pompey brought up the Tiber to Rome (reducing Lucullus' 120 ships to a relative trifle);⁷⁶ horse-drawn carriages and litters were loaded with gold and other ornaments. A late second- or early first-century bronze krater inscribed "King Mithridates Eupator [gave this] to the Eupatoriastae of the gymnasium," found at Antium and now in the Capitoline Museums, may have been amongst them (or the spoils of another general to face Mithridates) (Fig. 6.5)⁷⁷ Ancient descriptions of the triumph focus, again, on kingly emblems and possessions, such as the couch of Darius I, silver portraits of Mithridates and his ancestor Pharnaces, a solid gold portrait of Mithridates 12 feet high (twice the size of Lucullus' golden statue of the king), his scepter and conspicuously empty throne (outshining the crown of Tigranes); also the contents of Mithridates' royal treasury, which included a ring collection and extensive notes on medical science. Even trees, such as ebony and balsam, were transformed into captives (and rivaled a cherry tree that Lucullus had imported from Asia Minor).⁷⁸ Pliny credited the triumph with introducing myrrhine ware (perhaps fluospar), which was highly coveted thereafter, and with starting a fashion for pearls and gems.⁷⁹ Many of the precious materials were crafted into larger objects, more easily and effectively displayed than unmounted jewels; among them was "a likeness in pearls of Pompey himself, his noble countenance, with the hair thrown back from the forehead, delighting the eye."⁸⁰ The only known image of a *triumphator* to have been carried in a triumph, it promoted Pompey as the face of spoils achieved through victory, and sported Alexander's signature *anastole* (cowlick), seen on portraits sculpted after Pompey's death.⁸¹

Hordes of pirates and other captives processed through Rome, unchained and clad in the costume of their nations; royalty walked among them, and those who were not present – Mithridates and his children, and Tigranes – were represented in images, along with narratives depicting their flight and their deaths, and likenesses of their gods in indigenous dress. Little, in fact, was left unsaid: tablets numbered ships captured, cities taken, kings conquered; placards boasted that Pompey had raised tax revenue from 50 million to 85 million drachmae and gorged the treasury on coined money and vessels of gold and silver valued at 20,000 talents; and there were trophies equal in number to the battles he or his lieutenants had won. The last of these was "a huge

one, decked out in costly fashion and bearing an inscription stating that it was a trophy of the inhabited world."⁸² His achievement outdid all precedents and, a commentary on Lucullus' boast, transformed Romans into "the masters of all nations and countries by land and sea."⁸³ As Plutarch puts it:

That which most enhanced [Pompey's] glory and had never been the lot of any Roman before, was that he celebrated his third triumph over the third continent. For others before him had celebrated three triumphs; but he celebrated his first over Libya, his second over Europe, and this his last over Asia, so that he seemed in a way to have included the whole world in his three triumphs.⁸⁴

Above the fray rode Pompey, in a chariot studded with gems and wearing a cloak discovered among Mithridates' possessions that had belonged – so he claimed – to Alexander.⁸⁵ Thus where other *triumphatores* distanced themselves from the kings they had defeated, Pompey subsumed monarchy into his public image. And since no topographical cognomen captured the magnitude of his feats, he contented himself with *Magnus*.⁸⁶

The Disposal of Spoils

According to Plutarch, as he waited for a triumph, Lucullus "decorated the Circus Flaminius with the arms of the enemy, which were very numerous, and with the royal engines of war; and this was a great spectacle in itself, and far from contemptible."⁸⁷ Meanwhile in an effort to turn public opinion against him, Memmius "charged him with diverting much property to his own uses."⁸⁸ In the eventual procession, placards detailed the sums of money channeled into Pompey's campaign against the pirates, into the treasury, and into the hands of his soldiers. These records augmented the booty remaining for display, emphasized his contributions to the economy, and simultaneously achieved accountability in the face of Memmius' allegations. Determined to win popular favor, at the end of the triumph "Lucullus gave a magnificent feast to the city, and to the surrounding villages called *vici*."⁸⁹ Thereafter he may have left the weapons and engines of war in the Circus Flaminius, the people's assembly place, to signal his displeasure at having to linger so long at the start of the triumphal route, but no other public monument celebrated his success.⁹⁰ The senate hoped he would champion its position and counterbalance Pompey but, according to Plutarch:

He quitted and abandoned public affairs, either because he saw that they were already beyond proper control

and diseased, or, as some say, because he had his fill of glory, and felt that the unfortunate issue of his many struggles and toils entitled him to fall back upon a life of ease and luxury.⁹¹

Turning his hand from war to residential architecture, he gained a reputation as a builder and outfitter of extravagant houses in Rome and beyond, complete with earthworks and ornamental fishponds and rare flora, such as his Asian cherry tree.⁹² A type of stone that he introduced from Chios or Teos even took his name, Lucullan marble.⁹³ One of his garden villas, the *Horti Luculli*, was sited conspicuously on the edge of the Pincian hill overlooking the Campus Martius (Fig. 6.1), where traces of terracing and water systems for drainage and irrigation are preserved.⁹⁴ In another, at Tusculum, Cicero locates a library, possibly from the Pontic spoils.⁹⁵

In this much, Lucullus was yielding to a growing fashion for luxury villas, possibly inspired by royal *paradeisoi* of Near Eastern cultures.⁹⁶ At their most opulent, these Roman estates included wild game preserves, aviaries, snail ponds, peacock gardens, and even oyster beds.⁹⁷ In a summary of luxury features in Lucullus' villas, Plutarch notes that he was "pouring out into such channels the vast and splendid wealth which he accumulated from his campaigns."⁹⁸ That he was not prosecuted for inappropriate use of spoils suggests that his disposal of them was entirely legitimate, but his conspicuous private expenditures made him vulnerable; after his death his opponents hounded his young son for a statue of Hercules, once part of the booty, which must have remained on his estate.⁹⁹ The seeds of doubt sown, Lucullus' villa made a useful counterpoint for Pompey.

As for Pompey, bitter family experience had taught him to deal with spoils with vigilance. A commander in the Social War, his father, Cn. Pompeius Strabo, had enraged the senate by choosing not to bolster the desperate treasury with booty from Asculum; there may have been allegations that he had not spent all his *manubiae* in the public interest, forcing Pompey to account for them in a civil suit in 86–85 after his father's death.¹⁰⁰ Verres' high-profile trial had also focused negative attention on illicit profits from public office. Pompey's own disposal of *manubiae*, by contrast, was conspicuously public. At some point, probably using spoils from his first triumph, he apparently restored a temple to Hercules near the Circus Maximus. After the triumph of 61 he consecrated "statues and other objects belonging to the gods, and other valuables of the enemy" at his *delubrum* of Minerva, and dedicated Mithridates' ring cabinet and a quantity of myrrhine ware at the Capitol.¹⁰¹ Some of the

pirate rostra he seems to have mounted outside his house as emblems of honor.¹⁰² The largest public expenditure of income from spoils, probably, was a vastly ambitious project designed to perpetuate the glory of his triumph: with his temple to Venus Victrix, he built Rome's first stone theater and an accompanying portico-garden and senate house (Figs. 6.6–6.7). One estimate places the cost of the theater alone at over 30 million sesterces; the temple, the *columnatio*, stage equipment, awning, tapestries, woodwork, doors, paving, veneer, statues, and other embellishments would take the cost to over 49 million.¹⁰³ So impressive was it that it remained Rome's primary theater for the next four centuries.¹⁰⁴

Of all the categories of monument that Pompey might have financed out of *manubiae*, he chose to commission one – a theater – that was prohibited. Objections were purportedly raised; in response, he passed off the theater by representing its *cavea* as a staircase for the Temple of Venus Victrix.¹⁰⁵ His tactic fits the pattern of brazen behavior first evidenced by his defiance of Sulla's instructions and his non-conformist triumph in 81, and again in 78, when he refused to disband his troops after his extraordinary command against Aemilius Lepidus, probably hoping to be deployed to Spain against Sertorius (as duly happened). Like these acts, his determination to build a theater was flagrantly transgressive, challenging the values of senatorial conservatives. At issue was its permanence, and permanence was the point: the theater was a bid for a respect he seems to have expected and craved, and also, more problematically, for an unending abstract authority based not on elective office but on acknowledgement of – and gratitude for – his extraordinary abilities and accomplishments.

As far as it is possible to determine, the complaint that led to the demolition of the stone theater of 154 was its potential to accommodate practices associated with Greek places of assembly. On the one hand, it would have provided the urban plebs with a permanent venue where they could gather without a magistrate's authority to debate their concerns; on the other, Greek theaters were spaces where dynasts framed their kingship before their subjects. With people and patron thus exalted, the senate risked a debilitating diminution of its prestige and influence. Pompey could legitimately have claimed inspiration from theater-temple sanctuaries at Praeneste and elsewhere in Latium or from the Magna Mater complex on the Palatine, not from Greek models – though despite formal differences

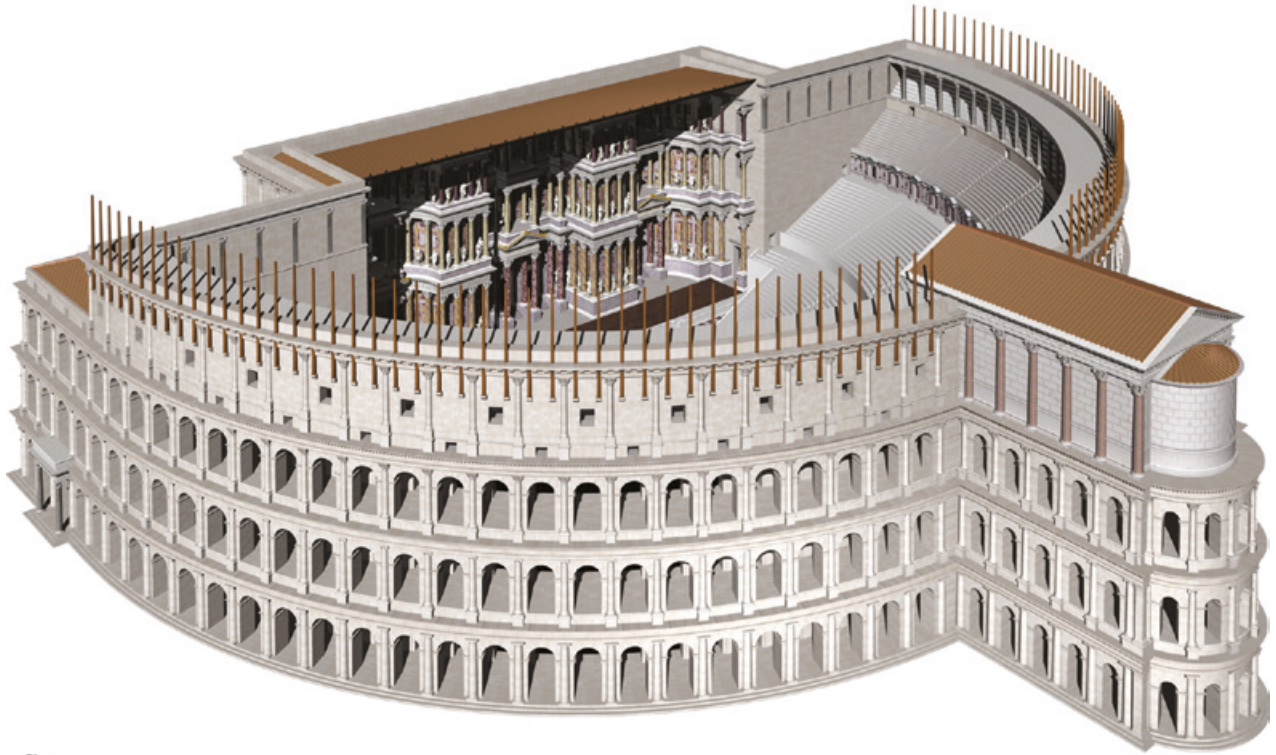


Fig. 6.6 Theater of Pompey, ca. 61–52, hypothetical reconstruction (John Burge and James Packer)

(Vitruvius constructed the ideal geometrical basis of a Greek theater as three squares inscribed in a circle, yielding a *cavea* of over half a circle, as against four triangles inscribed in a circle for a Roman theater), they too were derived from Hellenistic buildings in the Greek world.¹⁰⁶ Still, Plutarch insists that Pompey made no such pretense: on his homeward journey in 62 he paused at Mytilene, where “he had sketches and plans of [the theater] made for him, that he might build one like it in Rome, only larger and more splendid.”¹⁰⁷

If anything, by Pompey’s time the dangers the senate feared in 154 had intensified. Commissions for religious architecture suggest that the senate’s traditionalist values were losing their hold. News must also have reached Rome of Mithridates’ performance of triumphant kingship in the theater at Pergamon in 88, when a statue of Victoria that stagehands were lowering towards him with a crown crashed to the ground; in a similar event in Spain in 76, after the defeat of Sertorius, Metellus Pius was crowned in the theater by a Victoria descending *ex machina*.¹⁰⁸

Meanwhile the plebs, in neighborhoods rife with under-employment, discontent, and violence, were gaining political weight and consciousness. First to marshal their strength was Manilius, who as tribune in December of 67 introduced a bill to distribute freedmen throughout the tribes according to their *patroni*, rather than restricting them to the four urban tribes. He scheduled a vote late in the day of the *ludi Compitalicii*, the new-year entertainments in the *vici*, when, already assembled for the games, his supporters could easily be mobilized to vote en masse. Fighting ensued and his law was overturned, but the incident revealed the potential for subversive activity in the neighborhoods. By 64, fear of this eventuality prompted a *senatus consultum* to dissolve all *collegia* that the senate considered contrary to the good of the state, and at the same time to prohibit the celebration of *ludi Compitalicii* by those that remained; the senate deemed these games especially problematic since they comprised *ludi scaenici* and street shows in the languages of the residents and, with their local character, strengthened neighborhood



Fig. 6.7 Portico of Pompey, ca. 61–52, hypothetical reconstructed view of the interior in the early imperial period (John Burge and James Packer)

identity and solidarity.¹⁰⁹ In the resulting vacuum of local entertainments, state festivals probably gained popularity,¹¹⁰ and when Pompey commissioned a permanent theater, the populist goal of his initiative was clear: he promised stunning entertainments in a majestic venue where the people could speak and be heard – and years of employment for vast teams of workers, whose jobs on Lutatius Catulus’ projects must have been drawing to a close.

The Theater-Portico of Pompey

Location, Form, Decoration

Thanks to a wealth of archaeological and literary sources, it is possible to assess the design of Pompey’s theater complex closely, as well as the changing political climate from the time of its conception to its dedication. It rose on the Campus Martius, northwest of the Circus Flaminius and adjacent to Pompey’s own estate (Figs. 1.32 and 6.1).¹¹¹ The theater’s form is preserved in the layout of medieval and later buildings in piazza di Grotta Pinta, via del Biscione and piazza Pollarola, where excavations have unveiled sections of its substructure as well as architectural and sculptural elements belonging

to its various phases. The *Forma Urbis* maps its plan in Severan times (fragments 39a–c: Figs. 6.2 and 6.3a–d), and offers guidance for restoring its Republican form.¹¹² Fashioned of travertine blocks, the curved façade stood on a three-stepped travertine podium. Arched openings were framed with Tuscan or Roman Doric half-columns, and upper levels probably had Ionic half-columns and Corinthian half-columns or engaged pilasters.¹¹³ Almost exactly along the central axis, and protruding from the façade, substructures supported an apsidal building usually identified as the temple to Venus Victrix (see above). Within the theater, a system of superposed barrel-vaulted ambulatories and radial corridors, constructed out of peperino and travertine *opus quadratum* and *opus reticulatum*, carried a semicircular banked *cavea*, accessed by stairs and ramps.¹¹⁴ Water flowed through the *cavea* in channels to provide relief from summer heat.¹¹⁵ According to Pliny, the auditorium was large enough to seat an audience of 40,000; the Regionary Catalogs’ lower estimate of around 11,600 may reflect a building diminished by wear in late antiquity.¹¹⁶ Beyond the orchestra, the *Forma Urbis* shows a wide stage complete with an elaborate *scaenae frons*, with a rectangular exedra on the central axis, two semicircular lateral exedrae and forty-six

freestanding columns. It is likely that a permanent *scaenae frons* already existed in Pompey's time; a block of travertine unearthed in the area may be a remnant of it.¹¹⁷ Basilicas also extended the length of the *media cavea* on both sides of the stage. Archaeologists calculate the theater's overall diameter at approximately 156.80 meters (or, by another estimate, 165).¹¹⁸

Behind the stage stretched a vast portico, roughly 180 by 135 meters, between present-day Largo Argentina and via dei Chiavari (E–W) and via del Sudario and via di Sant'Anna (N–S), defined on three sides by long colonnaded buildings with exedrae on the interior.¹¹⁹ At the center of the east side, on axis with the temple, was a spacious exedra that probably served as a senate house, the *Curia Pompei* mentioned in literary sources; vestiges of it survive, built of Aniene tufo, behind Temple B, Largo Argentina.¹²⁰ To the rear of the north portico the marble plan shows a second portico labeled the *Hecato-stylon* (portico of a hundred columns);¹²¹ beyond the south portico there may have been shops. In the center, the *Forma Urbis* indicates an open expanse divided longitudinally into three areas by four rows of dots, which may represent columns or bases for statues or trophies; more likely, they designate trees, and the wider lateral areas were a double grove, *duplex nemus*, mentioned by Martial. Propertius writes of a row of plane trees in the portico, favored for their shade and ornamental quality;¹²² other plantings may have included plundered trees displayed in the triumph. The axial strip may have been a covered pergola or a pool, terminating near the theater in a monumental arch designated by a pair of convex lines.¹²³ Part of the eastern sector of this garden came to light in excavations under the modern Teatro Argentina.¹²⁴

Within the complex as a whole was a multitude of artworks, some of them presumably spoils, others fresh commissions. Atticus may have assisted with the new works as the project progressed; at least, in a letter to him in 55, Cicero relays Pompey's gratitude for "undertaking to arrange the statues."¹²⁵ A number of sculptures that came to light in the general area of the theater and temple may have decorated the *scaenae frons*, including two statues of Hercules, now in the Vatican Museums. One, unearthed in 1507, represents the hero with his infant son Telephus;¹²⁶ the other, a gilded bronze colossus discovered in 1864, appears to have been ritually buried at the intersection of the *cavea* and the foundations for the south side of the Temple of Venus Victrix after a lightning

strike (Fig. 6.8).¹²⁷ Three colossal figures made of Pentelic marble were discovered in the mid-sixteenth century near S. Salvatore in Lauro, some distance to the north of the theater in a secondary context, possibly a late antique marble warehouse; now extensively restored (including the heads) and located in the courtyard of Palazzo Borghese, they are identified as Apollo Kitharoidos and two Muses, possibly Thalia and Clio. Proportions, stance, style, and material suggest that a fourth figure in the National Museum at Naples (also with a restored head) belongs to the same series; a fresco in the courtyard of S. Damaso indicates that by 1580 it was displayed in piazza di Campo Marzio (north of the complex). Probably also from the set is a Muse, complete with ancient head, that stood in Palazzo della Cancelleria along with other finds from the theater before its removal to the Louvre, and another,

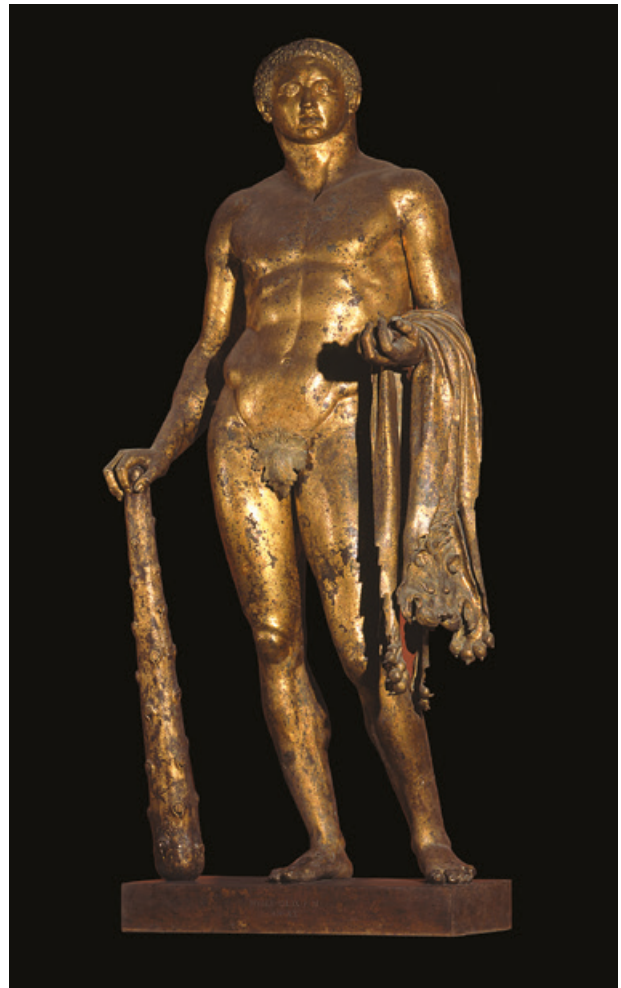


Fig. 6.8 Gilded bronze statue of Hercules from the Theater of Pompey, ca. 61–52 (Vatican Museums)



Figs. 6.9a–c Marble statues of Muses from the Theater of Pompey, ca. 61–52. (a) Cortile of the Palazzo Borghese (James Packer); (b) Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli; (c) Paris, Musée du Louvre (Art Resource)

formerly part of the Brandegee collection, that now resides in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Fig. 6.9a–c).¹²⁸ The use of Pentelic marble, the solid plasticity of the figures and their drapery, and the classicizing style of the one surviving face are all consistent with a date in the mid-first century.¹²⁹ Fragments of a sixth Muse and pieces of basalt statues, all subsequently lost, were found along with the bronze Hercules.¹³⁰ Dio situates a statue of Victoria on the *scaenae frons*, and two colossal figures of Pan in the Capitoline Museum, unearthed in 1554 in piazza dei Satiri (the zone of the *scaenae frons*), may have acted as stage supports (Figs. 6.10a–b);¹³¹ one, of Greek marble, may be original to the Pompeian phase. Diodorus Siculus also places statues, sacred effigies, and spoils in a building that is presumably the Temple of Venus Victrix.¹³²

Decorating the portico Pliny names four antique paintings, probably spoils, which may have been mounted on the inner walls or in the niches: a man with a shield by Polygnotus; Cadmus and Europa by Antiphilus; a sacrifice of oxen by Pausias; and Alexander by Nicias.¹³³ Propertius mentions Attalid tapestries hanging in the portico, which may have protected the paintings from the sun's glare, and a fountain with waters flowing out of a sculpture of a drunken satyr, Maron; meanwhile Varro records that the

sculptor Coponius created fourteen figures of the Nations that stood around the complex, *circa Pompeium*, presumably personifications of regions Pompey had subdued.¹³⁴ A group of fragmentary inscribed statue bases probably found in and around the *area sacra* of Largo Argentina, possibly Augustan in date, may represent sculptures placed or restored around the portico during a renovation. One, now lost, named Polycles as sculptor.¹³⁵ A statue of a large female figure seated on a rock found in via Arenula (just south of the portico) and now in Centrale Montemartini may also have come from the complex (Fig. 6.11); it probably dates to the end of the second century or the first half of the first, and the unworked rear suggests that it was displayed in a niche.¹³⁶ Other fragments that may be linked to the complex include part of the torso of a colossal heroic male found in Largo Argentina, and a seated nude male of similar style and dimensions now in the courtyard of Palazzo Spada (Fig. 6.12).¹³⁷

Finally, in a catalog of prodigious and monstrous births Pliny notes that,

Pompey the Great, among the decorations of his theater, erected certain statues of remarkable persons (*mirabiles fama ... effigies*), which had been executed with the greatest care by artists of the very highest reputation. Among



Figs. 6.10a–b Marble statues of satyrs probably from the Theater of Pompey, *ca.* 61–52. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo (Penelope Davies)

others, we here read an inscription to the following effect: “Eutychis, of Tralles, was borne to the funeral pile by twenty of her children, having had thirty in all.”

Next he names Alcippe, who gave birth to an elephant;¹³⁸ it is not clear whether he meant that Pompey displayed her image too. Several scholars connect Pliny’s reference to these women with a section of the Christian writer Tatian’s *Address to the Greeks* of *ca.* 150–172 CE, where he lists numerous “disreputable” women whom the Greeks honored with statues.¹³⁹ They characterize his compilation as an *ekphrasis* on an extensive and carefully constructed program of works by great sculptors in Pompey’s portico, and conclude that Pompey conceived the program around female poets, courtesans, and women made famous by extraordinary births; or underworld heroines representing the goddesses involved in the Judgment of Paris in an imaginary *katabasis* to the Underworld by Pompey; or, in a third hypothesis, poets and comedic and tragic

heroines.¹⁴⁰ However, the connection between the two texts is tenuous at best. Pliny says only that Pompey’s sculptures included images of great marvels, nowhere implying that they were all female; nowhere does Tatian mention Pompey or his portico, and in terms of genre his list has more in common with encyclopedias than with descriptive *ekphrasis*. Finally, Tatian states explicitly that he saw the sculptures he describes not just in Rome but also on extensive travels.¹⁴¹ There is little doubt that Pompey’s portico was heavily ornamented with artworks, some of which Tatian may have seen, but that his speech methodically describes them is unlikely.

Implications

As a programmatic whole, the theater-portico complex communicated a provocative message. Through a combination of sheer magnificence, inclusiveness, and scale of buildings, as well as a heavy emphasis on victory and



Fig. 6.11 Marble statue of a female figure from the Theater of Pompey (?), ca. 61–52. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini (Penelope Davies)



Fig. 6.12 Marble torso from the Theater of Pompey (?), ca. 61–52. Cortile of Palazzo Spada. (Penelope Davies per gentile concessione del Polo Museale del Lazio – Palazzo Spada)

euergetism verging on regal practice, it set Pompey beyond the reach of his peers.

Vitruvius notes that porticoes behind Greek theaters served as a place of promenade and shelter for spectators and storage for props.¹⁴² Pompey's portico may have functioned similarly; but against the backdrop of earlier Republican buildings it also set the complex within the framework of manubial structures. Its proximity to the Circus Flaminius porticoes – the most luxurious examples of manubial munificence to date – reinforced that valency. Even so, Pompey's complex far outshone other triumphal monuments. At approximately 33,950 meters², it surpassed all the city's largest buildings in footprint, even the purported *Navalia* (roughly 30,000 meters²); about 45 meters high – the altitude of the Arx – in vertical mass it rivaled the very hills of Rome.¹⁴³ Moreover, thanks to concrete technology, it was a miracle of construction. Unlike the

earlier attempt at a stone theater on the Palatine, and unlike Greek theaters, which nestled into hillsides, Pompey's theater stood free of natural buttressing on the open, marshy plain,¹⁴⁴ and its massive size was accomplished in the short space of six to nine years. Pompey's complex was a marvel, a fitting expression of his unique embodiment of divine charisma and personal ability.

Throughout the complex, component elements supported the message of its built forms. Some – the massive arch, and the statue of Victoria on the *scaenae frons* – were part of a vocabulary of victory that was at once expanded and exploded into hyperbole to describe his eastern campaigns. As with Greek marble, appropriated in the mid-second century, landscape elements – trees – may have performed as real and conceptual spoils of subjugated territory.¹⁴⁵ The colossal Muses probably outsized Fulvius Nobilior's statues at the nearby

Temple of Hercules Musarum, and the fourteen statues of the Nations captured the unparalleled magnitude of Pompey's territorial reach.¹⁴⁶ Where Sulla conflated himself with a hero in his monument to Hercules Sullanus, Pompey assembled an entire sculptural collection of people of extraordinary fame – people, that is, who had existed on the edge of, or even beyond, normal human and social limitations – to serve as a framework for understanding his own superhuman qualities. One of these figures, a bronze Hercules, like that of Scipio Aemilianus, pointedly showed the hero resting his club on the ground, offering the apples of the Hesperides as proof that his deeds were done and immortality was his. Such a man as this could command water in the portico and the theater in defiance of nature.

By the mid-first century, theaters (albeit temporary ones) and porticoes were well-recognized genres of benefaction. Public gardens, however, were a new contribution to the repertory in Rome. Gardens were the privilege of the wealthy; and as buildings encroached on the city's sacred groves, and hordes of people packed into squalid, noisy accommodations or lacked housing altogether,¹⁴⁷ Pompey's gardens provided the urban plebs with a place of refuge, with shady promenades, the peaceful sound of running water, and a museum of artworks to call their own. Only decades later, in fact, Vitruvius would exhort architects to recognize that porticoes like Pompey's were a salve to the eyes and the body.¹⁴⁸ The explicit contrast with Lucullus' private *hortus* under construction contemporaneously on the nearby Pincian hill underlined the euergistic quality of the commission. In South Italy and Sicily, public gardens had existed by at least the second century, but the contemporaneous Greek examples from which they – and Pompey – drew their inspiration were far more luxurious.¹⁴⁹ In cities such as Pergamon, porticoed gardens adjoined theaters, gymnasia, *palaistrai*, and philosophical schools as well as palaces. Within them were formal plantings of trees, water features, and art displays; they had adjacent scholae and exedrae for conversation, and halls for teaching and meetings. Derived from the royal *paradeisoi* of the Babylonians, the Assyrians and the Persians, they were first introduced to Greek lands by Alexander; and the grandest, like the most magnificent theaters and porticoes of the Hellenistic world, were royal benefactions, many specifically the work of the Attalids of Pergamon.¹⁵⁰ Beyond simply expressing Pompey's extraordinary qualities, then, this grand benefaction, later dubbed "Pompey's gifts," embodied the

popular benefit derived from those qualities and evoked an abstract authority equated with kingship.¹⁵¹

Insinuation drove the message home. For instance, Romans knew golden tapestries as an "invention" of the Attalid kings, after whom they were named (*aulaeis Attalicis*).¹⁵² The series of Muses with Apollo, while apt for a theater context, also evoked an assemblage of Muses installed by the Attalids near the Great Altar of Zeus at Pergamon.¹⁵³ Hercules was depicted with Telephus, founding hero of Pergamon and king of Mysia. And the sweet-smelling balsam trees, perhaps planted in the garden, were once the rare possessions of the kings of Judaea;¹⁵⁴ indeed, the very notion of a garden imitating a foreign landscape through imported flora was conceived by Assyrian monarchs before the end of the second millennium BCE (first attested in the reign of Tiglath-pileser, 1114–1076) and from at least the reign of Sargon II (722–705) developed into a regal genre, known as a *kirimahhu*, featuring bodies of water and artificial hills.¹⁵⁵

As a whole, Pompey's benefaction pushed the limits wherever possible – the material counterpart, as it were, to his unorthodox ascent in politics. The combination of his self-identification as a man who existed outside the constitution, his massive spoils, a growing expertise in concrete construction and a vast urban workforce allowed him to think on a scale that eluded any previous Republican. The multitude of buildings assembled within the complex was revolutionary – theater, temple, basilicas, portico, garden, curia: not for Pompey to choose between architectural commissions, but to have them all. The open space in the portico even paralleled the Forum, complete with a statue of a drunken satyr to mirror the Forum's Marsyas.¹⁵⁶ When Pompey dedicated the complex, the city's rituals and the activities of daily life would come to him; theatrical performances, religious ceremonies, trade, art viewing, business, leisure and meetings of the senate would all occur in his space, with his estate at hand.¹⁵⁷ The complex was Rome in microcosm, built in his name, imbued with his presence. And just as conspicuous as Pompey's dominance was the senate's implied powerlessness. Nominally it profited from the benefaction, with a Curia furnished for its meetings. Yet it was introduced only to be diminished: the hall was symbolically removed, a distant witness to the real theater of politics on the other side of the *scaenae frons*. Implicitly, the complex presented Romans with a choice between a beneficent superhuman and an out-of-touch senate. It embodied Pompey's ideal of a new order.

Denouement: Staging the New Order

The dedication of Pompey's theater took place at the end of September in 55, the temple perhaps in 52.¹⁵⁸ In the interval between the commission, in *ca.* 61, and the theater's dedication, as the concept developed and came to fruition, Pompey struggled to gain acceptance with the senate and define his position through shifting strategies of engagement and non-engagement, alignment and opposition. Among the political elite, Pompey's third triumph and the enormity of his building project only confirmed his daunting strength, eliciting fear and jealousy, and as a result broad senatorial backing constantly eluded him. He jockeyed for pre-eminence with Caesar and Cicero and, more problematically, with Clodius, whose extraordinary following among the populace detracted from Pompey's popularity. As tribune in 58, Clodius not only passed a *lex de collegiis* that reinstated the associations banned in 64 and established new *collegia* with members drawn mostly from the ranks of freedmen and slaves, but also restored the *ludi Compitalicii*. These local entertainments took the wind out of Pompey's sails, and they were a forum where Clodius could mobilize support.¹⁵⁹

By this time, the audience engagement that was customary at neighborhood festivals had spread into state games. Spectacles were politicized as never before; increasingly, scenic games developed into arenas for belligerence and polarization. Easily incited, the plebs spoke out more and more boldly from the audience. Clodius exploited these gatherings as aggressively as he did the *ludi Compitalicii*, making them the performative equivalents of his acts of vandalism. In 57, in an effort to prevent Cicero's recall, he instigated or exacerbated food riots at the *ludi Apollinares*, and in Cicero's eyes he used the *ludi Megalenses* he provided as aedile to stage class warfare: at a given prompt, slaves from the *vici* stormed the theater, forcing the consul, the senators, the *equites*, and other spectators to withdraw.¹⁶⁰ Even if Cicero's account exaggerates Clodius' agency, the form of the sanctuary of Magna Mater, raised on a platform with controlled access points, would have lent itself to an orchestrated riot. Audiences could turn on anyone: in 59 Pompey felt their wrath, and when the senate announced Cicero's recall in the theater during the *Floralia* of 57, the crowd cheered at the news, applauded P. Lentulus Spinther (sponsor of the games), and almost lynched Clodius.¹⁶¹ Against this backdrop, and even as Pompey's theater rose, magistrates offered magnificent games in the hopes of swaying popular opinion in their favor.

By the time of the theater's dedication, the urban plebs were poised for their place in a building that gave them voice and they were not afraid to use it. In fact, as the grand opening approached, Cicero goaded Piso, "Trust yourself to the people, venture on attending these games. Are you afraid of hisses? ... Are you afraid that there will be no acclamations raised in your honour? ... You are afraid that violent hands may be laid on you."¹⁶² One aspect of the senate's fear in 154 – the risk of popular riots – could easily be realized. As for the matching component, the potential for monarchical ambitions, this, hard won, was Pompey's moment. Rivalry for authority would remain intense but the coalition was stable. Caesar was absent in Gaul, and Crassus offered no real competition. Even Clodius had been contained at the triumvirate's regrouping, and in 55 there is little evidence of his whereabouts; he may have travelled east on legation.¹⁶³ Consul for the second time, provider of entertainment, of grain, and of large scale employment over several years, Pompey was the supreme people's politician, and by championing laws on electoral bribery and the use of *collegia* in canvassing, he had hobbled any prospective competitors.

At the theater's opening ceremonies Pompey staged his new order. As lavish as festivals had become, his offerings, orchestrated by Spurius Maecius, cast all previous entertainments into shadow. In his speech against Piso, Cicero anticipated the festivities in apostrophic terms: "the most carefully prepared and magnificent games within the memory of man, ... games such as not only never have been exhibited, but such that we cannot form a conception how it will be possible for any like them ever to be exhibited for the future."¹⁶⁴ On attending them he registered his private opinion that though they were "most splendid" they were not to his taste because Pompey had pitched them shamelessly to the crowds.¹⁶⁵ Throughout the city, in stalls of Pompey's providing, was his vast audience, ready to speak in favor of any who pleased them. For their delectation there were musical and gymnastic contests, a horse race, and five days of wild beast hunts in the Circus.¹⁶⁶ Rare animals were imported, some for the first time, others in unprecedented numbers: sources record 500–600 lions, 410 leopards (only recently prohibited), and Rome's first rhinoceros; there were rare monkeys too, and lynx, and vicious Gallic wolves. A hunt with eighteen elephants backfired when the audience sympathized with the beasts, but it was "a most terrifying spectacle" nonetheless.¹⁶⁷ The *ludi scaenici* to inaugurate the theater

featured plays in Latin, Greek, and Oscan, which must have appealed to the diverse inhabitants of the *vici*. Pompey led popular actors out of retirement, one so old that his voice failed, and the props were astounding: “a train of six hundred mules, ... three thousand bowls, ... [and] brightly-coloured armour of infantry and cavalry in some battle,” according to Cicero. They dazzled the crowd and vividly recalled the trappings of a triumph.¹⁶⁸ At the front of the *cavea*, at the edge of the orchestra, sat Pompey. Before his assembled audience, in a building tailored to reflect his glory, the man who styled himself Alexander the Great staged a performance of the triumphal homecoming of Agamemnon to Argos in Accius’ *Clytemnestra*, to evoke and re-enact the glory of his magnificent triumph of 61.¹⁶⁹ If theaters articulated social order, through his theater, he framed himself as king.

The acclaim Pompey achieved through the theater was sufficiently momentous for the people to vote a statue of him to grace his Curia (sometimes associated with a colossal nude in the Palazzo Spada, with the wrong head: Fig. 6.13), set on axis with the cult statue of Venus, and the gift confirms the effectiveness both of his performance and of his benefaction.¹⁷⁰ Like the pearl portrait he paraded in his triumph, the image probably showed him with the distinctive *anastole* of Alexander, whose mantle he had assumed. Standing guard over the senate’s dealings, framed by his setting within the complex, the statue embodied the abstract authority to which Pompey aspired. His popularity with the plebs would soon be tempered, but the theater and its attendant temple, portico, and senate house were, nonetheless, potent symbols and agents of the Republic’s unraveling.

In these years, two generals with large quantities of spoils used them to present radically different public personae: Lucullus a high-profile retiree, Pompey an aggressively active politician. With his theater-portico complex, Pompey exploited and expanded upon earlier manubial ventures to create the most extravagant and ambitious building to date, in terms of size, scope, and embellishment. Most significant of all, perhaps, was its dynamic quality. A gradual shift in manubial architecture was under way in the first half of the second century: away from relatively static memorials for triumphs which lodged a single event in civic memory (such as ships’ prows on the Rostra, or temples, which had a functional aspect but were primarily iconic) toward monuments with a sustained and euergetic function, such as luxury porticoes. Pompey’s theater-portico complex marked a

culmination of this trend, providing for the benefactor’s continued presence long after his triumph was over. In this much, it facilitated an extended abstract authority in the city, unfettered by magisterial terms or mandates.

CIVIC DEVELOPMENT

Between 69 and 55, evidence for civic architecture is relatively sparse. To some extent, traditional mandates were apparently restored, inasmuch as consuls ceased building and censors seem to have engaged in an urban renovation project. Most activity was due to aediles and praetors, some of whom aimed at cultivating popularity with the crowd, some with the political elite, and some with both.

Censors

Around the middle of the first century, attention was directed once again to the port area, perhaps as a result



Fig. 6.13 Marble statue, possibly from the Theater-Portico Complex of Pompey, *ca.* 61–52. Palazzo Spada (Penelope Davies per gentile concessione del Polo Museale del Lazio – Palazzo Spada)

of a devastating flood in that year, which swept away people and houses alike, and awoke fears of divine wrath.¹⁷¹ Lining the riverbank near the *Navalia*, a set of rooms was constructed of reticulate concrete, and additional port installations and shops appear to have been built further downstream. A series of cippi delimited the bank and recorded the roles in the project of the censors of 55, M. Valerius Messala and P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus.¹⁷²

Aediles, Praetors, and Tribunes

For many officials, mobilizing public support through extravagant entertainment seems to have grown imperative. Most were probably serving as aediles, and prioritized games over restoration projects.¹⁷³ Ancient sources note an upturn in luxury provisions almost a decade before the conception of Pompey's theater, as magistrates seduced audiences with the promise of comforts ever more innovative, spectacles ever more sumptuous, and greater and greater crowds of performers, both animal and human. Lutatius Catulus drew acclaim when he introduced the Campanian luxury of an awning over his temporary theater, either during an aedileship or for the dedication of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus in ca. 69; his was also the first stage to be fitted with ivory.¹⁷⁴ C. Antonius (probably Hybrida) sheathed his stage with silver, M. Petreius with gold; their aedileships probably fell in the 60s, though they may have been a decade earlier.¹⁷⁵ P. Lentulus Spinther furnished silver props for a stage during his aedileship in 63.¹⁷⁶

Watching from the sidelines as builders broke ground on Pompey's theater complex in ca. 61 and gradually brought it to completion, others were not deterred. Spurred on, probably, by the cancellation of the *ludi Compitalicii* in 64, a handful of magistrates took advantage of the last days before the city had a permanent theater to pamper the populace in their own names. For the *ludi Apollinares* of 60, Lentulus Spinther, now praetor, rigged an awning of fine linen or cotton over his audience, outdoing Lutatius Catulus,¹⁷⁷ but even he was fantastically upstaged by the wealthy Aemilius Scaurus, Sulla's stepson, one-time protégé and brother-in-law of Pompey. As aedile in 58, he sponsored the most spectacular temporary theater seen to date; 130 years later Pliny described it as "the greatest of all the works ever made by man" and estimated the capacity of its wooden *cavea* at 80,000 – double that of Pompey's. The *scaena* had three levels. The lowest was the first ever built of marble – blocks or revetment slabs, Pliny

could not be sure. The next was covered in glass, probably mosaic, and the highest was gilded wood. Embellishing the screen were 360 columns, the tallest of them 38 feet high and made of Lucullan marble, and they framed an astounding 3,000 bronze statues (perhaps spoils borrowed from Pompey). Pliny valued the peripheral amenities alone, such as gold cloth and scene paintings, at 30 million sesterces.¹⁷⁸ Aemilius Scaurus' goal was to entertain, to dazzle, and, like Pompey, to identify himself with marvels: in the same year he imported 150 leopards and panthers from Syria, where he had been governor from 63 to 61, and custom-built a pool to exhibit five crocodiles and the first hippopotamus in Rome; he even displayed an enormous set of bones ascribed to the sea-monster in the myth of Andromeda, purportedly found at Ioppe in Judaea.¹⁷⁹ In anticipation of the art collection at Pompey's theater complex, perhaps, he also bought for Rome all the publicly owned paintings of Sikyon.¹⁸⁰

That entertainments like these were a form of legal bribery was widely acknowledged, as Cicero's *lex Tullia de ambitu* of 63 demonstrates; it forbade anyone from "giving gladiatorial shows during the two years that he is a candidate for office actually or prospectively."¹⁸¹ Still, anyone who failed to furnish them or advocated curbing them risked popular resentment and a loss of support at the polls.¹⁸² Cicero admitted that his aedilician games of 69 helped him toward his consulship in 63, and in defense of L. Murena, one of the consuls-elect in 62, on charges of electoral corruption, he urged the prosecutor

not to despise so completely the splendor of the games and the magnificence of the spectacles that he gave. These helped him considerably. For why should I speak of the great delight the people and ignorant crowd take in games? It is not to be wondered at ... Elections are a question of numbers and a crowd. So if the splendor of the games pleased the people, it is no wonder that this helped Murena with them. But if we ourselves ... are delighted by games and attracted to them, why should you be surprised at the ignorant crowd? ...

The Roman plebs should not be prevented from enjoying games, or gladiatorial contests, or banquets – all these our ancestors established – nor should candidates be restrained from showing that generosity which indicates liberality, rather than bribery.¹⁸³

His rhetorical contortions expose how difficult it was to draw a line between bribery and benefaction.

It is likely that, in 62, L. Fabricius was also in pursuit of the popular vote when he let a contract for the Pons Fabricius (now ponte Quattro Capi: Fig. 6.14), which probably replaced a wooden bridge from the Forum



Fig. 6.14 Pons Fabricius, 62, actual state (Penelope Davies)

Boarium to Tiber Island. Surmounted by second- and seventeenth-century brickwork, its two travertine arches survive, with a small niche at the center. An inscription in four iterations names Fabricius as *curator viarum*, perhaps an aedilician or tribunician responsibility; a fifth inscription states that he verified the bridge's solidity.¹⁸⁴ Not long thereafter a member of the *gens Cestius* sponsored a matching bridge, the Pons Cestius (ponte S. Bartolomeo: Fig. 6.15) to connect the island to the west bank.¹⁸⁵ Like the renovation of the Temple of Aesculapius on the island, these initiatives benefited the plebs who, in sickness, relied on the cult.

With the support of the urban crowd so crucial, only two men are known to have aimed their building initiatives squarely at senatorials; both were descended from the patrician Aemilii Paulli, now of dwindling influence, and both projects were located at the hub of political life in the Forum (Fig. 6.16). One was Q. Fabius Maximus, aedile in 57, who reworked the Fornix Fabiorum of his grandfather, Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus.¹⁸⁶ Three inscriptions on travertine blocks, found in 1540–1543 and subsequently lost, suggest that he added side-by-side images (probably busts in niches) of Aemilius Paullus (grandfather of Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus), Scipio Africanus (Aemilius Paullus' natural son), and himself.

A fragmentary fourth inscription may indicate additional images. Dentils are discernible on one of the fragments, and sections of a Doric architrave found nearby may also have belonged to the arch in this phase.¹⁸⁷ As restored, this continuation of the gallery of shield portraits installed at the Basilica Aemilia in 78 apparently portrayed Fabius Maximus as the promising progeny of a network of accomplished generals, one of them Caesar's precursor in Gaul. If the arch originally stood against Gracchan tyranny, the conduct of the *triumviri* and Clodius gave the message fresh resonance.

The other was L. Aemilius Paullus Lepidus, an adversary of Caesar. In 55, he took on a thorough restoration of the Basilica Aemilia. Bringing Atticus up to date on urban developments in October of 54, Cicero comments "Paullus has almost finished his basilica in the Forum," though the basilica was not inaugurated until twenty years later, perhaps still unfinished, and Aemilian work is difficult to distinguish archaeologically from Augustan; as completed, it had stone entablatures (probably for the first time, though the conversion to stone is sometimes dated before 80). This necessitated closer columns (reused from the earlier phase, according to Cicero). The row of shops on the south side was also rebuilt at this time.¹⁸⁸ As in 78, the restoration evoked Aemilius Lepidus, co-censor



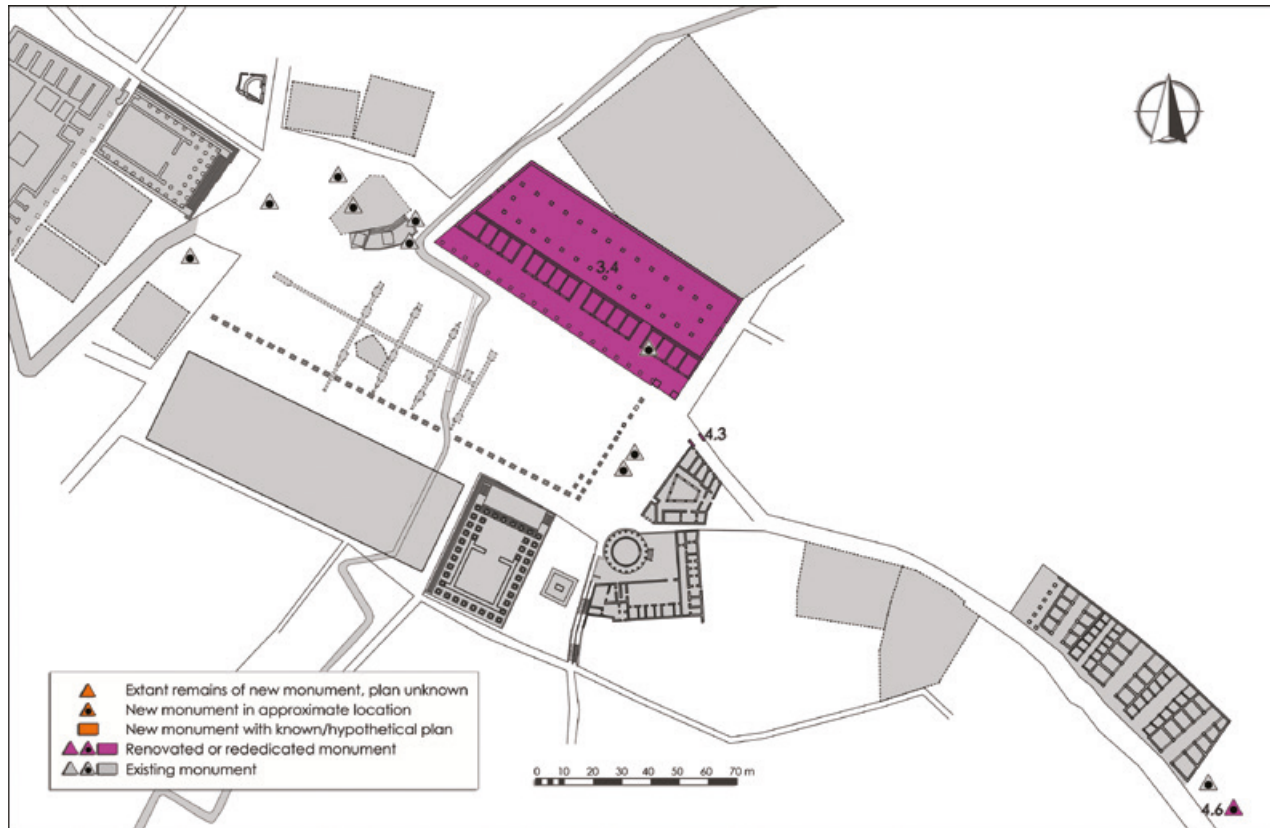
Fig. 6.15 Pons Cestius, second half of the first century, actual state (Penelope Davies)

with Fulvius Nobilior, the original patron of 179; just as importantly, it superseded any modifications to the building by Aemilius Paullus Lepidus' father, the rebel consul of 78 who had brought disgrace on the family.

Cicero states that Aemilius Paullus "executed most magnificently the part he put out on contract,"¹⁸⁹ and indeed in the nave, many scholars believe, was a costly frieze, sculpted out of Pentelic marble by artists schooled in a Hellenistic style. Fragments found on the site reach a little over 21 meters, representing several narrative episodes. Three scenes depict Trojans or Romans fighting Latins (perhaps part of the Aeneas story) or Romans against Sabines or Gauls and Etruscans (perhaps Romulus' battles). Others show a goddess seated on a rock, with an attendant standing behind her, three female figures and a *cista* or box, and a city under construction – perhaps Alba Longa, Lavinium, or Rome (Fig. 6.17a). Romulus and Remus are represented, first abandoned and discovered as infants, then departing from Faustulus and Acca Laurentia; also the abduction of the Sabine women and the subsequent battle between the Romans and their Sabine kin (Fig. 6.17b), Tarpeia's burial under a pile of shields for betraying Rome to the Sabines (Fig. 6.17c), and Hersilia's proposal for peace or preparations for her marriage to Romulus.¹⁹⁰

The origins of the Aemilii were obscure: they claimed descent from Numa Pompilius, but also from Aemylos, son of Ascanius, and from Amulius, the uncle of Romulus and Remus who deposed his brother Numitor to become king of Alba Longa.¹⁹¹ What was not in dispute, however, was the family's antiquity and its role in the city's earliest history, and set a stone's throw from the arch restored by another descendant of the Aemilii Paulli, the building and its frieze, exalting the legends of earliest Rome, pointed, in optimate fashion, to authority rooted in tradition and lineage. Cicero concluded, "It goes without saying that a monument like that will win for [Aemilius Paullus Lepidus] more popularity and glory than anything."¹⁹²

Developing on the bifurcated strategy of Sullan partisans in the 70s, which appealed to both conservative and populist interests, Caesar chose neither one approach nor the other but intertwined them. His aedileship of 65 saw an expansion on tactics deployed during his quaestorship four years earlier. At that time, in the funerary cortège for his aunt Julia, Marius' widow, he had paraded ancestral portraits to stress the patrician lineage that was lacking to a new man like Cicero, his fellow aedile. Included among them were *imagines* of Marius and his family, which had not been seen publicly since Sulla's dictatorship.¹⁹³ His hope, while exploiting his ancestry, was to kindle sympathy



Restoration:

3.4 Basilica Aemilia (Fulvia)

4.3 *Fornix Fabianus*

4.6 Trophy of Marius

Fig. 6.16 Forum Romanum and environs, *ca.* 60–55, plan (Penelope Davies, Onur Öztürk, and Bogdan Perzyński)

with the plebs: where Sullans had tried to wipe the populist hero from collective consciousness, Caesar exhorted a rehabilitation of his memory. When, as aedile, Caesar evoked Marius' memory again, his choice of restoration project still stressed his lineage but was more overtly populist and provocative:

He had images of Marius secretly made, together with trophy-bearing Victories, and these he ordered to be carried by night and set up on the Capitol. At day-break those who beheld all these objects glittering with gold and fashioned with the most exquisite art (and they bore inscriptions setting forth the Cimbrian successes of Marius) were amazed at the daring of the man who had set them up (for it was evident who had done it), and the report of it quickly spreading brought everybody together for the sight.¹⁹⁴

With this anecdote, scholars believe, Plutarch refers to a reconstruction of Marius' Gallic trophy, which Sulla had destroyed or buried.¹⁹⁵ In Suetonius' eyes, the

reconstruction, and the simultaneous restoration of Marius' trophy for the defeat of Jugurtha, were Caesar's retaliation against the senate for blocking a request for the post of governor in Egypt when Ptolemy Auteles was deposed.¹⁹⁶ The projects undermined their authority by reviving memories that the Sullans had hoped to erase. Plutarch claims that Lutatius Catulus accused Caesar of taking the government by force, but the last word was Caesar's; once he had won the senate over, "his admirers were still more elated and exhorted him not to lower his pretensions for any man, since the people would be glad to have him triumph over all opposition and be the first man in the state."¹⁹⁷

Caesar offered aedilician entertainments that were sufficiently frequent and lavish to drive him into debt:

Caesar filled the Comitium, the Forum, its adjacent basilicas, and the Capitol itself with a display of the material which he meant to use in his public shows,



Fig. 6.17a–c Frieze from the Basilica Aemilia, *ca.* 55: (a) a city under construction; (b) the abduction of the Sabine women; (c) the punishment of Tarpeia (Penelope Davies su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Soprintendenza Speciale per il Colosseo, il Museo Romano e l’Area archeologica di Roma)

building temporary colonnades for the purpose. He exhibited wild-beast hunts and stage-plays; some at his own expense, some in co-operation with his colleague, Marcus Bibulus – but took all the credit in either case¹⁹⁸

Again, his strategy was two-pronged: to augment these aedilician entertainments, he invoked his patrician heritage to offer gladiatorial games in honor of his father, deceased a full twenty years earlier. His plans on this occasion were so ambitious that opponents rushed a bill through the senate to limit the number of combatants; even so, the event featured an astounding 320 pairs of gladiators, who fought with silver weapons to match an arena also decked in silver.¹⁹⁹

Clodius preferred tactics of subversion. As tribune, he made a demonstration of the extent and effectiveness of his popular backing by vandalizing civic structures just as he did temples. At the trial of P. Vatinius, charged under the *lex Licinia et Iunia* with promoting laws confirming Pompey's *acta*, Clodius unleashed the *plebs urbana* and his gangs. They drove the praetor from the tribunal, scattered the benches, overturned the balloting urns, and generally disrupted the court.²⁰⁰ His aedileship two years later was the obvious moment to use construction to his advantage. Cicero recognized this just before the elections: he wrote to Quintus that Vettius Cyrus, the architect he usually employed, was reluctant to commit to contracts in anticipation of Clodius' year in office.²⁰¹ Yet no evidence for building commissions survives. His subversive strategy apparently continued: non-compliance with the expectations of his mandate defied established order.

The 60s and the first half of the 50s saw an approximate return to traditional building mandates, as consuls apparently withdrew from civic construction, censors returned to action, and aediles, the dominant agents, undertook restoration projects. Only two aediles opted to emphasize patrician pedigrees. As popular support became more critical, for most, the means to attaining it was entertainment, furnished with increasing variety and in venues that grew ever more luxurious. Caesar and Clodius stood apart: one played the part of the patrician and the populist, while the other, also courting popular support, continued to deny and subvert the dominant language of authority.

CONCLUSIONS

Between 69 and 55, two men dominated the cityscape: Pompey and Clodius. Pompey's complex, with theater,

temple, portico, garden, and curia, was the most spectacular building of the era, if not of Rome's entire history to that point. That it defied simple definition was probably intentional: with its construction Pompey's benefaction was boundless. It did nothing to align him with his peers; its form and artistic decoration set him apart, a marvel beyond normal human limitations, and concrete construction achieved a peak of dynamic manipulation: where the substructures in the Sanctuary of Magna Mater and in Lutatius Catulus' "tabularium" complex accommodated ritual movement, the theater's form encouraged and dictated it, managing pageantry both onstage and in the *cavea*. Form and function combined to prescribe a new order, with people and leader dominant, the senate a distant spectator; together they framed and, through continued use, prolonged the authority of the patron.

Clodius, by contrast, was a demolition-man. His strategy expanded on symbolic destructions of alleged tyrants' houses in earlier centuries and C. Gracchus' acts of vandalism. He chose iconic buildings: the Temples of Castor and the Nymphs, seats of the establishment, the house of Cicero, and voting structures. Long a weapon of control, in Clodius' hands architecture became a tool of polarization. If, in recent decades, building mandates had become blurred, as consuls and tribunes built outside of apparent norms, it was Clodius who, with his acts of destruction, symbolically shattered traditional mandates to defy senatorial authority.

In their different ways, both Pompey and Clodius used architecture to court public favor, which inclined first to one, then to the other. In fact, surviving evidence suggests a distinct shift: only Fabius Maximus and Aemilius Lepidus used aedilician projects to situate themselves within a conservative senatorial elite; and temple construction and restoration, recently a means of displaying adherence to hallowed tradition, apparently offered less advantage than before. Most aediles preferred to furnish opulent entertainment venues, and whereas, in the 70s, Lutatius Catulus and the Aurelii Cottae matched their populist civic initiatives with conservative work on religious structures, there is no indication that the magistrates who engaged in civic building in these years (Caesar, or Fabricius, or a host of aediles who provided temporary theaters) balanced populist appeals with architectural homage to the gods. All the same, Caesar developed the strategy in a different direction, exploiting his lineage to appeal to the

people. A topographical shift also occurred: the Roman Forum, the traditional hub of politics and a contested site since the time of the Gracchi, lost favor, except for the conservative projects of Fabius Maximus and Aemilius Lepidus. Pompey's theater sapped attention away to the Campus Martius, as if to redirect political discourse.

That only one pair of censors and few other consuls besides Pompey (and, throughout the 60s, the ex-consul Lutatius Catulus) opted for public building is noteworthy. For the powerful Cicero, Sulla's removal of military service as a prerequisite for public office must have been a factor: rising through the ranks on the strength of his oratory, he chose the written word for his oeuvre – a *monumentum* that Horace might later have considered more lasting than bronze and more towering than pyramids.²⁰² For others in high office, the violence of the age, or a sense of the futility of competing with Pompey and Caesar, may have stifled conspicuous rivalry. Others still may have chosen a different outlet. The end of

the second century and the first half of the first saw a swift increase in the size and opulence of private residences; with his luxury estate on the edge of the Pincian, Lucullus was in good company. Remains of houses on the Palatine (Fig. 6.18), the Quirinal, the Viminal, and the Caelian preserve wall paintings and mosaic floors of spectacular quality, and standards kept rising: Pliny comments that Aemilius Lepidus' residence, with its thresholds of Numidian marble, was the most luxurious in Rome in 78, but within thirty-five years did not rank among the city's top 100.²⁰³ By one estimate, the reception areas (atrium, *tablinum*, and *alae*) of Licinius Crassus' house, one of the largest known, covered roughly 430 meters²,²⁰⁴ and Pliny excoriates Aemilius Scaurus for transferring 38-foot monolithic columns from his theater to his home.²⁰⁵

These houses fetched vast sums.²⁰⁶ Yet the upsurge in elite residential architecture marks more than a rise in wealth: it was part of a larger shift, to make a mark on the landscape by maneuvering within and around



Fig. 6.18 View of the Forum Romanum and the foot of the Palatine with remains of houses in the middle distance (Penelope Davies su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Soprintendenza Speciale per il Colosseo, il Museo Romano e l'Area archeologica di Roma)

restrictions on architectural commissioning, for, despite Pliny's later moralizing about private versus public luxury, no laws or consensus seem to have prohibited the use of private funds on these structures, as they apparently did on public buildings. The upsurge was also a symptom of factionalization: men like Aemilius Scaurus, Clodius, and Cicero used their homes to welcome crowds of supporters who furthered their goals. And just as aediles centered their attentions in the Forum and vicinity, for

many of the most active public figures of the 60s and early 50s, a grand center of operations in the form of a residence close to the Forum appears to have been a high priority.²⁰⁷ Indeed, in Cicero's view, without a house in the city center, preferably large and on the Palatine, chances of a successful political career were slim.²⁰⁸ As the boundaries between public and private grew increasingly permeable, controls on self-advancement through architecture weakened.

SEVEN

CAESAR, POMPEY, AND RIVALS: *ca.* 54–44

POLITICAL FRAMEWORK

Rome in Crisis

The decade between 54 and 44 witnessed crisis in Rome. Renewed in 56, the alliance between Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus was still in place. In the aftermath of the inauguration of his theater-portico, Pompey was the most powerful man in the city, and rather than leaving for Spain as proconsul in 54, he stayed in Rome and governed his province through legates.¹ As Caesar settled into a second five-year command in Gaul and Illyricum, his influence on Pompey waned, and the death of his daughter Julia in 54 struck a blow to their bond.² Despite his popularity with the plebs, Caesar's atrocities as consul still bedeviled his relations with the senate, and his design was to stay abroad as proconsul until he was eligible for a second consulship, in 48; returning in the interim, he would lose *imperium* and risk prosecution.³ For his part, Crassus set out for Syria in 54, hoping that a Parthian war would bring him glory commensurate to that of his fellow triumvirs. His death on the battlefield at Carrhae in 53 robbed Caesar of his closest ally and counterpoint to Pompey, and hastened the rift between them.⁴

As Caesar and Pompey positioned themselves, Rome was paralyzed. For an entire year in 54 to 53, consular elections were obstructed as the senate strove to contain their rivalry. Pompey in turn used tribunes to block the senate, content to see anarchy escalate to such a pitch that his peers would request his intervention. Rumors of a dictatorship circulated. By the end of 54, all the consular candidates were awaiting prosecution, and by mid-53, when the senate called on Pompey as proconsul to ensure elections, bribery was endemic enough to cause

a money shortage. When 52 dawned, senators even disagreed on appointing an *interrex*.⁵

Among the candidates for praetor and consul were Clodius and Milo. In an armed scuffle on Via Appia on January 18, Milo's men murdered Clodius, and the incident proved a spark in a tinderbox. Riots erupted. The senate issued a *senatus consultum ultimum* and appointed Pompey sole consul to restore order. In a sign of his closer collaboration with the senate majority and his commensurate distance from Caesar, Pompey chose the conservative Q. Caecilius Metellus Scipio, now his father-in-law, as his co-consul.⁶

Civil War

In 52, revolt was in the Gallic air. United under the leadership of Vercingetorix, king of the Averni, numerous tribes invaded Transalpina, heading for Narbo. Though victory hung in the balance, at the siege of Alesia Vercingetorix surrendered, and the region was subdued. Later reports claimed that during the extended Gallic campaign Caesar captured 800 towns, subjugated 300 peoples and defeated 3 million armed men, a third of whom were killed, a third imprisoned or enslaved.⁷ At the end of the year, when the senate decreed a lengthy *supplicatio* to conclude both the war and Caesar's command, his response was to consolidate power in Gaul, establish a base of operations in Ravenna, and pay cash for support in Rome: in 50, an infusion of 36 million sesterces into Aemilius Paullus Lepidus' basilica restoration bought the consul's neutrality, and 10 million sesterces ensured the backing of the popular M. Scribonius Curio, once Caesar's adversary and now tribune (thanks in part to an extraordinary theater project). Curio advocated that if Caesar

was to lay down his command, so too should Pompey, but neither man complied.⁸ In January of 49, when the senate instructed the consuls, the praetors, the tribunes, and Pompey to defend the commonwealth, declaring tribunician intercession unacceptable, Caesar's tribunes, M. Antonius and Q. Crassus, fled to him. Appealing to his troops to strike out for the tribunes' rights, for liberty, and for their leader's *dignitas*, Caesar stepped over the Rubicon in an unauthorized departure from his province, and began his march on Rome.⁹

Proclaiming the city indefensible, Pompey made his way to Greece with an entourage of senators.¹⁰ When Caesar reached Rome, his first brief visit in nine years was a moment of antagonism, not triumph: his requests for money denied, he crossed the *pomerium* to raid the Temple of Saturn, so ending his command, and when a tribune, L. Metellus, blocked his way, he threatened violence against him.¹¹ Departing for Spain, he won over Pompey's troops before returning to Rome for eleven days in December, where Aemilius Paullus Lepidus, as praetor, had named him dictator. Elections declared him consul for 48 with P. Servilius Isauricus. He requisitioned votives from Rome's temples, and at the end of December resigned the dictatorship. As he sailed for Greece on January 4, he was a legitimate representative of the Republic.¹²

Pompey and Caesar first engaged battle at Dyrrachium, Albania, in July, where Pompey prevailed. A month later, at Pharsalus in central Greece, the tables turned.¹³ Pompey fled to Egypt, and there, on the Alexandrian shore, Ptolemy XIII's henchmen murdered him, and abandoning his body on the beach, presented his head and signet ring to a distraught Caesar, who arrived in October.¹⁴ Now dictator for a year, Caesar sojourned in Alexandria for eight to nine months; he wrested the city from Ptolemy's forces and secured Ptolemy's sister, Cleopatra VII, on the throne, before departing for Syria in late May or June. At Zela he thwarted the efforts of Mithridates' son, Pharnaces, to reclaim his kingdom.¹⁵

In September of 47, Caesar made his way to Rome, where he and Aemilius Paullus Lepidus were elected consuls for 46.¹⁶ By the beginning of December he had left to contain Pompeian resistance in North Africa, led by L. Scipio and Cato; appointed dictator again, he prevailed in clashes at Thapsus and Utica, where Cato took his own life. Having taken Numidia and established Africa Nova, Caesar returned to Rome in July and prepared for a spectacular quadruple triumph, which he

celebrated in September.¹⁷ The senate appointed him dictator every year for ten years and *praefectus morum*, in which capacity he could purge and expand the senatorial and equestrian orders.¹⁸ By the beginning of December, 46, he was in Spain; the following March, he bested Pompey's son Gnaeus in a perilous battle at Munda, and so put an end to Pompey's forces. In October he returned to Rome. Already sole consul for 45, at some point he was appointed *dictator perpetuus*.¹⁹

Caesar's Dictatorship and Assassination

The terms of Caesar's perpetual dictatorship are not clear. He was probably expected to restore Republican order, and to that end he embarked upon a series of far-ranging and ambitious reforms. They penetrated far into Roman life, which had been deeply and chronically disrupted.²⁰ His legacy included a thorough review of the law codes, so that "the vast and prolix mass of statutes [should] include only the best and most essential in a limited number of volumes," and a revision of the calendar, which replaced the lunar year (with an extra month intercalated every two years), with a solar year of 365 days and a leap year every four years, and so restored logic to a ritual calendar that had fallen out of rhythm with the seasons. In the process, he curtailed the priests' ability to introduce intercalary days and months at whim.²¹ The legal and calendrical overhauls simplified and clarified daily life; more significantly, perhaps, they reduced elite hegemony on information that governed it.

Many of Caesar's reforms addressed social issues. As Appian put it, they aimed "to better the condition of the poor," and resonated in a city where residents paid no taxes and harbored low expectations of the state.²² Rome was grossly overcrowded; one estimate places the population at three-quarters of a million, many of whom lived in abject poverty. Populist as they were, still Caesar's reforms were aimed not at quick solutions and instant favor but at long-term practical objectives. Thus, for instance, he distributed corn, installed two *aediles cereales* to manage the supply, and planned improvements to harbor facilities at Ostia, but after a thorough census cut the number of recipients from 320,000 to 150,000; and though a tribune, P. Cornelius Dolabella, had agitated violently for debt remission during his absence in 47, Caesar stopped short of wholesale debt cancellation.²³ Similarly, his solutions for addressing violence in the city were stiffer penalties for crime, sumptuary laws, and

taxes on indicators of excessive wealth, to reduce visible inequities between rich and poor, but he also shut down the popular *collegia*.²⁴ He increased opportunities for the political elite, raising the number of praetors to fourteen and quaestors to forty, reducing the terms of provincial governors, and increasing the senate to 900; he raised the number of priests and supplemented the patriciate with new members for the first time since the fifth century.²⁵

Caesar's primacy presented others with a problem. As initial fears for the safety of his opponents subsided, members of the elite came to understand that they had no prospects for authentic power, only that bestowed by Caesar's favor, especially since, in 45, they granted him the power to nominate half the magistrates for the next three years. For the most part Caesar acted alone, kept his own counsel, and proved hard to reach; and neither the senate nor the *comitia* could act without his permission.²⁶ In this much, his status thwarted elite ambitions and rendered meaningless the very values that defined elite life.²⁷ That Caesar was not a conservative, fighting the senate's cause as Sulla did, was insult enough, but his peers also recognized his talents: no ordinary populist rallying the crowd just for his own advancement, Caesar was brilliantly charismatic, and offered considered policies for long-term change and redistributive reform.²⁸

Reactions varied. A despondent Cicero withdrew into philosophy. Some continued to hope that Caesar would act reasonably, as M. Iunius Brutus did at first; some accepted magistracies he handed them, or reconciled themselves to a long drawn-out waiting game.²⁹ And some sought a radical solution through conspiracy. Eventually this group was about sixty strong, many of them high in Caesar's favor. The leaders were C. Cassius Longinus and Brutus, descendant of one of the first consuls and Cato's nephew; both were praetors and probably in line for consulships in 41. Also involved were C. Trebonius, consul in 45, and D. Iunius Brutus, consul designate for 42.³⁰ Caesar's plan to depart for an extended campaign in Parthia around March 18, to avenge Crassus and control the eastern borders, propelled them to action.³¹ One thought was to assassinate him at the consular elections, another on his way to a public ceremony or at gladiatorial games; the final decision was to ambush him at a meeting in Pompey's Curia, where he would sit unguarded and conspirators could conceal daggers in the folds of their togas.³² There, on the Ides of March in 44, with twenty-three bloody cuts they struck him down, and thus, in Florus' words, "he who had filled the

whole world with the blood of his fellow-citizens at last filled the senate-house with his own." Caesar fell at the foot of Pompey's statue, impotent witness to autocracy's destruction.³³

RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS

Between 54 and 44, only one individual, Caesar, made temple vows.³⁴ He did so first on the assumption that he would be a *triumphator*, and then as dictator, and through sacred architecture, he established an intimate link with divinity and aligned himself with Rome's foundation myths. As his authority grew after his return from Africa in 46, and continuing until March of 44, the senate inundated him with honors, including several temple vows. Far from expressing adherence to tradition, as in the past, the vows showered praise on the dictator, reinforcing and elaborating on his own claims (Fig. 7.1).

Caesar's Temples

During Caesar's posting in Gaul, his allies kept him apprised of developments in Rome and represented his interests there. Still, as Pompey's stature grew and Caesar's influence with him waned, his distance from the city must have become a liability. In the long term, his prestige would best be served by a glorious triumph, and to that end he rampaged through Gaul, crossed the Rhine into Germany, and made two expeditions to Britain. In the short term, he needed to remain relevant in Rome. He sent the senate masterfully penned narratives of his successes, and as profits rolled in from his campaigns – so much gold that the price fell by 25 percent – the crowd's adulation swelled; extended supplications in 57, 55, and 52 must also have enhanced his status with a grateful populace.³⁵ Perhaps his most effective tactic was to embark on grand architectural initiatives that he managed through agents, among them Cicero and C. Oppius. These projects assured jobs as work drew to a close on Pompey's Theater-Portico Complex, and the commotion of construction, and the evident expense incurred, gave Caesar a surrogate presence, despite the fact that when the buildings are first mentioned the populace had not set eyes on him in five years. As the structures took shape, that presence became physical. Caesar's management from afar, powerful yet invisible, may even have lent him mystique.

Beginning in 54, Caesar instructed Cicero and Oppius to purchase land on the north side of the Forum between

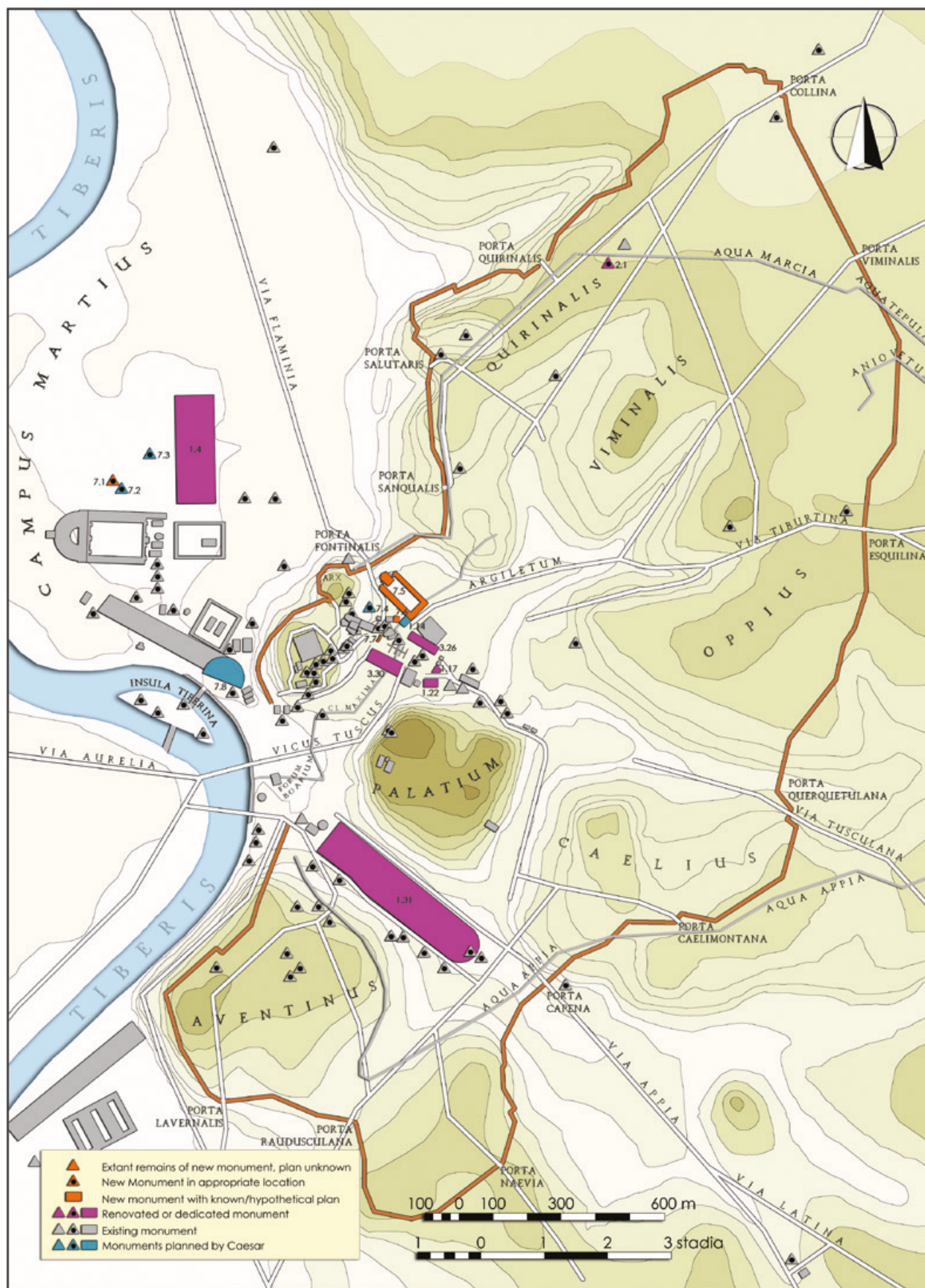


Fig. 7.1 Map of Rome, ca. 54-44 (Penelope Davies, Onur Öztürk, and Bogdan Perzyński)



Fig. 7.2 Forum Iulium, begun in *ca.* 54, actual state (Penelope Davies)

the ridge joining the Arx and the Quirinal hill on the west and the Argiletum on the east, for a grand *monumentum* that would become his Forum Iulium (Fig. 7.2). Its focal point was a temple to his ancestress, Venus Genetrix, dedicated during his triumph in 46. As early as 69, when he pronounced the eulogy over his aunt Julia, Caesar had stressed his family's descent from Venus; according to Dio, he professed that she endowed him with a youthful bloom.³⁶ Since then, Pompey had also claimed her favor with his temple to Venus Victrix, and Caesar's construction of a temple honoring Venus Genetrix reads as a defiant refusal to yield the goddess to his adversary. Conflicting claims to her protection – and the implication

of *Romanitas* that she imparted – underpinned the civil war. Dubbed “the descendant of Venus” by his opponents, Caesar spread word of his divine ancestry among his soldiers, and as his troops prepared for battle at Pharsalus, Venus Victrix was their watchword. In turn, when portents caused panic in Pompey's camp, he “went around and quieted it and then fell into a deep sleep, and when his friends aroused him he said that he had just dreamed that he had dedicated a temple in Rome to Venus the Bringer of Victory.”³⁷ Still, Caesar's was the first cult to apply the epithet *genetrix* (mother) to any goddess,³⁸ and with it he implied an unprecedented intimacy with divinity that easily trumped Pompey's.

New construction:

- 7.1 *Naumachia Caesaris*
- 7.2 Temple of Mars
- 7.3 Libraries
- 7.4 Theater
- 7.5 Forum Iulium and Temple of Venus Genetrix
- 7.6 Temple of Felicitas

7.7 *Rostra Caesaris*

- 7.8 Theater

Restoration:

- 1.4 *Saepta Iulia (ovile)*
- 1.14 Curia Iulia (Hostilia/Cornelia)
- 1.17 Regia

1.22 Precinct of Vesta

- 1.31 Circus Maximus
- 2.1 Temple of Quirinus
- 3.26 Basilica Aemilia (Fulvia)
- 3.30 Basilica Iulia (Sempronia)

Fig. 7.1 (cont.)

At what point Caesar conceived of his vow remains open to conjecture. Appian describes how, before Pharsalus,

He offered sacrifice at midnight and invoked Mars and his own ancestress, Venus (for it was believed that from Aeneas and his son, Iulus, was descended the Julian race, with a slight change of name), and he vowed that he would build a temple in Rome as a thank-offering to her as the Bringer of Victory if everything went well.³⁹

Later, Appian continues, he “erected the temple to Venus, his ancestress, as he had vowed to do when he was about to begin the battle of Pharsalus.”⁴⁰ If the vow to Venus Genetrix only occurred in 48, as this suggests, Caesar may have intended the temple to honor another divinity at the time of inception, perhaps, as one scholar proposes, simply Venus without her epithet. Given the longevity of his family’s claim to divine ancestry, and given that Caesar was already making plans for his *monumentum* in 54, it is likely that the honorand was determined before the civil war,⁴¹ and that the temple was first conceived as a votive in the context of his Gallic campaigns. However, it is noteworthy that none of the other ancient authors who describe the battle of Pharsalus preserves Appian’s tradition, though they shared his sources and the episode would have enriched their accounts; it is possible, therefore, that the historian was indulging a creative whim.⁴²

Of the temple as it was dedicated in 46, little but the podium survives. Almost 6 meters high, it was mostly shaped out of a spur of bedrock. At the front was a tribunal, approximately 3.50 meters high, 30 meters wide, and 2 meters deep, constructed out of massive blocks of Gabine stone and Anio tufa (Figs. 7.3–4).⁴³ Access was from the sides, by way of two staircases (excavated only on the south) placed parallel to the flanks of the podium, with the lowest step to the rear and a landing mid-flight (Fig. 7.5).⁴⁴ From the tribunal, broad stairs set between spur walls led up to the temple proper, which had an octastyle, pycnostyle, and probably Corinthian façade. Eight lateral columns flanked the cella.⁴⁵ Inside, rectilinear niches articulated the side walls; the rear wall was an apse, which, though concealed on the exterior where the temple abutted the ridge between the Arx and the Quirinal, may have evoked the form of Pompey’s Temple of Venus Victrix. A colossal cult statue in the apse, by Archesilaus, was still unfinished at the time of its installation in 46.⁴⁶ As represented on coins minted in 44, Venus stood in a contrapposto position, holding a scepter and leaning on a shield; on her left shoulder was an *eros*, and a Victory

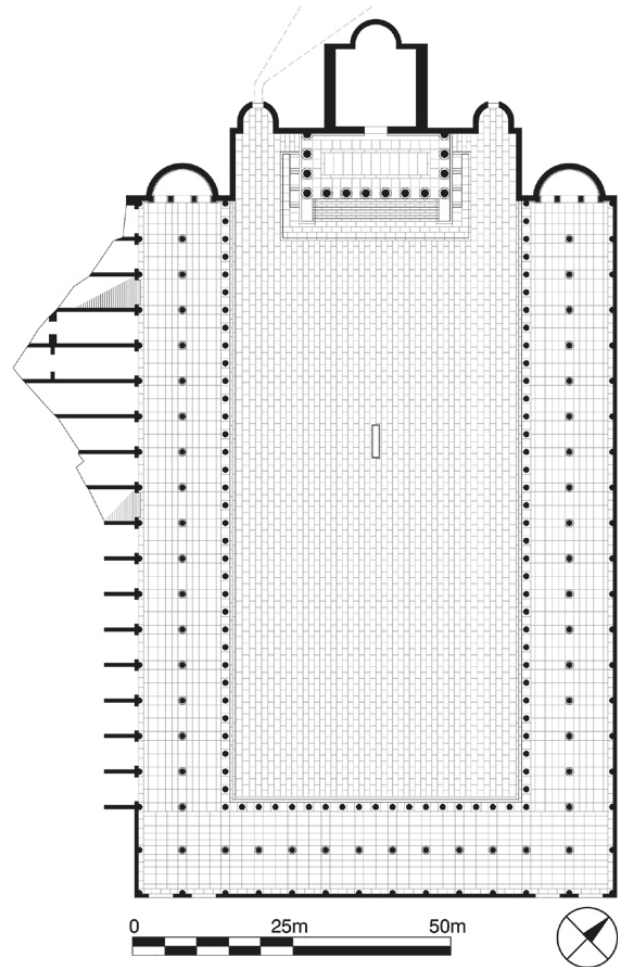


Fig. 7.3 Forum Iulium, begun in *ca.* 54, plan of initial phase (John Burge)

was alighting on her hand (Fig. 7.6).⁴⁷ Appian claims that Caesar also “placed a beautiful image of Cleopatra by the side of the goddess, which stands there to this day,” a token of the conquest of Egypt, perhaps, or an Augustan dedication; and Pliny valued paintings by Timomachus of Byzantium at almost 2 million sesterces; it is tempting to see them – depictions of Medea as she contemplated the murder of her children, and Ajax meditating on suicide – as veiled references to civil war and Cato’s suicide.⁴⁸

The Temple of Venus Genetrix closely resembled the Temple of Castor in the Forum,⁴⁹ locus, in 59, of Caesar’s public defiance of his co-consul Bibulus and the senate. The imitation in design suggests comparable functions, and perhaps a usurpation of some roles: orators could speak from the tribunal, and the cella offered the senate a centrally located alternative to Pompey’s Curia, watched over by Caesar’s rival; in fact, it was tantamount to a family shrine to the Julii,



Fig. 7.4 Forum Iulium, begun in *ca.* 54, hypothetical reconstruction (without water features) (John Burge)

with Caesar's ancestress presiding. Similar as it was to the Temple of Castor, the Temple of Venus Genetrix was marginally larger throughout;⁵⁰ for a votive, in fact, it was extraordinarily monumental and forbidding, and, unlike Pompey's Temple of Venus Victrix, stood at ground level where proximity to viewers maximized its size. The tribunal's sheer vertical face enhanced its imposing quality and conveyed an impression of inaccessibility – a response, perhaps, to frequent outbreaks of violence at public meetings; postholes in the paving slabs in front of the tribunal probably indicate a railing to keep crowds at bay.⁵¹ Moreover, where the steps to the tribunal at the Temple of Castor, perpendicular to the platform, were visible from the front, those at the Temple of Venus Genetrix were concealed from view, which made them easier to guard and also allowed a speaker – Caesar – to emerge dramatically onto his stage, as if in epiphany.⁵² As at the Temple of Castor, the pycnostyle screen of columns, the *scaenae frons*, reinforced the impression of controlled access. The principal difference between the Temple of Venus and that of Castor, and other recent temples as well, was material. The columns, at least, were gleaming white marble (Fig. 7.4),⁵³ its first known use for a temple superstructure since the 130s. It originated not in Greece but in newly opened quarries at Carrara in Liguria, near Caesar's sometime headquarters in his province;⁵⁴ as before, it signaled conquest. The podium, too, may have been reveted in marble.⁵⁵

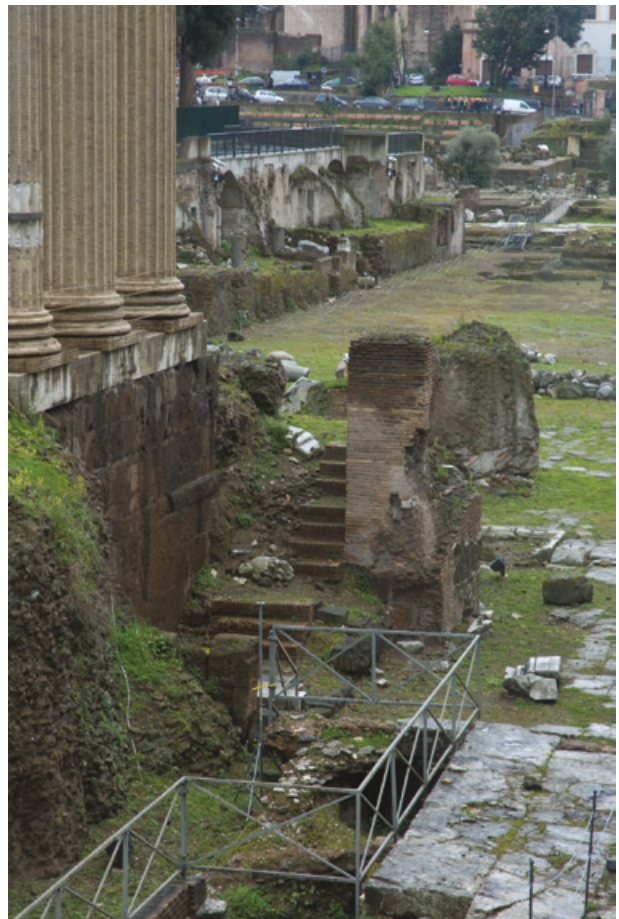


Fig. 7.5 Temple of Venus Genetrix, begun in *ca.* 54, lateral staircase (Penelope Davies)



Fig. 7.6 *Denarius* minted by M. Mettius in 44, with a reverse image of the statue of Venus Genetrix. British Museum (© Trustees of the British Museum)

Like Pompey's theater complex, the choice of location for Caesar's temple may have been deliberately transgressive. Despite the preference for sites along the Via Triumphalis, no manubial temple stands in the Forum; the closest, in all likelihood, was Marius' Temple of Honos and Virtus on the Velian ridge, which in its day probably also challenged senatorial authority. If a consensus or prohibition existed against votive temples in the Forum, Caesar's audacity was striking, for Cicero characterized the piazza where his temple stood, Caesar's Forum, as an extension of the Forum itself.

Among Caesar's other building schemes, Suetonius lists an unrealized plan "to rear a temple of Mars, greater than any in existence, filling up and leveling the pool in which he had exhibited the sea-fight."⁵⁶ The pool's location places the intended temple in the Codeta Minor on the Campus Martius (Fig. 1.32). Together, honorand and location suggest that the vow celebrated a victory, and one view has it that Caesar planned it for an anticipated Parthian victory,⁵⁷ yet the circumstances that produced earlier vows to Mars – the Gallic incursion of 390 and Iunius Brutus Callaicus' campaign in Spain – suggest that it was to be a memorial for Caesar's Gallic campaign or for victory at Munda.⁵⁸ A temple to Mars would form a natural partner for the temple to Venus, with whom Romans had paired him since at least the *lectisternia* of 217;⁵⁹ together, Mars and Venus reinforced Caesar's divine lineage. Indeed, his cousin, the younger Marius, was hailed as the son of Mars and Venus, and Caesar sacrificed to both gods at Pharsalus.⁶⁰

Caesar's hand may also be discernible in three restorations. In a list of omens observed in 49 as Pompey approached Dyrrachium, which "seemed to portend some political change," Dio mentions a conflagration at the Temple of Quirinus.⁶¹ By 45 the senate had erected a statue of Caesar in the temple, which suggests that it had been restored.⁶² The episode so closely mirrors the fire at the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus in the build-up to civil war between Sulla and

the Mario–Cinnans in 82 that it is barely conceivable that Caesar would have left the restoration to another magistrate; as before, the work may have suggested a refounding of the city, this time under Caesar's gubernatorial hand. Vitruvius describes the temple as dipteral, octastyle, and Doric, and he notes that, as well a *pronaos*, it had a *posticum*, in Greek fashion.⁶³

Archaeological evidence also attests to construction beyond the east end of the Forum. At the southwest corner of the Regia, an annex was built.⁶⁴ A more substantial project targeted the adjacent precinct of Vesta (Fig. 7.7). The temple was raised on a concrete podium, and a narrow passageway installed from the rear of the building to the residence of the Vestals, where the rooms were embellished with black and white geometric floor mosaics. A suite of rooms was added to the west of the residence, built in rubblework; one, apparently a ritual space, communicated with the earlier common room, while others served as a vestibule and a guardroom. Repaved in travertine, the precinct was also extended eastward, where an existing structure was reworked into a monumental porticus of marble and stuccoed travertine; this in turn opened into an apsidal room flanked by columns and furnished with a black and white honeycomb mosaic. To the rear, another room communicated with the Domus Publica. Foundations in front of the porticus indicate an additional substantial structure in the precinct. At the same time, the street between the precinct of Vesta and the Regia was repaved and aligned with the dominant axes in the Forum.⁶⁵

The work at Vesta's precinct appears to date to the period of Caesar's tenure as *pontifex maximus* from 63

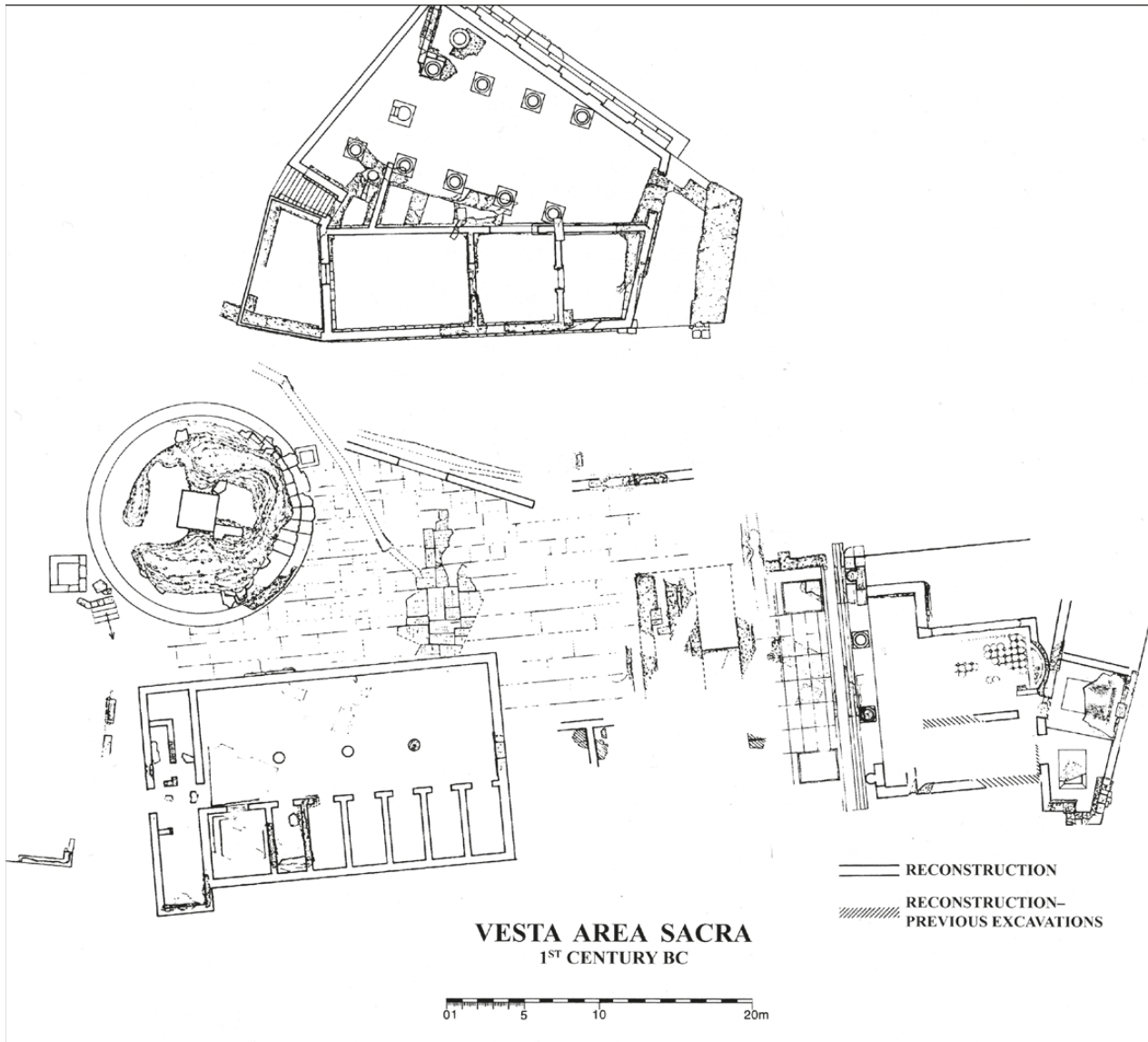


Fig. 7.7 Precinct of Vesta, ca. 48–44 (?), plan (Russell T. Scott)

on, when the adjacent *Domus Publica* was his residence.⁶⁶ The grand porticus conveyed the close rapport between the chief priest and the Vestals, and the precinct's monumentalization may have answered an old debt of gratitude, for, in 82, the young Caesar defied Sulla's command to dissolve his marriage to Cinna's daughter, Cornelia, and renounce his ties to the family; to escape the dictator's henchmen, he fled into hiding, and only through the intercession of the Vestals and some close relatives did Sulla relent.⁶⁷ He may have commissioned the work as consul in 59;

more probably he did so during his dictatorship when, by preserving and exalting the city's eternal hearth, it would complement the message of the restored Temple of Quirinus.

Caesar's opponents also condemned him for demolishing temples on the Campus Martius, among them, perhaps, the Temple of Pietas.⁶⁸ As *pontifex maximus* he was presumably positioned to arrange for their deconsecration, and the stated motivation was to make way for a stone theater; the desire to acquire a more central location than Pompey's theater came at a cost.

The Senate: Honors in Excess

At various stages after Pompey's death, while Caesar's projects were under way, the senate granted him honors. Dio's account of them is the most detailed, arranged in three lists; Appian and Plutarch contribute further particulars. Extraordinarily extensive, largely unprecedented in Rome, these tributes have been assessed at length as a group; had they been fulfilled, the architectural honors, emphasized here, would have constituted the most lasting and powerful of them.

Dio's first list enumerates honors Caesar accepted (implying he declined others) after Utica in April of 46, at the time when the senate appointed him dictator for ten years. Among them were a forty-day *supplicatio*, exceptional rights for his triumph, and the privilege of sitting with the consuls and initiating proceedings at senate meetings; there was a votive chariot on the Capitol and a bronze portrait set atop an image of the inhabited world, with a label declaring him a demigod.⁶⁹ The senate also decreed that "his name should be inscribed upon the Capitol in place of that of Lutatius Catulus on the ground that he had completed this temple after undertaking to call Lutatius Catulus to account for the building of it."⁷⁰

A second set came at disparate moments after the battle of Munda in 45.⁷¹ For Dio, some were alarmingly regal (if not outright divine), including powers exceeding Republican norms (the power to grant magistracies, a ten-year consulship, exclusive right to an army, and authority over state finances); an ivory statue and a chariot to process with those of the gods at the circus; a portrait in the Temple of Quirinus inscribed "To the Invincible God;" and another on the Capitol beside a sculptural group of the kings, implying that he was an eighth monarch.⁷² Others Dio judged "not undemocratic," even if they were "immoderate and contrary to precedent": festivals (such as annual circus games for the Parilia, Rome's foundation day on April 21, to commemorate the arrival of news of Caesar's victory at Munda on the eve of the festival) and thanksgivings for any Roman victory regardless of Caesar's part in it; the title *imperator*, and the right to wear special attire (triumphal garb at the games and a laurel crown at all times).⁷³ And "in honour of his victory the senate ... called him 'Liberator,' entering it also in the records, and voted for a public temple of Liberty."⁷⁴

Between these and Caesar's assassination come the final and most extensive honors, which Dio names as

the reason for his downfall, a point that scholars routinely dismiss. In its full form the catalog conveys a sense of the cumulative effect of the honors and the author's impression of how they kept coming, wave upon wave.⁷⁵ Several categories prevail: extraordinary powers and titles (sole censor for life, tribunician sacrosanctity, the name *parens patriae*, stamped on coinage, the office of *pontifex maximus* for any son he might have or adopt);⁷⁶ the right to perform some honorific acts (offering *spolia opima*, returning on horseback from the Alban Mount after the *Feriae Latinae*) and to be the subject of others (to have laurel-bearing lictors at all times); commemorative tributes (such as the naming of his birth month of July and one of the tribes the Julian); and honors implying heroic status.⁷⁷ They decreed visual signs and trappings of power, suggesting regal or divine status: that his golden chair and gem-laden gilt crown be carried into the theater like those of the gods, that his chariot be brought into the circus at games, and that

He should have a statue in the cities and in all the temples of Rome, and they set up two also on the rostra, one representing him as the savior of the citizens and the other as the deliverer of the city from siege, and wearing the crowns customary for such achievements.⁷⁸

He also received the right to a tomb within the *pomerium*. Moreover,

They also resolved to build a temple of Concordia Nova, on the ground that it was through his efforts that they enjoyed peace, and to celebrate an annual festival in her honour. When he had accepted these, they assigned to him the charge of filling the Pontine marshes, cutting a canal through the Peloponnesian isthmus, and constructing a new senate-house, since that of Hostilius, although repaired, had been demolished. The reason assigned for its destruction was that a temple of Felicitas was to be built there, which Lepidus, indeed, brought to completion while master of the horse [in 44] ... And finally they addressed him outright as Jupiter Julius and ordered a temple to be consecrated to him and to his Clemency, electing Antony as their priest like some *flamen Dialis*.⁷⁹

According to Appian, "many temples were decreed to him as to a god."⁸⁰

Taken together, the temple vows are remarkable, for this reason: extant data on earlier years preserves not a single instance of the senate, as a body, vowing a temple, except when acting for the Sibylline Books, of which there is no mention in this context. The deviation from



Fig. 7.8 *Denarius* minted in 44 with an obverse image of the Temple of Caesar's Clementia. British Museum (© Trustees of the British Museum)

customary practice is glaring. Worth recalling, too, is that when the senate *did* vow temples through the Sibyl, without exception, it was during a perceived state of emergency. An assessment of architecture over the course of the Republic shows that magistrates made deliberate, loaded choices on building types, honorands, design, and location – not surprising given that few had more than one chance to exploit construction in self-advancement. What developed was a finely tuned language of competitive building, with incontrovertible signs of architectural intertexts, where monuments referred to and gained meaning from what went before. If that language had remained fairly consistent for the first three and a half centuries of the Republic, moreover, in the last century, it had grown more nuanced, subverted, as the disgruntled – tribunes and the people – discovered new strategies for protesting domination. In the light of this history, and against the backdrop of half a century of temples to conservative, established divinities, an analysis of the senate's vows yields strange fruit.

Of the temples the senate vowed, to Liberty, Concordia Nova, Felicitas, and Caesar's Clemency, perhaps only the Temples of Caesar's Clemency and Felicitas were begun; the former may be represented on *denarii* minted by S. Sepullius Macer in April of 44 (Fig. 7.8), with an Ionic or Tuscan tetrastyle building raised on two steps, a globe or wreath in the pediment, and the legend *Clementiae Caesaris*. Appian placed a sculptural group inside, representing Caesar hand-in-hand with the goddess.⁸¹ For Plato, mercy was a virtue of the true statesman or the king of an ideal state. Ancient custom deemed it fitting

to bestow it on fellow-citizens (for instance, in law courts) and on vanquished enemies.⁸² In the mid-Republic, debate focused on mercy (*ἐπιεικεία*, *miser cordia*, *mansuetudo*, *lenitas*, and *comitas*) as applied to the enemy; thus Claudius Marcellus and Scipio Africanus granted clemency to the Carthaginians in the interest of preserving and extending Roman rule, while Furius Purpurio protested that acts of mercy saved the enemy to fight another day, and Cato famously insisted on the

destruction of Carthage against Scipio Aemilianus' more merciful instincts.⁸³ At the outbreak of civil war, Caesar declared clemency his policy, and when Domitius Ahenobarbus' troops surrendered at Corfinium in 49, he purportedly hoped that compassion and generosity would restore goodwill and make victory last. Before the battle of Thapsus, Caesar passed out pamphlets promising Scipio's soldiers clemency along with financial rewards, and in 46, confounding expectations of retributions and proscriptions on his return to Rome, he set about pardoning his opponents, "an act of generosity almost passing belief."⁸⁴ As he made his way back again after the battle of Munda, terror gripped Rome afresh, and his conciliatory stance spread a tidal wave of relief.⁸⁵ Thereafter, as dictator, his policy for dealing with opponents was not to punish but to create incentives for cooperation, and to limit opportunities for others to muster support or power (such as by dissolving guilds and reducing governors' terms). He stabilized neutrals, rewarded his backers, distributed financial and political favors widely, and multiplied positions into which he could install allies.⁸⁶ All this set him apart from men like Sulla, whose cruelty earned them hatred and short-term success, and Pompey, who was known for vindictiveness even by friends.⁸⁷ The result was that, for the first time, the term *clementia* began to gain currency in political discourse.⁸⁸ The senate's vow of a temple to Caesar's Clemency combined gratitude for his mercy with a plea for its continuance.⁸⁹ Yet by tradition, the right to grant clemency to an enemy was not an individual's but the state's. With Caesar, the gift of mercy had become the virtue of a single man, exercised

toward fellow-citizens, now also the vanquished enemy. Predicated upon god-like power, it entailed obligation.⁹⁰ Not by chance did Cato fall on his sword at Utica rather than accept it.⁹¹

If a vow to *Clementia* could be ambivalent, other architectural honors are more obviously double-edged. Since at least the time of Scipio Africanus, commanders had cultivated association with Jupiter, usually for excellence on the battlefield, though with Sulla the analogy was based on autocratic rule. If realized, the replacement of Lutatius Catulus' name with Caesar's on the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus would have characterized Caesar as Rome's guardian, a role he seems to have embraced with his own temple restorations. Yet as relayed by Dio, the rationale for the honor was patently contrived: that when Caesar, in a brazen bid for popularity as aedile, had accused Lutatius Catulus of embezzling funds earmarked for the temple's restoration, he had shouldered responsibility for entire renovation. The honor was unearned; the artificiality of the premise underscored the political motivation of Caesar's conduct in 62 and called into question the motivation for the senate's tribute.

As for Liberty, the antithesis to monarchy, it defined the Republic. To defend it, Romans meted out death sentences or exile for the overly popular. Liberty was Caesar's call to arms as he crossed the Rubicon, liberty the battle cry as he and Pompey addressed their troops before Pharsalus, validating the impending conflict as a fight for Rome's freedom from their opponent's tyranny.⁹² Before Thapsus, Scipio, in turn, distributed pamphlets urging Caesar's troops to liberate the senate and people of Rome; after the battle and Cato's suicide, "with one voice [the people of Thapsus] called Cato their saviour and benefactor, the only man who was free, the only one unvanquished."⁹³ With the promise of a temple to *Libertas*, Caesar was Rome's liberator from Pompey, the conflict a just war.⁹⁴

Nonetheless, the very currency of the concept, and the zeal of both parties to appropriate it, exposed its inherent subjectivity. More than that, the vow recalled earlier monuments to *Libertas*, most immediately the fiasco over Clodius' shrine, consecrated on the site of Cicero's house as he proclaimed Rome released from tyranny. The episode epitomized the anti-traditionalist strategies of this infamously populist tribune, and the comparison begged the question: was Caesar a more rightful liberator, or, at least for Cicero and his associates, was he a second Clodius, running roughshod over Republican

regulations? Ostensibly a mark of gratitude for upholding Republican ideals, that is, did the vow also underline the hypocrisy of Caesar's claim to free the Republic from tyranny while threatening violence against its institutions and officers when it served his goals?

Construction may have started on the Temple of *Felicitas*, for its part, on the site of the Curia Cornelia, now dismantled. *Felicitas* was the gift of the gods, particularly Fortuna. Generals succeeded through her favor, unless, like Claudius Marcellus and Marius, they credited their own skills. Sulla claimed the favor of all the gods and called himself *Felix*; proclaimed *Felicitas*' chosen one by Cicero, Pompey honored her with a shrine in his theater-portico complex.⁹⁵ Caesar, in turn, declared himself beloved of Fortune, and at Thapsus, *felicitas* was his battle cry.⁹⁶ The senate's vow of a temple to *Felicitas* declared him her favorite; yet, again, the bilateral deployment of the concept exposed its slipperiness, and its capriciousness. The fortunate could fall, as was evident when Sulla's son, F. Cornelius Sulla Felix, died at Utica. And the vow of a second temple to *Felicitas* probably recalled that, on the first day of his triumph in 46, the axle of Caesar's chariot had broken in front of her existing temple on the Velabrum, in "a portent far from good."⁹⁷ Did the senate's proposal suggest that Caesar, too, was vulnerable to fortune's whim, as the Augustan writer Nicolaus of Damascus believed?⁹⁸ And was the intended location of the temple – the site of the one-time senate house – a declaration that an icon of Republican liberty had fallen victim to the arbitrary notion of chance?⁹⁹

Of all the vows, that of a temple to *Concordia Nova* contained the highest level of self-exposure. As the epithet stresses, it was at least the fourth vow to *Concordia* over the course of the Republic, after Flavius' vow of 304, Manlius Vulso's of 219, and Opimius' of 121. All three earlier vows were pregnant with potential meaning: one followed a mutiny against a commander, while the other two invoked the goddess after a crisis of civic discord and, charged with irony, celebrated victory by one party rather than bilateral reconciliation.¹⁰⁰ Irony stuck by the goddess: she appeared on coins before the formation of the "triumvirate" that would prove so contentious, and again after its renewal in 56, and Caesar inaugurated his consulship with a speech aspiring to concord with his colleague, Bibulus, a concord that conspicuously failed. Cicero adopted the slogan *concordia* to exalt the senate's control and power in the face of those who threatened the Republic, and as civil war broke out, appealed first

to Pompey then to Caesar to strive for harmony for the sake of the state; he contemplated penning a treatise on the subject to sway their conduct.¹⁰¹ After Pharsalus, colleagues still encouraged Caesar to restore concord, and the concept underpinned his policy of clemency; he even planned colonies named Concordia Iulia. Yet, as before, concord was uneven: not a reconciliation of opposites, but the gift of a single man.¹⁰²

With his votive temples to Venus Genetrix and Mars, Caesar highlighted the intimacy of his connection with the divine: where generals had previously used temple vows to imply ill-defined association with gods or possession of divine virtues, his vows explicitly proclaimed divine descent. This status diminished Pompey's connection with Venus, and neutralized any senatorial instinct to avow privileged access to the gods; it also made Caesar the natural caretaker of religious matters on behalf of the state, a task his dictatorship enabled him to assume unimpeded. With the temples he restored in this capacity, he cast himself, as Sulla had, as the Republic's savior and refounder.

The temples the senate promised Caesar along with their other tributes confirmed the near-divine status that Caesar implied through his own projects, and though there are few material traces of them, analysis of the divinities selected leaves the senate's intentions open to question. Most of the concepts they chose had been bandied about so frequently in recent political debate as to be hackneyed; and though defensible within the terms of contemporary discourse, if read ironically, they might appear to be somewhat less – or more – than ingenuous.

SPOILS AND THE CITY

When it came to accumulating plunder for the state, Pompey had set a lofty standard. Never had Rome seen so much booty on parade as when he triumphed in 61. He was also aggressive in its disposal, expending his spoils in the public interest on a building that challenged typological norms and outsized all previous manubial monuments. When inaugurated, it presented Pompey as a man of unequalled stature and authority. If Caesar was to impress, he had to aim high.

That Caesar's long campaigns in Gaul would earn him a triumph was to be expected. However, to avoid prosecution upon crossing the *pomerium*, he would also need a magistrate's authority, which might be secured by requesting the right to run for consul *in absentia*. If

all went to plan, in fact, he probably anticipated a grand arrival as both *triumphator* and consul, a sensational combination unparalleled since the return of his uncle Marius from North Africa in 105.¹⁰³ This goal led to an audacious strategy for the deployment of spoils. By all appearances, while still on campaign he determined to use proceeds from plunder to finance buildings that would turn both aspects of his scheme – a consulship and a triumph – into a reality. Moreover, as word reached him of Pompey's spectacular restaging of his third triumph for the inauguration of the theater-portico complex in 55, it is likely that he resolved to spend manubial income to design a fitting venue for his scheme's unfolding. Properly managed, he may have hoped that his long absence could be turned to his advantage, if his homecoming could achieve the quality of an epiphany.

Things would not go as planned.

Spoils and Their Disposal, I: the Pre-emptive Triumphator

Two extraordinary commands in Gaul, followed by offensives to the east, gave Caesar, like Pompey, an advantage with regard to collecting spoils. Later campaigns against the Pompeian resistance also took him to North Africa and Spain. When dealing with foreign shrines, during the civil war he appears to have followed accepted guidelines; in Gaul, though, Suetonius believed that he plundered towns for the wealth of the inhabitants rather than for any offence they had caused, and that the possibility of amassing spoils inspired his incursions to Britain: the island was famed for unusually large pearls, and there were rumors of tin, gold, silver, iron, slaves, and other commodities besides.¹⁰⁴

In a radically innovative move, Caesar used his plunder while abroad to fund the purchase of land for the complex that would become the Forum Iulium, with the Temple of Venus Genetrix as its focal point (see above). Cicero admitted his own involvement to Atticus in October 54:

And so we friends of Caesar – myself and Oppius I mean, though you may explode with wrath at my confession – have thought nothing of spending half a million of money [60,000,000 sesterces] for that public work of which you used to speak so enthusiastically, the extension of the Forum and continuation of it as far as the Hall of Liberty (*monumentum illud, quod tu tollere laudibus solebas, ut forum laxaremus et usque ad atrium Libertatis explicaremus*). We could not satisfy the private owners with less; but we will make it a most magnificent affair.¹⁰⁵

The Forum Iulium: Agency, Form, Significance

Cicero speaks of the complex as a public work. His use of the term *monumentum*, moreover, which ancient authors use to describe manubial structures, indicates that Caesar intended whatever he built to commemorate the victories he achieved during his absence.¹⁰⁶ Suetonius, for his part, is clear on the source of funds:

[Caesar] neglected no expense in winning popularity, both as a private citizen and as a candidate for his second consulship. He began building a new Forum with the spoils taken from Gaul, and paid more than a million gold pieces for the site alone.¹⁰⁷

What neither author addresses is the authority with which Caesar engaged in public construction, for unlike a later emperor, he could not, as a Republican, build at whim. Seen against the backdrop of Republican building patterns, in fact, his behavior is remarkable: he was building as a *triumphator* before being granted a triumph. Though a general could apparently spend his spoils with relative freedom on public works, he did so after a triumph in order to commemorate and perpetuate the honor, having typically displayed the spoils first in a parade, registered them with the treasury, and then, presumably, sought senatorial approval for building plans. For those who did not triumph, income from spoils probably entered the treasury and covered state expenses; much of Lucullus' haul was eaten away in this fashion while he awaited a triumph in the 70s. On the whole, it seems that, with the possible exception of Stertinius, whose arches of 196 probably displayed spoils even though he chose not to request a triumph, in the absence of a triumph generals tended not to use spoils for manubial monuments. By any standards, Caesar's behavior was brazen: he spent proceeds of his victory on a monument that would not commemorate a past triumph but ensure a future triumph – and further public office – by framing his public image. With this manubial monument he also crafted a stage for the triumph.

When outlining his charge to Atticus, Cicero is vague. He does not specify what type of monument Caesar intended, nor does he mention the Temple of Venus Genetrix. These omissions lead scholars to question whether Caesar had a fleshed-out vision of the Forum in mind as his agents purchased land, and if he did, how closely it resembled the Forum Iulium as it was realized. Cicero names only one landmark, the Atrium Libertatis, which

some scholars place more or less in the location of the Temple of Venus Genetrix, vowed at an unknown date. For some archaeologists, the negative evidence for the design, coupled with a conflagration at the adjacent Curia in 52, indicates an evolving plan.¹⁰⁸ According to one hypothesis, Atticus' apparent familiarity with a scheme to enlarge the existing Forum suggests that Caesar's initial proposal was to extend it in compliance with a plan already mooted by the senate, and only in a second phase, stimulated by the Curia's destruction, was the eventual plan formulated.¹⁰⁹ Yet Cicero's state of knowledge is no indication of Caesar's; regardless of their collaboration on the land purchase, Caesar may not have shared counsel with this one-time rival, and may even have kept plans under wraps to breed intrigue. Moreover, any characterization of the monument as an extension of the Forum could easily have been a subterfuge, equivalent to Pompey's staircase for the Temple of Venus Victrix. In the light of patterns of manubial spending, the use of *manubiae* as a source of funding militates in favor of a temple in the initial conception, and though archaeological evidence does indicate two Caesarian concepts for the Forum Iulium, their plans are similar; the second phase, executed during the triumvirate, was probably inspired by the senate's request in 45–44 that Caesar be involved in the construction of a new senate house (see below).

So magnificent was the Forum Iulium, once completed, that a century and a half later Pliny would compare it to the pyramids of Egypt.¹¹⁰ Excavations in the area designated by Cicero revealed a large complex which, in the first phase of around 54 to 46, measured approximately 136.7 by 75.9 meters (Figs. 7.3–4). It comprised a spacious rectangular piazza, paved in travertine and dominated on the west by the temple. On three sides, raised on three Carrara marble steps, was a double-naved portico, paved in Carrara marble, with a maximum width of 13 meters (Fig. 7.9). It was probably two stories high, with a roof sloping in toward the piazza. The columns facing the piazza were Corinthian and closely spaced, with interaxials of 2.7 meters, while those on the interior were Ionic, and placed twice as far apart. Terracotta and Carrara marble frieze fragments decorated with griffins and a vegetal motif found in the south portico probably decorated the first order (perhaps an initial terracotta version, replaced at a later date with marble).¹¹¹ On the south side, remains of dividing walls behind and perpendicular to the portico's rear travertine wall indicate rooms arranged in series,

built of Anio tufo and Gabine stone; they may have housed judicial archives or equipment used in assemblies, or senatorial business.¹¹² The west end of the south portico was apsidal, and short walls with smaller apses connected the portico to the temple; this scheme was probably mirrored in the (unexcavated) north portico. On the east, opposite the temple, the portico had a solid rear wall with a rectangular niche at the center, framed by pilasters. Principal entrances to the complex were probably from the Argiletum at either end of this wall.¹¹³ Water features (not shown in fig. 7.4) seem to have

been placed in front of the temple and in front of the south portico, toward the rear of the piazza. Evidence for statues of nymphs known as Appiades, often placed in front of the temple, is inconclusive for this phase.¹¹⁴

Evidence for artworks in the Forum Iulium is limited, especially by comparison with Pompey's theater-portico complex. Inside the temple were the cult statue, perhaps a statue of Cleopatra, and paintings by Timomachus. On axis with the temple are blocks from a sculpture base and a robber trench of compatible dimensions; on the base, literary sources set a vast bronze statue by Lysippus, representing Alexander on his horse Bucephalus, renowned for the quasi-human form of its hooves. A portrait of Caesar replaced Alexander's face, and the statue drew on traditions claiming that both men owned horses that would tolerate no other rider, which, to Suetonius, presaged world mastery.¹¹⁵ The sculpture's placement one-third of the length of the piazza from the temple suggests that it was conceived in this first phase of the Forum. Finally, among the honors Caesar accepted, according to Pliny, was a cuirassed statue in the Forum Iulium.¹¹⁶

Conceptually, it is likely that Pompey's theater-portico complex, dedicated just a year earlier, was a catalyst for Caesar's Forum.¹¹⁷ Like the theater-portico, the Forum was designed to win the people's favor; yet where Pompey aimed to seduce the crowd through spaces devoted



Fig. 7.9 Forum Iulium, begun in ca. 54, south portico, actual state (Penelope Davies)

to leisure, *otium*, Appian is clear that the Forum was dedicated to a particular kind of *negotium* or business:

[Caesar] laid out ground around the temple which he intended to be a forum for the Roman people, not for buying and selling, but a meeting-place for the transaction of public business, like the public squares of the Persians, where the people assemble to seek justice or to learn the laws.¹¹⁸

Form underscored function: though derived from Hellenistic temple enclosures like those at Cos and Messene, by way of Roman manubial porticoes, the design in fact resembled Italic fora (such as the forum at Pompeii, dominated by the Temple of Jupiter at the short north end, or the forum at Minturnae with its Capitolium on the west), where the temple was set into one short end rather than the center to maximize the piazza's usable space.¹¹⁹ Adjacent to the principal loci of politics (the Forum Romanum, the Comitium, and the Curia), location, too, was strategic; for Cicero it was no less than an expansion of the Forum, where the crowd enacted its constitutional sovereignty through rituals of *contiones* and elections.¹²⁰ If Pompey's portico evoked the Forum, Caesar's complex was the Forum.

Like Pompey's complex, Caesar's initiative addressed Rome's chronic urban discontents, but the distinction between the structures was potent. Where Pompey's benefaction offered salves to those discontents, Caesar's

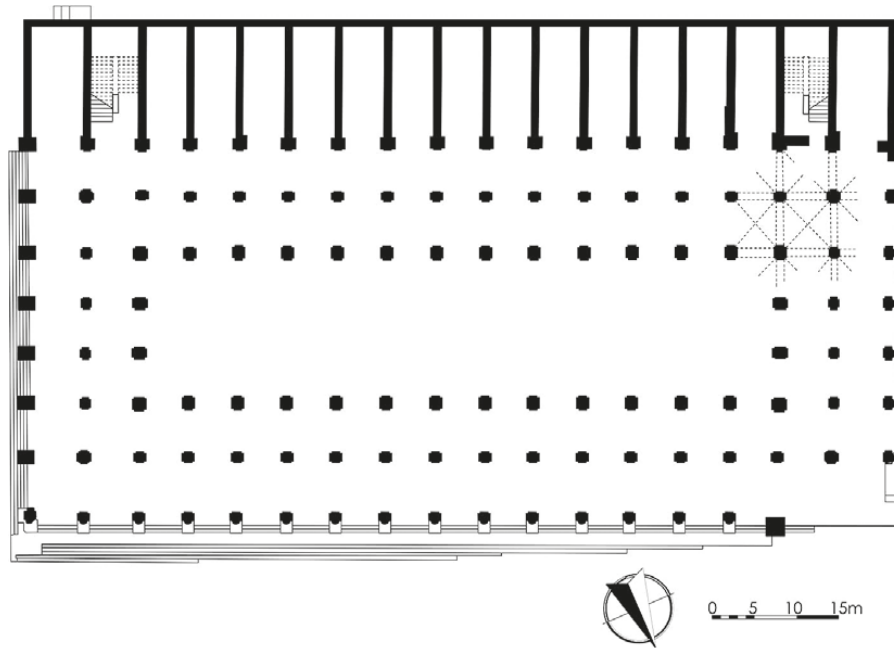


Fig. 7.10 Basilica Iulia, dedicated in 46, plan (Onur Öztürk)

exalted and expanded the very institutions – justice, law – that could help to solve them. Decoration rammed the point home. Where Pompey’s complex was a bar-rage of broken spaces and luxurious distractions, from sculptures, paintings, and tapestries to trees and running water, Caesar’s Forum seems to have presented a cleaner, linear impression. From the entrances from the Argiletum, the tall lateral porticoes and smooth travertine paving focused attention on two related points: in the near ground, the commanding figure of Caesar on horseback, and, behind him, on axis, the temple that bespoke his divine lineage; where Pompey was associated with Venus in an ill-defined way, that is, statue and temple together stressed that Caesar was nothing less than her progeny. The equestrian statue evoked those on the Rostra (which, removed by a fearful crowd during the civil war, Caesar would reinstall), and the Granikos Monument in the Porticus Metelli,¹²¹ but, with Caesar’s portrait in place of Alexander’s, it was also Caesar’s answer to his rival’s self-imaging: if Pompey resembled Alexander, Caesar was Alexander incarnate. The senate’s statue of Caesar, possibly framed in the alcove in the east wall to complete the Forum’s central axis, recalled the sculpture presented to Pompey for his Curia, but with a difference: it was the first statue in the city to represent a cuirassed general.¹²² Taken together, the form,

function and decoration of Caesar’s Forum cast him, the descendant of divinity, as an agent of change, concerned with the functioning of Republican institutions. Read retrospectively against its majestic simplicity, Pompey’s portico-garden became an image of self-adulation and indulgence, the conceit of an eastern king.

Other Manubial Structures?

While conceiving of his Forum, Caesar embarked on a second, complementary building: a magnificent upgrade to the wooden *ovile*, where the *comitia centuriata* assembled for consular elections. Once com-

pleted, it would be known as the Saepta Iulia. Again he charged Cicero with preparations, as the author communicates to Atticus in 54:

In the Campus Martius [Oppius and I] are going to make polling barriers of marble for the tribal assemblies, roof them over, and surround them with a lofty colonnade a mile in circumference. And at the same time we shall join this to the Villa Publica.¹²³

Discernible remains of the Saepta date to later phases, as does its appearance on the *Forma Urbis* (Fig. 4.23); still, both probably reproduce some of its original aspect.¹²⁴ Roughly 310 by 120 meters, it was defined by porticoes on either side. The entrance seems to have been on the short north side, and at the opposite end there were probably a tribunal and a wooden platform for voting, with flights of stairs for access. Movable barriers probably created as many aisles as the election required. To the south, there may have been a *diribitorium* where officials counted ballots.¹²⁵

The Saepta’s porticoes and rectilinear form invited comparison with Pompey’s portico-garden, only hundreds of meters away. Roughly 37,200 meters² in area, it would outsize the portico; and where the theater’s façade (and probably also that of the portico) was travertine, the Saepta would be cloaked in Carrara marble, delivering the spoils of conquest to the people. Like the Forum Iulium,

this spectacular reworking of the *ovile*, complete with a roof or awning for voter comfort, functioned at the heart of political business. It expressed and exalted the authority of the popular assembly, by grant, implicitly, of Caesar. As he issued Cicero with instructions, Caesar may have imagined the Saepta as the place where the people would elect him consul for 48 as he awaited his glorious *adventus*.

Around this time, Caesar also initiated a reconstruction of the Basilica Sempronia (known thenceforth as the Basilica Iulia) in Carrara marble. When work began is uncertain; the dedication, fixed by Jerome, was in 46.¹²⁶ The building's design is extrapolated from successive phases of restoration (Figs. 3.64 and 7.10): approximately 107 by 51 meters, it was raised above the Forum's sloping ground level by seven steps on the east end, a single step on the west. On the north façade, seventeen arches opened onto the Forum, flanked by engaged Tuscan columns, matched by seven arches on the short east and west ends. The south side may have had a solid wall or openings facing the Velabrum. Inside, a vast central hall, 75 by 16 meters in plan, soared approximately 30 meters high, framed on three sides by continuous double aisles; on the north, three steps led down to a third, wider aisle that doubled as a portico. Rooms on the south side were probably used as shops and offices, and stairwells led to an upper floor and attic.¹²⁷ The restoration aligned Caesar with the Sempronii, and, by virtue of his agrarian laws and other *acta*, he could claim to be the *continuator* of the most renowned of members of the family, the brothers Gracchi, tribunes of 133 and 123–122. It was also a magnificent response to the Basilica Aemilia, under reconstruction simultaneously across the Forum by Aemilius Paullus Lepidus, now neutralized by Caesar's contribution to the project.¹²⁸

Like the Forum Iulium, the Saepta must have been funded through spoils, since Caesar had no other authority to engage in public building in 54. The same may be true of the Basilica Iulia, unless construction began with Caesar's first dictatorship in 49. His pre-emptive use of spoils was as effective as it was radical: it allowed him to construct spaces that framed him as a man who was not only concerned for the people's lot, as Pompey had professed to be, but who would deliver more, if elected consul, than mere palliatives: he promised reform.

Spoils and Their Disposal, II: Adapted Outcome

Caesar's return to Rome in 49 was far from the *adventus* he had planned. Worse still, his actions nullified his

scheme: by crossing the *pomerium* to seize funds from the treasury, he forfeited his right to a Gallic triumph. Nor was his return from Syria at the end of 47 the straightforward celebration he had once envisaged. Isolated from his peers, he was all but unknown to the populace; he had defeated their one-time hero, who had then died an ignominious death. He did not give the senate a formal report of his victory over Pompey, which was tainted by the stigma of civil war; he did not request a triumph, nor were there supplications.¹²⁹ He did report his conquests at the Nile and at Zela, and for these there were thanksgiving celebrations; exceptionally, triumphs must have been granted for these victories in his absence. In 46, when the outcome of Thapsus reached Rome there were forty-day supplications, and a triumph was decreed.¹³⁰

Whatever the vacillations of opinion about Pompey during his lifetime, he had made history by triumphing over three continents, a point that his celebrations in 61 belabored and his theater-portico complex memorialized. In mid-46, Caesar spectacularly upstaged him. Where Pompey's feat had taken eighteen years to accomplish, Caesar celebrated four triumphs over equally far-flung regions in the space of a single month.¹³¹ The first triumph, and the most magnificent, was over Gaul, despite the fact that he had forfeited the right to it. Next came a triumph over Egypt, and then over King Pharnaces and Pontus; the last, over King Juba and Scipio's allies in North Africa, was a thinly veiled triumph over the Pompeians.¹³² Each was assigned a different day, spaced a few days apart, and unlike Pompey, who entered the city only on the second day of his triumph, or Aemilius Paullus, who in 168 entered only on the third, Caesar crossed the *pomerium* in glory on every day.¹³³ Each triumph was sensationally unique, with an emphasis on exposition: painted panels, and perhaps *tableaux vivants*, described the wars, and though Caesar stopped short of naming Romans among his enemies, he did, to the crowd's dismay, depict the suicides of Metellus Scipio and Cato.¹³⁴ As with his Forum, comparisons with Pompey were ubiquitous, as if to justify his defeat. In the Pontic triumph, Suetonius notes, he displayed among the show-pieces of the procession an inscription of just three words, 'I came, I saw, I conquered,' not indicating the events of the war, as the others did, but the speed with which it was finished."¹³⁵ The object was to stress that Caesar overcame Pharnaces within

four hours of sighting him, while Sulla had fought his father, Mithridates, for two years, Lucullus for six, and Pompey for another three.¹³⁶ Topographical representations signified the vast expanse of territories conquered (in the first, the Rhine, the Rhône, and Oceanus, all made of gold, and Gaul and Massilia; in the second the Nile and the Pharos of Alexandria), as did the use of diverse materials from defeated lands: “The emblems in his Gallic triumph were of citrus wood; in his Pontic of acanthus; in his Alexandrian triumph of tortoise-shell, in his African of ivory.”¹³⁷ As a gloss on Pompey’s use of captured flora to signify territorial conquest, in other words, Caesar transformed indigenous materials to narrate their own subjugation. There were at least six collections of engraved gemstones, probably seized in Alexandria (diminishing Pompey’s single gemstone collection), and pearls from Britain, a land over which he did not triumph and where his campaigns had been far from decisive. Some of them were formed into a cuirass, an emblem of valor that evoked Pompey’s pearl portrait only to expose its vanity.¹³⁸ There were precious metals too: by Appian’s account, he paraded 60,500 silver talents and 2,822 crowns of gold weighing 20,414 pounds, and Velleius Paterculus set the money realized from the sale of spoils and shown in triumph at a little over 600 million sesterces.¹³⁹ In October of 45, he celebrated a fifth triumph, over Spain.¹⁴⁰ Ivory towers represented captured cities, emblems of polished silver showed off their resources, and for the first time he publicly celebrated victory over his fellow-citizens.¹⁴¹

The triumphs of 46 began and ended with Caesar’s manubial monuments as their magnificent backdrop. As his troops prepared to return to citizen (voting) life, they assembled close to the Saepta, now under reconstruction on the Campus Martius. After the banquet concluding the fourth triumph, Caesar walked home to the Domus Publica with a vast escort of crowds and elephants bearing torches, evoking tales of Alexander. On his way, he donned slippers and garlands of flowers and entered the Forum Iulium, described by Dio as “distinctly more beautiful than the Roman Forum,” and probably presiding from the tribunal, he dedicated the temple to Venus Genetrix and inaugurated his monument.¹⁴² Conceived in competition with a worthy rival, now, in the light of Pompey’s death, the Forum found new force: the goddess’s favor was proven.

After the triumphs, Caesar dedicated the gemstone collections to Venus Genetrix, as well as the cuirass of

pearls.¹⁴³ He distributed handsome sums to his veterans according to rank, paid out donatives of cash, grain, and oil to the populace and a dole of meat.¹⁴⁴ When a group of veterans rioted at their share of the spoils, he had one of them executed and two others ritually sacrificed on the Campus Martius; their heads were displayed near the Regia. Their complaint had some basis: huge portions of Caesar’s booty had already been spent on his building projects. More still was earmarked to seduce the crowd.¹⁴⁵

Pompey’s triumph and the inauguration of his manubial complex spanned years; to reawaken distant memories of the triumph, at the opening of the theater he staged a play that evoked a triumphal mood, and he showered the city with theatrical and circus games. Caesar’s triumphs, by way of response, were a veritable orgy of entertainment. His pre-emptive use of income from spoils meant he could add to his triumphal festivities inaugural celebrations for the Forum Iulium, and Dio judged that, in splendor and expense, the *ludi Veneris Genetricis* in the circus surpassed all previous games.¹⁴⁶ In a repeat of his aedilician tactic, for good measure Caesar even piled on games he had promised to furnish (“quite without precedent” according to Suetonius) in Julia’s honor when she died eight years earlier, so that the public celebration was simultaneously a gentilian festival.¹⁴⁷ Combined, the ceremonies amounted to a period of festivities that cast all past games, even Pompey’s, into dark shadow. Banquets went on for days; at a single sitting, 20,000 couches were erected.¹⁴⁸ There were musical events, and theatrical performances in all the districts of the city in all the current languages (compensating for the cancellation of the *Compitalia*); plays must have been staged at Pompey’s theater, now conspicuously empty of its once larger-than-life patron. Where Pompey had hired popular actors out of retirement, Caesar coerced the sixty-year-old playwright Decimus Laberius to perform in his own farce.¹⁴⁹ Gladiatorial combats were innumerable and varied, fought by captives, convicts, and even men of equestrian rank, and there were races and displays of equestrian bravado by young noblemen, known as the *lusus Troiae*; obsolete when revived by Sulla, these games stressed Caesar’s link to Troy and Venus.¹⁵⁰ Wild-beast hunts were scheduled on five consecutive days, ending with “a battle between two opposing armies, in which 500 foot-soldiers, 20 elephants, and 30 horsemen engaged on each side.” Four

hundred lions were on show, and the first giraffe (called a camelopard), probably imported from Egypt.¹⁵¹

For these entertainments, Caesar seized the chance to make innovative changes to the cityscape. Some were temporary, others permanent. A complete refashioning of the Circus Maximus (Fig. 1.33) established its canonical shape for the first time, as described by Dionysius:

The Circus is three stades and a half in length and four plethra in breadth. Round about it on the two longer sides and one of the shorter sides a canal has been dug, ten feet in depth and width, to receive water. Behind the canal are erected porticos three stories high, of which the lowest story has stone seats, gradually rising, as in the theatres, one above the other, and the two upper stories wooden seats. The two longer porticos are united into one and joined together by means of the shorter one, which is crescent-shaped, so that all three form a single portico like an amphitheatre, eight stades in circuit and capable of holding 150,000 persons. The other of the shorter sides is left uncovered and contains vaulted starting-places for the horses, which are all opened by means of a single rope. On the outside of the Circus there is another portico of one story which has shops in it and habitations over them. In this portico there are entrances and ascents for the spectators at every shop, so that the countless thousands of people may enter and depart without inconvenience.¹⁵²

The Circus was probably lengthened at either end, and excavations suggest three rows of stone seating on an *opus reticulatum* substructure, the rest being added in wood. The canal or *euriplus* around the arena let audiences observe wild beast fights and other battles in safety, and allowed excess water to drain from the valley.¹⁵³ For one entertainment, the *metae* were removed so that armies of 1,000 foot soldiers and 200 cavalry could pitch camp before meeting in combat.¹⁵⁴

On the Campus Martius, Caesar built a temporary stadium for three days of athletic contests, and a less rickety version of a monument erected by Curio in 53, “a kind of hunting-theatre of wood, which was called an amphitheater from the fact that it had seats all around without any stage.”¹⁵⁵ A further sensation, in the region of the Codeta Minor he created the first known artificial lake in Rome, which (so archaeologists estimate) must have been excavated to a depth of about 12 meters to tap the Tiber’s water level. In this Naumachia Caesaris, 4,000 oarsmen and 1,000 soldiers manned fleets of biremes, triremes, and quadriremes from Tyre and Egypt in mock sea-battle.¹⁵⁶ Finally, he draped the entire Forum with silk

awnings, “a sight, it is said, more wonderful even than the show of gladiators which he then exhibited.” The fabric stretched from his residence on the Sacra Via all the way to the Temple of Jupiter,¹⁵⁷ where some people may have recalled (and compared) the awning erected by Lutatius Catulus decades before. And to make space for the last of his gladiatorial shows he reputedly removed an altar at the Lacus Curtius.¹⁵⁸

In Velleius Paterculus’ words, Caesar “entertained the city to repletion.”¹⁵⁹ Attendance was overwhelming; in fact, Suetonius records that “such a throng flocked to all these shows from every quarter, that many strangers had to lodge in tents pitched in streets or along the roads, and the press was often such that many were crushed to death, including two senators.”¹⁶⁰ The extravaganza ended just in time for the anniversary, on September 29, of Pompey’s third triumph and birthday, by which time Caesar had probably driven his point home.¹⁶¹ The games were inserted into the new calendar, retitled the *ludi Victoriae Caesaris* and moved to his eponymous month, July.¹⁶² Another phase of entertainment followed the Spanish triumph in 45, at which point Caesar provided two dinners: “deeming that the former of these had not been served with a liberality creditable to his generosity, he gave another five days later on a most lavish scale.”¹⁶³

By 46, events had taken many turns that Caesar could not have foreseen in 54 as he dreamt of a glorious triumph, and his plans must have evolved to fit changing circumstances. This makes it hard to ascertain intentionality in monuments conceived at the start of his journey to the dictatorship and accomplished at the end. Still, a few points emerge. From the start, Caesar’s behavior with regard to his spoils was antagonistic: he used *manubiae* pre-emptively, before being granted a triumph, in order to persuade the people to elect him consul, to guarantee a triumph, and to make that triumph unusually spectacular. Technically the pre-emptive use of spoils was not unprecedented, but Caesar’s behavior stretched the precedent: Lucullus’ spoils were used for state expenses, not for self-glorification. In Caesar’s triumph and the accompanying celebrations, as in the design of his manubial monuments, visibly outstripping Pompey and casting doubt on the sincerity of his intentions were apparently of paramount importance, as he strove to win over Pompey’s supporters and quiet any qualms about the conflict. His chief manubial monuments – the Forum and

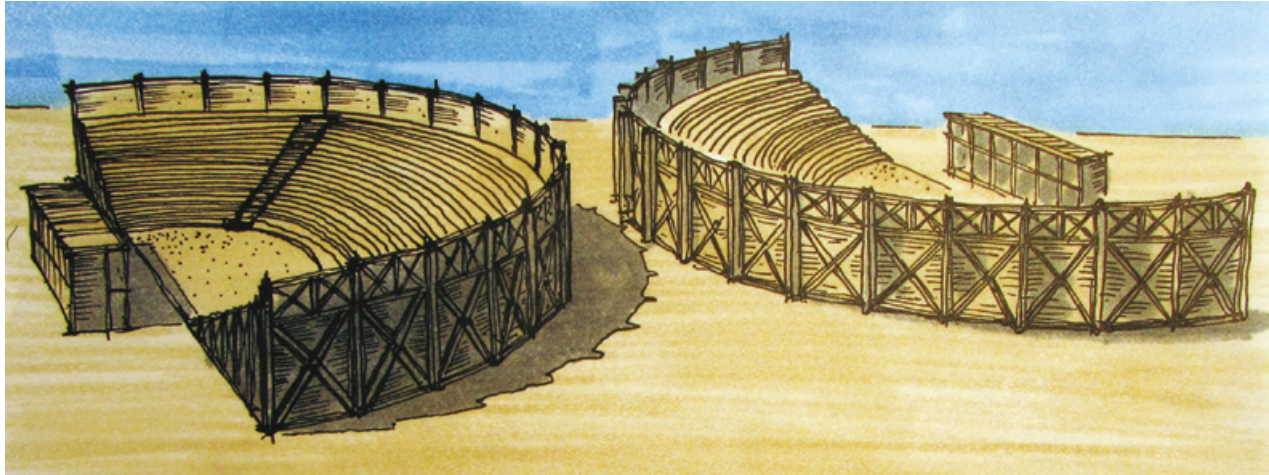


Fig. 7.11 Theaters of Scribonius Curio, 53, hypothetical reconstruction (Onur Öztürk)

Saepta – exalted the institutions that defined and protected the people’s powers and portrayed him as an agent of change; in the process, Pompey was recast in civic memory as a luxuriating despot, who offered nothing but salves for real problems facing the city. Yet even in the realm of *otium*, Caesar demonstrated that he could outdo his late rival by putting on entertainments in unparalleled profusion, and by altering the face of the city in spectacular ways to accommodate them. This dual-pronged strategy was a variation of the tactic conservatives had deployed in the 70s to vilify their populist opponents.

CIVIC DEVELOPMENT

By the second half of the 50s, chaos in the streets of Rome was reaching fever pitch. Civic building initiatives, both destructive and constructive, echo this state. Caesar’s dictatorship promised change: freed from Republican constraints, he embarked on projects designed to go beyond the temporary balms for populist discontent that characterized much of the civic architecture in previous decades and, like the Gracchi, to tackle its causes. The senate, in turn, added civic projects to their list of tributes.

Chaos in Crescendo

By the mid-first century, the practice of providing games at elite funerals was well established, as was the custom of exploiting them to advance a public career. In the middle of 53, Curio, an aristocrat in Clodius’ circle, known for

his opposition to the triumvirate in 59 and favored by the senate and people alike, planned a run for the tribunate, and spent freely on games in honor of his father, consul of 76.¹⁶⁴ Ahead of the fact, Cicero tried to dissuade him by insisting on widespread ennui with regard to games, but to no avail; for the plebs, games clearly remained a welcome benefaction.¹⁶⁵ Lacking the resources to compete with Aemilius Scaurus’ theater of marble and glass, Curio resorted to an “even more frenzied fantasy in wood.” In Pliny’s words:

Curio ... had to use his wits and devise some ingenious scheme. ... He built close to each other two very large wooden theatres, each poised and balanced on a revolving pivot. During the forenoon, a performance of a play was given in both of them and they faced in opposite directions so that the two casts should not drown each other’s words. Then all of a sudden the theatres revolved (and it is agreed that after the first few days they did so with some of the spectators actually remaining in their seats), their corners met, and thus Curio provided an amphitheatre in which he produced fights between gladiators, though they were less at risk than the Roman people itself as it was whirled around by Curio.¹⁶⁶

Rather than dazzling his audience with costly materials, Curio took advantage of the lightness of wood to concoct a pair of theaters that functioned so ingeniously that scholars struggle to reconstruct them (Fig. 7.11). Like Pompey’s theater-portico complex, now fully operational, the contraption was a marvel.¹⁶⁷ More than that, the beauty of it was that a single venue combined theater and amphitheater, plays and gladiatorial games. Audiences

were huge, “the entire Roman people,” as Pliny puts it. To Pliny, in fact, the aim was clear: he built it “merely to win favour for the speeches that Curio would make as a tribune, so that he might continue to agitate the swaying voters, since on the speakers’ platform he would shrink from nothing in addressing men whom he had persuaded to submit to such treatment.”¹⁶⁸

If the monument was a wonder of technology, the novelty in political terms was that Curio edged into public building as a *privatus*. Just as elite houses, built with personal resources, were increasingly functioning as public monuments, so he used privately funded architecture to break into public life in a way that checks and balances did not prevent, and impermanent as it was, his monument was still standing in 51 when Hortensius Hortalus was hissed upon entering it.¹⁶⁹ Evoking the metaphor of a ship of state, Pliny compares the contraption to “two frail boats” and implies that the dismal state of Roman politics invited its conception: “Curio was not a king nor an emperor nor, indeed, was he particularly rich, seeing that his only financial asset was the feud that had arisen between the heads of state.”¹⁷⁰ For Pliny, in fact, the structure was almost metonymic for the chaos of the times:

Truly, what should astonish one in this, the inventor or the invention, the designer or the sponsor, the fact that a man dared to plan the work, or to undertake it, or to commission it? What will prove to be more amazing than anything is the madness of a people that was bold enough to take its place in such treacherous, rickety seats.¹⁷¹

That chaos came to a head with Clodius’ murder on the Via Appia in January 52. Overnight, crowds gathered in the house where his body lay, and while his widow, Fulvia, displayed his wounds to onlookers, turmoil broke out in the city. Gang fought gang, and even those who had previously claimed neutrality were enraged by Milo’s act and by the chronic danger in the streets. Just before daybreak, a crowd moved Clodius’ naked corpse to the Rostra, where the tribunes R. and T. Munatius Plancus proclaimed emotive lamentations over it. The result was explosive:

So the populace, as a result of what it both saw and heard, was deeply stirred and no longer showed any regard for things sacred or profane, but overthrew all the customs of burial and burned down nearly the whole city. They took up the body of Clodius and carried it into the senate-house, laid it out properly, and then after

heaping up a pyre out of the benches burned both the corpse and the building.¹⁷²

Curia and Basilica Porcia alike went up in a towering inferno of magistrates’ benches, podia, and secretary’s ledgers. In Dio’s view this was no accident: “They did not do this under the stress of such an impulse as often takes sudden hold of crowds, but with such deliberate purpose that at the ninth hour they held the funeral feast in the Forum itself, with the senate-house still smoldering.”¹⁷³ Turning Sulla’s Curia, icon of a reinforced senate, into Clodius’ pyre, the people gave their martyred hero their own version of the state cremation with which the senate had honored the dictator over twenty-five years earlier.¹⁷⁴ Harnessing the full symbolic power of architecture, they used it to express their rage at the lawlessness in the city in the only way open to them: they pressed blame on the senate with a destructive force learnt from Clodius himself.

The senate fought symbolism with symbolism. As violence raged unabated, it charged Pompey with levying troops; yet one of its first orders of business was to assign the rebuilding of the Curia to Faustus Felix, son of the dictator (and son-in-law of Pompey). As Dio states, “It was the Curia Hostilia, which had been remodeled by Sulla; hence they came to this decision about it and ordered that when restored it should receive again the name of the same man.”¹⁷⁵ The message was deliberate: the senate would restore order after Sulla’s model, through its own re-empowerment.

A Dictator’s City: Dreams and Designs

With Caesar’s appointment to the dictatorship, attempts to instill order shifted from the symbolic to the systemic, with measures that struck at the very core of Roman existence.¹⁷⁶ Alongside his legal and calendrical reforms, he had grand designs for the cityscape, “more projects and more extensive ones every day,” in Suetonius’ words.¹⁷⁷ Only a few of these did he complete; at the time of his death some were under way, others were mere dreams. Whether achieved or in the planning, Caesar’s civic initiatives aimed at addressing the root causes of problems plaguing non-elite Romans, at the same time as enhancing the city’s grandeur.

By the time of Caesar’s consulship in 59 Rome was already desperately overpopulated; underemployment and indebtedness were rife. A minority lived in houses



Fig. 7.12 Tiber canalization project (Paolo Liverani)

that grew more luxurious with the passing years, but the majority were crammed into apartment blocks, some well built, but many poorly constructed out of wood, prone to collapse and vulnerable to fire. Rents were high. Thousands were homeless.¹⁷⁸ For immediate relief and to quell agitation, Caesar remitted rents for those paying 2,000 sesterces or less for the whole of 46. Losses fell to equestrian and senatorial landlords to bear and some, like Cicero, were less than pleased.¹⁷⁹ High on Caesar's agenda, in the Gracchan mold, was facilitating property ownership and returning the urban poor to rural land; thus he worked on land settlements for his veterans, decreed that a third of farm-workers on country estates should be free, and resettled members of the plebs in provincial colonies, including the refounded Carthage and Corinth.¹⁸⁰ Since these initiatives would alter the size and character of Rome's population, he arranged for payments to prolific families, and offered citizenship to doctors

and teachers of the liberal arts, "to make them more desirous of living in the city and to induce others to resort to it."¹⁸¹ To increase the availability of property, moreover, he auctioned public lands for private purchase, even selling consecrated lots, so his opponents claimed.¹⁸² He also performed another extension to the *pomerium*. With all its pageantry, the *prolatio* invited association with Sulla, and with Romulus, to whom Caesar probably evoked comparison with the restoration of the Temple of Quirinus.¹⁸³ It was likely tied to his most radical plan, relayed as hearsay to Atticus by an irritated Cicero in the summer of 45:

Very à propos (though by chance) Capito fell to talking about the enlargement of the city: the Tiber is to be diverted, starting from the Milvian bridge along the Vatican Hills: the Campus Martius is to be covered with buildings; while the Vatican plain is to become a kind of new Campus Martius. "What do you say?" said I, "why, I was going to the auction, to secure Scapula's pleasure-grounds if I could safely do so." "Don't do anything of the sort," said he, "for the law will be carried. Caesar wishes it." I didn't betray any annoyance at the information, but I am annoyed at the scheme.¹⁸⁴

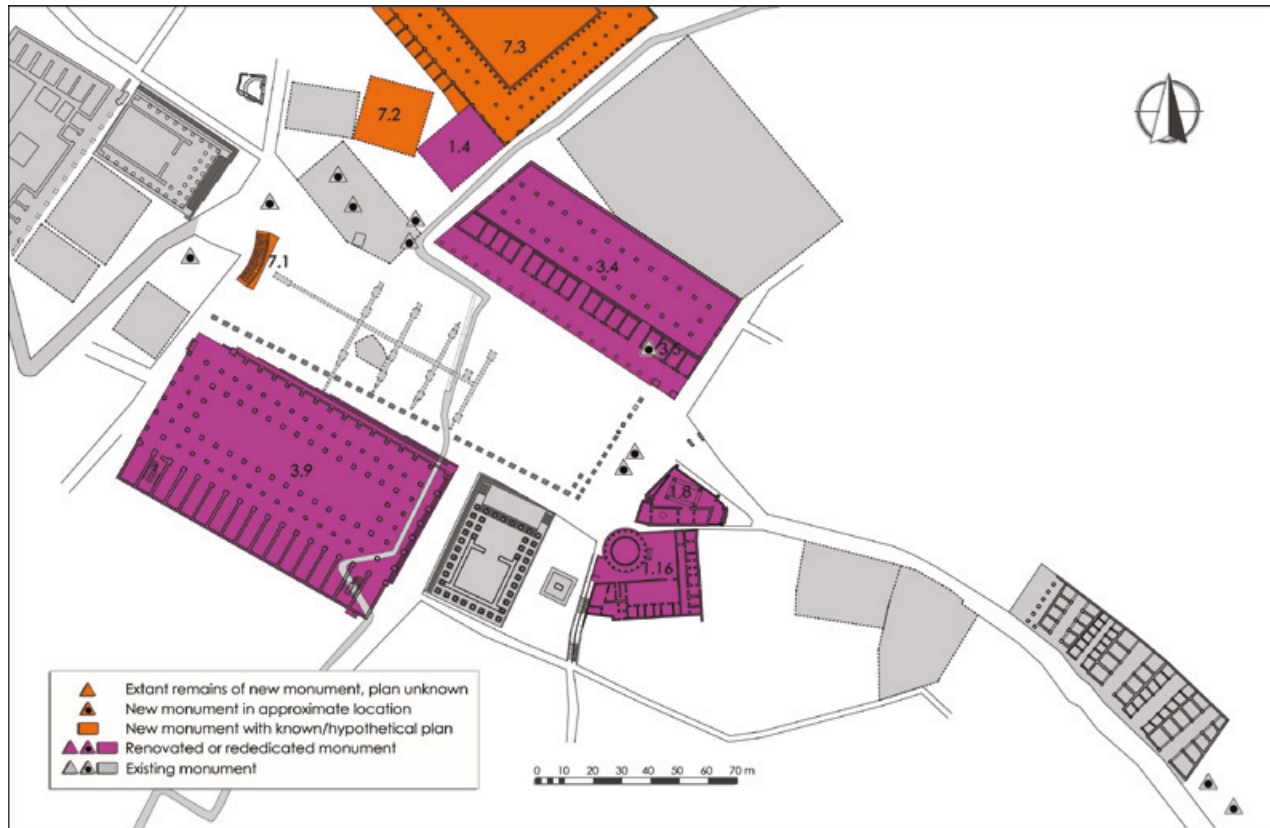
As described by Cicero, the Tiber would be canalized just north of Rome and diverted west of the Vatican hills, rejoining the natural riverbed south of the city (Fig. 7.12). The project was feasible; in fact, compared to contemporaneous canalization schemes at Terracina and the isthmus of Corinth, it was small-scale.¹⁸⁵ If the report was true – and according to Cicero an architect had already been selected for the job, a Greek to add to his irritation – the scheme would have eased Tiber traffic and relieved the Campus Martius from the constant threat of flooding (realized catastrophically in 54, as Cicero describes to his brother Quintus).¹⁸⁶ It would have added at least 260 hectares to the city center, more than doubling the Campus Martius with land designated for housing.¹⁸⁷ That the idea would be as controversial as it was visionary was inevitable. There were religious issues to consider, such as the long-standing sanctity of the Campus Martius, and while land values on the (old) west side of the river might rise, once incorporated into the eastern part of the city, existing boundaries and property rights risked losing validity;¹⁸⁸ moreover (and this was the source of Cicero's ire), land usage might be altered to the detriment of the wealthy who, like Caesar, owned riverside estates on the west bank.

In his vision of the expanded city, Caesar planned to complement housing and property initiatives with further amenities for the population at large. For festivities attached to his triumph, he saw to the construction of temporary entertainment venues and the first monumentalization of the Circus Maximus; later, his plan as dictator was to build two new theaters, inspired, so Dio believed, by Pompey's example. One he envisaged on the east slope of the Arx, near the Tarpeian Rock in the area of the Carcer.¹⁸⁹ For any drama performed there, the Forum Iulium would make a magnificent backdrop and, together, theater and Forum would mimic Pompey's theater-portico, but within the city. Near the Circus Flaminius, west of the Capitoline, foundations were laid for a second theater, completed eventually as the Theater of Marcellus. Though smaller than Pompey's, it probably had a greater capacity and it, too, stood closer to the city center.¹⁹⁰ Detractors found reasons to criticize this project: "Caesar was blamed for tearing down the dwellings and temples on the site, and likewise because he burned up the statues, which were almost all of wood, and because on finding large hoards of money he appropriated them all."¹⁹¹

Besides providing entertainment, theaters exposed the public to works of Greek and Latin literature, as did another plan Suetonius ascribed to Caesar: "to open to the public the greatest possible libraries of Greek and Latin books, assigning to Marcus Varro the charge of procuring and classifying them."¹⁹² A handful of famed book collections existed in the city, brought from the eastern Mediterranean as spoils, including the library of Perseus, pillaged by Aemilius Paullus in 168, and that of Apellicon, seized by Sulla in Athens in 85–84. The wealthy could amass collections, as Lucullus did (though at least part of his library was looted from Pontus in the 70s), and they might share their holdings with other *literati*: Cicero borrowed widely from Atticus, from his brother Quintus, and from other friends, including Lucullus' son, who inherited his father's library; on one visit to the Tusculan villa where it was housed, Cicero found Cato already ensconced among the books.¹⁹³ Plutarch claims that Lucullus' library was "open to all," but distance from Rome made it a benefaction of limited usefulness, and those who patronized it (beyond Cicero and Cato) are characterized as Greek men of letters.¹⁹⁴ Though literacy rates were low, a library would likely host public recitals of literature, often by the authors themselves.¹⁹⁵ Caesar's intention, then, as with the publication of the law and the revision of the calendar,

was to give the plebs access to information and luxuries reserved for the elite, and also, judging by Suetonius' superlative (*quas maximas*), to make the city a competitive center of culture and learning, where Latin literary talent took its place beside Greek. The inspiration probably derived from the library of the Ptolemies in Alexandria, which may have burnt during the struggle for the city.¹⁹⁶

The city's image was to be radically enhanced, and to that end Caesar focused on maintenance. As far as it is possible to assess, Rome had no zoning policy in the modern sense of the term; residential buildings rose close beside each other, and cheek by jowl with undesirable neighbors such as potteries, fullers, and tanneries. Noise pollution was uncontrolled. Streets were clogged with the accumulated dirt of daily existence, including urine, feces, and even the corpses of the destitute. Though principal thoroughfares were rinsed by the run-off from public fountains, and though the standard of living was better than in most parts of the ancient Mediterranean, by modern standards much of the city must have been sordid.¹⁹⁷ Republican government did not encourage interventions that addressed this: with limited opportunities to make a mark, magistrates seem to have shied away from enterprises tainted by pollution, which presented the risk of sully by association.¹⁹⁸ As part of his revision of the law codes, perhaps, Caesar seems to have arranged for a compilation of existing regulations for municipal administration, partially preserved in the *Tabula Heracleensis*, a bronze tablet found in Heraclea, in south Italy, in 1732.¹⁹⁹ These prescribed that aediles should look after public streets within Rome and a mile beyond; they should keep property owners liable for the repair and dryness of streets fronting their land, and let contracts for work on any section of road that was neglected, with the understanding that the owners would reimburse the treasury for the cost. From sunrise until the tenth hour, wagons were prohibited from entering the city or residential parts of the suburbs, with exemptions for those transporting construction materials for religious or public buildings, or debris from buildings demolished by public contract, for those bearing Vestal Virgins, the *rex sacrorum*, and the *flamines* during state rituals, and for those participating in triumphal and ceremonial processions; ox- and donkey-wagons and dung collectors who had entered by night could leave by day. The law also banned construction within, and obstruction of, public areas and arcades within Rome and a mile beyond, unless by special decree.²⁰⁰



New construction:

- 7.1 Rostra Caesaris
- 7.2 Temple of Felicitas
- 7.3 Forum Iulium

Restoration:

- 1.4 Curia Iulia (Hostilia/Cornelia)
- 1.8 Regia
- 1.16 Precinct of Vesta

- 3.4 Basilica Aemilia (Fulvia)
- 3.9 Basilica Iulia (Sempronia)

Fig. 7.13 Forum Romanum and environs, *ca.* 54–44, plan (Penelope Davies, Onur Öztürk, and Bogdan Perzyński)

If Pompey's theater staged his new order, removed from the Forum both topographically and politically, a grand symbolic gesture back at the political heart of the city seems to embody Caesar's vision of the state. Dio records that during his fifth dictatorship, in 44, the Rostra was relocated to the west end of the Forum (Fig. 7.13).²⁰¹ There archaeologists unearthed remains of a narrow curved platform built of cement, approached from the rear by six travertine steps (Fig. 7.14). Its façade was reveted with slabs of portasanta marble from Chios, pink with white and rust-colored inclusions, alternating with decorative pilasters of black Lucullan stone or africano. *Denarii* minted by Q. Lollius Palicanus in 45, representing a curved tribunal embellished with ships' prows, may depict the Rostra in the planning stages (Fig. 7.15).²⁰²

In the mid-second century, when people began to assemble on the Forum side of the earlier Rostra rather than in the Comitium, they took a first step away from senatorial oversight. Now the speaker's platform was physically separated from the Curia, literally and symbolically released from senatorial will and supervision. Set along the piazza's long east–west axis, the Rostra and the people's assembly place became the Forum's dominant feature. Off axis altogether, the senate house was sidelined. Thus the Forum was again reframed, with state-of-the-art basilicas on the long sides and the Rostra on the west, picked out in vivid color against the pale travertine pavement and surrounding buildings. As reconceived, the Forum highlighted the orator – Caesar – on the Rostra and his unmediated relationship with the people before him. Behind the people, instead of the



Fig. 7.14 Rostra of Caesar, 44, actual state (Penelope Davies su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Soprintendenza Speciale per il Colosseo, il Museo Romano e l'Area archeologica di Roma)



Fig. 7.15 Denarius minted by Q. Lollius Palicarnus in 45, with a reverse image possibly showing the Rostra as redesigned by Caesar (Baldwin's, London, www.baldwin.co.uk)

senate house was the Regia, a distant echo of autocracy. Even the sculptures on the Rostra were pregnant with meaning. Learning of Caesar's victory at Pharsalus in 48, so literary sources state, a fearful crowd had torn down and dismembered statues of Sulla and Pompey. By Caesar's order these were re-erected on the new platform in an act of symbolic clemency that contrasted pointedly with Sulla's use of the Rostra to display his adversaries'

severed heads. For the reinstallation, Dio states, "and also because he yielded to Antony both the glory of the work and the inscription on it," Caesar received praise.²⁰³ Symbolic clemency, like real clemency, was Caesar's to bestow, a mark of his power; so even was credit for an act of clemency.

These projects, conceived after 49, are distinct from those Caesar initiated as (pre-)triumphator. As dictator,

he had tremendous latitude. The office removed all customary constraints, allowing him to usurp and conflate magistracies, to be at once aedile, consul, and censor, and thus the dominant builder in Rome. This, like his preference for acting alone in matters of government, probably caused friction with other members of the senate, as is evident in their responses to some of his projects. The assurance of the dictatorship every year for ten years and then for life, moreover, removed the normal temporal constraint of a single term of office, which in turn let him think on a scale far outstripping previous Republicans: he was free to conceive of grand urban schemes that he might anticipate seeing through to completion. These schemes, in turn, gave him the air of a monarch.

The Senate's Response

As Caesar's dictatorship progressed and his plans for the city took shape, the senate responded with pledges of civic monuments, to complement the other honors it showered upon him. In the first phase of homage, after the battle of Munda, they offered him a house, separate from the Domus Publica to which he was entitled as *pontifex maximus*, "so that he might live in state property."²⁰⁴ The gift was rooted in ancient lore regarding one of the first consuls, P. Valerius Poplicola. According to one tradition, Valerius Poplicola embarked on building a stately house on the Velia, where Ancus Marcius, Tullus Hostilius, and Tarquinius Priscus had purportedly lived, before tearing it down to quell suspicions that he aspired to kingship himself. Impressed by his commitment to liberty, the people granted him a modest house at the foot of the hill. A simpler version told of a house built for him on public property at the state's expense in reward for service to the *res publica*.²⁰⁵ On the surface of things, both accounts, and a tradition that houses were constructed for other members of the *gens Valeria* for actions on the state's behalf, served as precedents for the gift of a residence in recognition of Caesar's acts.²⁰⁶

Still, just as temples vowed in Caesar's honor may have been ambiguous, ironic, or deliberately self-expository, the gift of a house may not have been entirely without guile. In fact, as preserved in the first version of the Valerius Poplicola story, the *mos maiorum* decreed that too fine a house could betray aspirations to *regnum*; and when the senate bestowed a public residence on Antiochus IV,

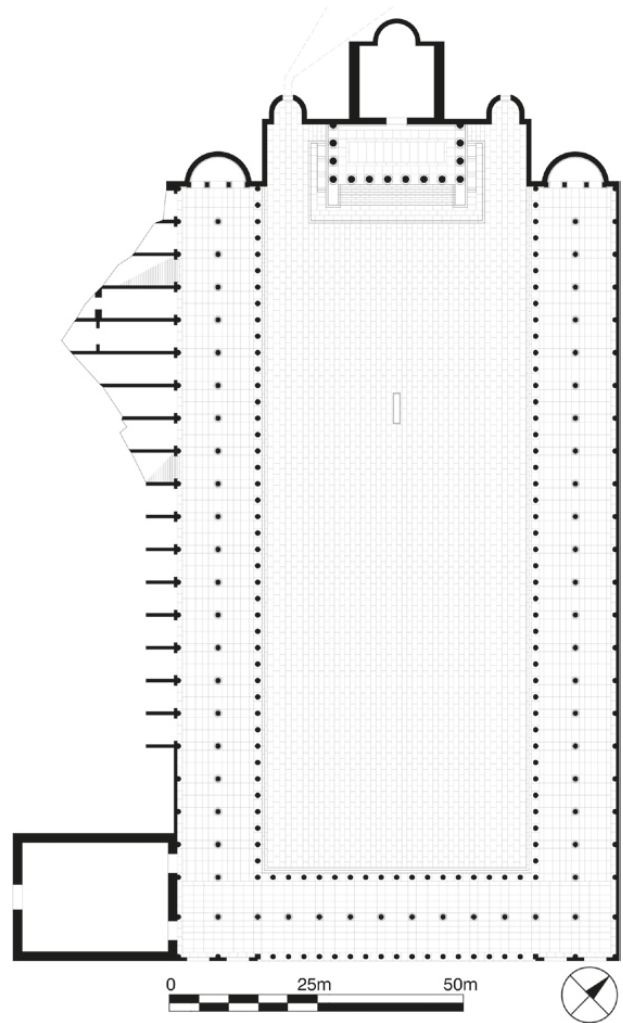


Fig. 7.16 Forum Iulium. Plan of revised phase (John Burge)

hostage in Rome from 189 to 175, it did so precisely as a privilege of royalty.²⁰⁷ When men were accused of demagoguery their houses were sometimes demolished, regardless of opulence, and this Cicero knew well, for such was the fate of the Palatine house of Fulvius Flaccus in 121, and such was the intention behind Clodius' demolition of his house on the same site.²⁰⁸ Moreover – and tellingly – in embellishing Caesar's house, the senate opted not for the known luxuries of the day, such as monolithic marble columns, intricate mosaics, or fine paintings (or if it did, these are not mentioned), but for a pediment, supposedly "to give it adornment and distinction;"²⁰⁹ but in Rome, a pediment belonged on a temple or, on stage, to the palace of a king.²¹⁰ Was the senate's gift

just an act of homage, then – or was it also encoded to raise the specter of kingship or divinity? Clearly that was in Suetonius' mind, and in Plutarch's, when they attributed a nightmare to Caesar's wife, Calpurnia, on the eve of his assassination:

She dreamed, as it proved, that she was holding her murdered husband in her arms and bewailing him. Some, however, say that this was not the vision which the woman had; but that there was attached to Caesar's house to give it adornment and distinction, by vote of the senate, a gable-ornament, as Livy says, and it was this which Calpurnia in her dreams saw torn down, and therefore, as she thought, wailed and wept. At all events, when day came, she begged Caesar, if it was possible, not to go out, but to postpone the meeting of the senate.²¹¹

A second civic tribute appears in Dio's final list of honors. Sometime in 45–44, the senate either gave Caesar the charge to oversee the construction of a senate house or promised to name a new senate house after him.²¹² Perhaps the honor was a response to his expansion of the senate from 600 to 900 members. If so, this was already double-edged: the increase raised the senate's visibility, but offended its conservative members with the inclusion of so many junior officers, freedmen, and newly enfranchised Gauls, whom Caesar could control.²¹³ Moreover, the charge highlighted the death of the senate's previous appointee, Faustus Felix, son of their one-time advocate Sulla, while fighting Caesar at Utica. To be sure, by ceding to Caesar the very space that symbolized its power – where, by their grant, he would preside on a curule chair either as consul or with successive consuls, and where he enjoyed the right to open all discussions – the senate may have hoped to cajole him into cooperation and collaboration with his peers, placing itself between the people (in the Forum) and their magistrate (in Caesar's Forum) where, constitutionally, it belonged;²¹⁴ but might those who proposed the honor have been purposely yielding themselves to expose the new reality: a mockery of Republican government?

Whatever their motivation, Caesar seized the opportunity, and to integrate his senate house into the Forum Iulium, a second phase of construction was conceived and begun for the complex.²¹⁵ The east end was to be extended by approximately 20 meters (for a total plan of *ca.* 159 by 75 meters). The Curia was to be relocated

further east of its long-time site, with the effect that its rear doors opened into the east portico of the Forum Iulium. The portico's rear wall, in turn, was reconceived as a colonnade, opening onto the Argiletum (Fig. 7.16).²¹⁶ The intended architectural unity between the Curia and the Forum evoked Pompey's theater-portico complex and balanced the senate between the city's growing powers. It also entailed a momentous shift in dynamics: senators entered the Curia through a door from the Forum Romanum, where the people were sovereign, and exited not into the neutral space of the Argiletum as before, but into the east portico of Caesar's Forum, drenched with his presence.

The decade spanning 54 to 44 witnessed radical changes in civic architecture, or at least in its conception. As violence and lawlessness spun out of control in the late 50s, Curio's theater, built with private funds, embodied the chaos of the times. With the murder of Clodius, an otherwise powerless crowd turned to architecture to express furor at the state of the city and the senate's inability to address it, consigning the Curia to flames; the senate responded by assigning its rebuilding to a man whose father had reinforced senatorial power over a quarter of a century earlier.

With Caesar came a determined effort to restore order. At his triumph in 46 he offered the crowd entertainment as a temporary salve to its discontents, yet his policy with regard to civic architecture was to deliver on the message promised by his manubial monuments, the Forum Iulium and the Saepta: he aspired to aggressive changes that would hit at the heart of urban living, raising standards for the poor majority by addressing housing issues and land ownership, and reducing noise and material pollution; at the same time, he aimed to increase the city's appeal as a cultural center. The office of dictator, extended over ten years, gave him the latitude to think in terms of a broad program for the betterment of the city as no one had before, and this policy-driven approach gave him the aura of a caretaker and *pater patriae*, a savior, second founder. In Caesar's vision of Rome, as crystallized in the reconceived Forum, he worked directly with the crowd; the senate was consigned to the periphery. The senate reacted, first with the honor of a house, which called Caesar's status into question, and then offering its own meeting place for him to rebuild or rename.

A CONCLUSION

If a man of Caesar's genius failed, who can hope to succeed?

Cicero, *Letters to Atticus* 14.1, quoting C. Matius

In the second half of the 50s, chaos in Rome bordered on anarchy. Two buildings embodied the state of the *res publica*: Curio's theater-amphitheater – unashamedly populist, dangerous, and, funded with private resources, pushing the boundaries of legitimacy – and the senate house, violently destroyed and then resolutely reconstructed. In this fraught climate, Caesar's public building projects set radical change in motion. Before becoming dictator, like Pompey he stretched the norms: he built as a *triumphator* before even concluding his campaign or appealing for a triumph. The most significant initiatives of the late 50s, his manubial projects – the Forum Iulium, the Saepta, and the restored Basilica Iulia – gave him a surrogate presence in the city during his absence and bought favor by supplying construction jobs. At the apex of his Forum, the Temple of Venus Genetrix proclaimed him the descendant of a divinity, a message that a temple to Mars might one day have strengthened. Flaunting his feats, his manubial structures argued for a triumph in anticipation of a glorious homecoming. More than that, they promised a populist agenda should he achieve a consulship, and recast Pompey's oeuvres as temporary distractions in the face of chronic social problems. Upon Caesar's subsequent appointment as dictator, he was unshackled: answerable to no one, he operated beyond magisterial and term limits, and had the treasury at his disposal. Thus the centuries-old constraints that kept individuals from accruing excessive political advantage from public building were finally undone.

Through scale and opulence, inventiveness, quantity, and widespread topographical distribution, Caesar's construction plans – realized and projected – augmented his prestige.²¹⁷ Like Pompey's theater-portico complex but written across a broader swath of the city, his schemes expressed an order: in both phases of his building career, he framed spaces, such as the Saepta or the Forum Romanum, to emphasize the sovereign power of the people as bestowed by his benefaction. His plans betray more than self-interest, and herein lay their power and their innovation. When commissioning state buildings, most magistrates were less concerned with promoting public policy as an end in itself than as a means of self-advancement. Though Caesar's building schemes did not constitute an

urban “program” unified by physical planning of the sort often associated with monarchy, his freedom of reign as dictator encouraged a more policy-driven approach than before in Rome, aiming at a heightened standard of living for the populace as a whole and a grander, more cosmopolitan city; and because he was not limited in the scope of his initiatives, he could take risks that others could not. In this much, the enhanced powers of the long-term dictatorship allowed him to conceive of the built city in the role of its sole helmsman and benefactor, its new founder, savior, king. And thus he embodied the Republican paradox: the greater his excellence in service to the *res publica*, in building as in other things, the greater would be his personal glory.²¹⁸ Nothing indicates that he aspired to overturn the Republic to create a monarchy;²¹⁹ merely that within the Republic he should have long-term abstract authority surpassing all others. Yet inasmuch as his extraordinary office allowed him to conceive a grand vision of the city, which in turn justified and perpetuated his extraordinary office, he challenged the very notion of Republicanism.

Honors in Excess: an Art of Resistance?

As Caesar's dictatorship evolved and with it his plans for the city, the senate reacted. As part of an astounding deluge of tributes rained upon him, it promised a series of buildings in his honor. Throughout the history of the Republic, when ambitious magistrates sought to harness the power of architecture and visual honors in self-promotion, their rivals strove to control and obstruct them. The readiness with which representatives of the *res publica* now gave away privileges they had guarded so jealously, and the profusion of those privileges, is therefore astonishing. To explain a phenomenon that flies in the face of over four centuries of tradition, some scholars envisage Caesar as the mastermind behind the honors, encouraging and seizing marks of status to enhance his position.²²⁰ To be sure, Dio indicates that in the final phase of honor-granting at least, Caesar's pleasure in and acceptance of the tributes were catalysts in their multiplication;²²¹ yet ancient sources consistently name the senate as agent. They note that after the battle of Munda the dread of retributions that gripped the city stirred the senate to acts of extravagant flattery to mollify and appease him, which probably accounts in large measure for the earliest honors, and waves of relief at Caesar's policy of reconciliation stimulated more honors, such as the vow for the temple to his Clementia.²²² Some new senators may have

proposed honors in gratitude for their status; some may have thought to normalize a bewildering situation by justifying and legitimizing it with tributes; by characterizing Caesar as Rome's liberator from Pompey's tyranny with the Temple of Libertas, for instance, they transformed civil war into just war. In other instances the senate may have granted particular honors (such as the extended dictatorship) to pre-empt the possibility of Caesar assuming them by force, hoping to avert conflict and exercise nominal control, at least, over his extraordinary status.²²³ Perhaps they were hedging their bets, or perhaps, as events ran amok, they had no idea how to react, and offered Caesar these honors precisely as *honos*, elective office, lost meaning.²²⁴ And it is not inconceivable that some people genuinely believed that within Caesar, who time and again prevailed against the odds and even against the magnificent Pompey, there dwelt a spark of divinity inherited from Venus.

Ancient authors who assessed the situation in later years suspected that at some point another powerful motivation seeped into the mix, and their view is not inconsistent with an analysis of the architectural tributes. As uncomfortable as Caesar's unbridled authority may have made his opponents, his behavior was the natural consequence of Republican ambitions, and his affront to the ambitions of others was not a crime; yet inasmuch as the affront could be construed as aspiring to kingship, it could be.²²⁵ According to Nicolaus of Damascus,

At that time some wished to gratify him by voting him one honor after another, while others treacherously included extravagant honors, and published them, so that he might become an object of envy and suspicion to all. Caesar was of guileless disposition and was unskilled in political practices by reason of his foreign campaigns, so that he was easily taken in by these people, supposing, naturally enough, that their commendations came rather from men who admired him than from men who were plotting against him.²²⁶

Dio concurs:

When they had begun to honour him, it was with the idea, of course, that he would be reasonable; but as they went on and saw that he was delighted with what they voted, – indeed he accepted all but a very few of their decrees, – different men at different times kept proposing various extravagant honours, some in a spirit of exaggerated flattery and others by way of ridicule. ... Others, and they were the majority, followed this course

because they wished to make him envied and hated as quickly as possible, that he might the sooner perish. And this is precisely what happened.²²⁷

And Plutarch saw things similarly:

It was Cicero who proposed the first honours for him in the senate, and their magnitude was, after all, not too great for a man; but others added excessive honours and vied with one another in proposing them, thus rendering Caesar odious and obnoxious even to the mildest citizens because of the pretension and extravagance of what was decreed for him. It is thought, too, that the enemies of Caesar no less than his flatterers helped to force these measures through, in order that they might have as many pretexts as possible against him and might be thought to have the best reasons for attempting his life. For in all other ways, at least, after the civil wars were over, he showed himself blameless.²²⁸

In the view of these and other authors, in the hour of the Republic's hopelessness, while some of its representatives engaged in adulation, others, now attuned to nuanced and subversive ways of deploying the power of architecture, turned to honors, several of them architectural, for a weapon of resistance that would transform Caesar into something a Republic would have to destroy. As Caesar overwhelmed the constraints on architectural propaganda, that is, some of his opponents may have turned architectural propaganda against him.

Built into their tributes were damaging themes, to which architectural honors, the most visible and enduring, made a compelling contribution. Some had been bestowed in earlier times, and tactfully refused; thus according to Livy, Scipio Africanus had turned down statues at the Comitium, the Rostra, and the Capitoline, and an image with the gods in the *pompa circensis*, as well as a lifelong consulship and dictatorship.²²⁹ Others were inflated versions of tributes conferred in the past: Caesar's honorific apparel outdid Pompey's, and where for other men a single statue had been a mark of unusual honor, now portraits of a living man graced the public places and temples of Rome, the cities of the empire, and even coins. One statue, the first of a general to "cross" city limits in armor, was particularly pointed.²³⁰ Though Sulla received special funerary honors, in his case, unlike Caesar's, the grant was posthumous.

More problematically, the senators passed many decrees "by which they declared him a monarch out and out."²³¹ This was implicit in the placement of his portrait statue

among the kings on the Capitol, and in honors that bespoke dynasty, such as the bestowal on any son he might have of the title *imperator* or *pontifex maximus*, and a tomb within the *pomerium*, where family members would lie interred. In the grant of a gabled house, it was explicit. Several honors equated him, like Sulla, with Romulus, chief among kings, a comparison Caesar's own restorations encouraged; yet even Sulla had not been identified with Romulus in his divinized guise, as the statue of Caesar in the Temple of Quirinus implied.²³² And Quirinus was only one of the gods with whom Caesar's honors placed him. The temples the senate vowed did more than honor divinities in his name; there were many temples to him "as a god," and the appointment of a *flamen* for the cult of Caesar and Clementia, where Caesar would be honored as Jupiter Julius, implied his godhead, as did the cult statue group.²³³ Though people had made offerings to statues of the Gracchi, to Sulla, perhaps, to Seius and to Gratidianus, the treatment of a Roman as an outright god, though acceptable in Greece, was unprecedented in Rome.²³⁴ Far from rebutting or limiting Caesar's own claims of divine lineage, that is, the honors confirmed and exaggerated them.

Some honors seem to have had self-exposure built into them. Several were conspicuously unearned: to the proposal to inscribe his name on the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus despite his lack of any involvement in its restoration, can be added the decree of thanksgivings for Caesar for all Roman victories regardless of his role in them, the right to offer the *spolia opima*, or the blanket, unconstitutional ratification of all his *acta* in advance of their occurrence. This may, at least to astute observers, have suggested their absurdity. Others, such as the temples to Libertas, Concordia, and Felicitas, sounded such hackneyed notes as to beg reflection through their very arbitrariness or meaninglessness, and reflection might reveal their irony; in the dedication of a senate house to a perpetual dictator, irony was finally embodied. Some or all of the absurdities, ironies, and ambiguities may have been apparent in Caesar's day; some or all may have been intentional; some honors may have been offered with one intention but changed valency over time. Ancient authors indicate that while some men proposed honors, some, unnamed, also underlined the transgressive potential of those honors. Thus according to Suetonius,

Some wrote on the base of Lucius Brutus' statue [beside the kings on the Capitol]: "Oh, that you were still

alive"; and on that of Caesar himself: "First of all was Brutus consul, since he drove the kings from Rome; Since this man drove out the consuls, he at last is made our king."²³⁵

On another occasion, "some person among those who wished to spread the report of his desire to be king" placed a laurel wreath on Caesar's statue, embellished with a white fillet to denote monarchy.²³⁶ The most tangible form of honor, the visual arts may have become an instrument with which to save the Republic, and that instrument could be effective: Dio believed that it was the statue of Caesar among the kings, next to the statue of Brutus the tyrannicide, that propelled Brutus into the conspiracy.²³⁷

The honors had several effects. They persuaded Caesar of the senate's support, to the extent that he modified his behavior to fall into line with the status they implied. Thus in early 44, when senators approached him en masse in front of the Temple of Venus Genetrix to deliver their latest honors, "he did not rise to receive them, but as if he were dealing with mere private persons, replied that his honours needed curtailment rather than enlargement." His refusal to stand "aroused deadly hatred" with the senate and the people, who turned and walked away.²³⁸ Believing himself valued, moreover, he dispensed with his bodyguard, which increased his vulnerability.²³⁹ Most critically, the honors enveloped him in an aura of kingship that eventually he could not escape, regardless of intent or agency, which made him "assassinatable." As Florus puts it, "All these things were, as it were, decorations heaped upon a victim doomed to die."²⁴⁰ People began to call him "king," and no protests on his part could dull the impression.²⁴¹ In a combination of appeasement, adulation, and resistance, members of the senate seem to have matched their honorific gestures to Caesar's own claims and transgressive proclivities with such skill that onlookers, and ancient commentators, were at a loss to determine who wanted a king more.²⁴²

Had there been only resistance, if such it was, perhaps it would have been apparent to a politician of Caesar's caliber; as it was, adulation camouflaged subterfuge. So too, probably, did Caesar's blinding ambition, which made him yearn for the very honors that may have proved the weapons of his destruction; he was gluttoned on the very marks of prestige that elite Romans were conditioned to crave. Still, eventually Caesar seems to

have had an inkling of the complexity of his situation.²⁴³ Recognizing, for instance, that the *titulus* on one of the Capitoline portraits was problematic, “he erased from the inscription the term ‘demigod.’”²⁴⁴ Similarly, sensing the reaction to his refusal to rise for the senators, by Plutarch’s account:

Caesar, when he was aware of his mistake, immediately turned to go home, and drawing back his toga from his neck, cried in loud tones to his friends that he was ready to offer his throat to any one who wished to kill him. But afterwards he made his disease an excuse for his behaviour, saying that the senses of those who are thus afflicted do not usually remain steady when they address a multitude standing, but are speedily shaken and whirled about, bringing on giddiness and insensibility. However, what he said was not true; on the contrary, he was very desirous of rising to receive the senate; but one of his friends, as they say, or rather one of his flatterers, Cornelius Balbus, restrained him, saying: “Remember that you are Caesar, and permit yourself to be courted as a superior.”²⁴⁵

Like later historians, Caesar appears to have been second-guessing.²⁴⁶

How numerous and how unified any resisters may have been at first is hard to say. Perhaps there were initially several pockets of resistance with diverse plots, “groups of two or three” as Suetonius claims, who proposed transgressive honors for Caesar that the senate then approved as a body.²⁴⁷ It is by no means necessary that those who thrust transgressive honors on Caesar were the men who responded to their message and killed him (though Suetonius believed that the small groups were eventually “united in a general conspiracy”);²⁴⁸ an otherwise passive resistance may have led the assassins to act.²⁴⁹ But in a brilliant twist, perhaps, these men of the resistance, if such they were and whoever they were, turned to the persuasive power of architecture, along with other honors, as a weapon for freedom, and subverted deeply etched patterns of architectural patronage to come to the rescue of their flailing Republic.

Momentarily.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

- 1 Liv. 5.55; Tac. *Ann.* 15.43. On Republican urbanism, see, however, Torelli 2006, 2007; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 269–75; Steinby 2012. Most existing scholarship on Republican architecture and politics takes the form of articles, essays, or topographical studies: see various works by (*inter al.*) Coarelli, Kuttner, La Rocca, Torelli, and Zevi. A note on names: I use the more familiar forms for commonly used names such as C. Julius Caesar and Jupiter, but follow Latin usage elsewhere (e.g. Iuturna).
- 2 In general: Lintott 1999.
- 3 Liv. 2.1; also 2.8.2. All dates are BCE unless otherwise specified.
- 4 Hölkeskamp 1993, 35; North 2006a, 260, 266.
- 5 Hölkeskamp 1993, 2005.
- 6 Polyb. 6.18.1, trans. Paton; also 11.11–18.
- 7 Hölkeskamp 1993, 26, 32–3, 2005; North 2006a, 266; also Flower 2004a, 8.
- 8 Hölkeskamp 1993, 35; North 2006a, 266.
- 9 Wiseman 1986; Hölkeskamp 1993, 25, 37–8, 2006; Patterson 2000; Flower 2006, 51–62; Rosenstein 2006; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 331.
- 10 Vit. 2.8.7. I am grateful to Paolo Vitti for drawing my attention to this remark.
- 11 On questions of Republican periodization: Flower 2010.
- 12 Cic. *Rab. Perd.* 4.11, *Catil.* 1.2, *Rep.* 2.17.13; Liv. 3.20.6; Varr. *DLL* 6.86; Coarelli 1997, 156. Contra: Vaathera 1993, 107–12.
- 13 On the permeability of genres, Russell 2016.
- 14 On public and private, extensive discussion in Russell 2016, esp. 1–42, who focuses on the notion of control.
- 15 On excavation lacunae, see, e.g. Hopkins 2016, 4–9.
- 16 E.g. Coarelli 2011.
- 17 For instance, Bastien 2007. For the calendars: Rüpke 2011, 6–22.
- 18 Flower 2004a, 4; Forsythe 2005, 228, 253–4; Bastien 2007, 19; Wiseman 2008. Also Liv. 6.1.1–3, 6.1.10; Plut. *Numa* 1.2.
- 19 E.g. Liv. 6.29.8–9, 40.52.4–6. Aberson 1994, 8; also Orlin 1997, 70.
- 20 Orlin 1997, 20, 36–75, 139–89. Ziolkowski 1992, 203–34, sees the *locatio* as the siting. Gast 1965, 10; Ziolkowski 1992, 193–235; Steinby 2012, 13. On the Temple of Juno Lucina, purportedly dedicated by a plebeian woman, see p. 15. There were also private shrines, e.g. *Remains of Old Latin* 4.90, no. 981.
- 21 Ziolkowski 1988, 325, with sources. Also Liv. 6.5.8; Orlin 1997, 76–115, 172.
- 22 Orlin 1997, 66–7.
- 23 Orlin 1997, 45–66; contra Ziolkowski 1992, 201, 235.
- 24 E.g. Marcellus' Temple of Honos and Virtus, and Flavius' shrine to Concordia in 306. For views on who paid and let contracts for temples: Stambaugh 1978; Ziolkowski 1992, 235; Orlin 1997, 53–61; Hölkeskamp 2005.
- 25 E.g. the Temple of Ceres, Liber, and Libera: Dion. Hal. 6.94.3.
- 26 Orlin 1997, 6, 18; Beard, North, and Price 1998, 87–8.
- 27 Polyb. 9.10, 10.15.4–16.9; Liv. 26.31.9–10, 38.43.9–10, also 45.34; Pape 1975, 82; Gros 1979, 90–1; Pietilä-Castrén 1982; Ziolkowski 1993; Bradford Churchill 1999; Miles 2008, 84–6.
- 28 Bastien 2007, 14–15, 206, 253; Maiuro 2008, 23–5.
- 29 Bastien 2007, 133.
- 30 For the vast bibliography: Versnel 1970; Brilliant 1999; Beaucham 1999, 40–3; Holliday 2002, 22–30; Beard 2007; Bastien 2007; La Rocca 2008.
- 31 Hölscher 2006.
- 32 Wallace-Hadrill 1990.
- 33 They were defined by the general's name or as *monumenta victoriae suae*, *monumenta victoriae*, or *monumenta victoriae populi romani*. On terminology: Pape 1975, 53.
- 34 Gast 1965, 10; Steinby 2012, 13.
- 35 Steinby 2012, esp. 24–7, 34, 54, 79–82. Below on Ap. Claudius, Cato, and others; also Orlin 1997, 140.

1 A REPUBLIC TAKES SHAPE: ca. 509–338

- 1 Livy 1.58–2.21, trans. Foster; Cornell 1995, 119–50, 218–41; Forsythe 2005, 96–109, 147–200; Smith 2006, 169.
- 2 Taylor 1966, 85–106; Cornell 1995, 195–6, 2000; Forsythe 2005, 108–15; Smith 2006, 169–70, 185.
- 3 Taylor 1966; Cornell 1995, 233; Beard, North, and Price 1998, 54–61; Lintott 1999; Brennan 2004, 32; Smith 2006, 169; North 2006a; Pina Polo 2011; Smith 2012, 39–40.

- 4 Bernardi 1945–6; De Sanctis 1953; also Cornell 1995, 242–58; Forsythe 2005, 157–70.
- 5 Cornell 1995, 265–71; Forsythe 2005, 203, 241.
- 6 Liv. 2.32–33, 3.30.7; Cic. *De Leg.* 3.3.7; Dion. Hal. 6.89–90. Summary in Cornell 1995, 258–71; Oakley 2004, 16; also Forsythe 2005, 170–83.
- 7 Cornell 1995, 272–92; Forsythe 2005, 201–33.
- 8 Cornell 1995, 276–8, with sources; Oakley 2004, 18. For another view, Forsythe 2005, 222–33.
- 9 Liv. 4.8; Tac. *Ann.* 11.22; Harris 1976; Lintott 1999; Forsythe 2005, 234–9.
- 10 Liv. 45.15.9; Plut. *Cato Mai.* 19.2.
- 11 Liv. 4.24.4–9; Humm 1996, 731–2.
- 12 Cornell 1995, 327–44; Forsythe 2005, 217, 261.
- 13 Liv. 6.15–20; Diod. 15.35.3; Cornell 1995, 330–40; Brennan 2000; Forsythe 2005, 211–12, 259–69; North 2006a, 264. Further measures followed in *ca.* 357, 352, 347, and 342.
- 14 Cornell 1995, 333, 340–4; Oakley 2004, 19; Forsythe 2005, 262, 270–5; also Hölkeskamp 1993.
- 15 Liv. 1.58–2.21; Plin. *NH* 34.39; Tac. *Hist.* 3.72; Cornell 1995, 215–32; Forsythe 2005, 148–9, 183–232.
- 16 Forsythe 2005, 188.
- 17 Cornell 1995, 309–11; Forsythe 2005, 238–46.
- 18 Liv. 5.34–55; Polyb. 1.6.1; Cornell 1995, 313–18; Forsythe 2005, 251–9.
- 19 Forsythe 2005, 257–8.
- 20 Cornell 1995, 319–25, 345–51; Oakley 2004, 23–6; Potter 2004, 70, 338; Forsythe 2005, 292.
- 21 Altar of Mars: Fest. 204 L (contra Liv. 2.5.2–3); Coarelli 1997, 182–97. Ara Maxima: Hercules: Liv. 34.18–19; Ov. *Fast.* 1.58.1 f.; Prop. 4.9.67 f.; Sol. 1.10; Verg. *Aen.* 8.271 f.; *Chron. a.* 354, 143; Schol. Veron. *Aen.* 8.104. Evander: Dion. Hal. 40.1.6; Strab. 5.3.3; Tac. *Ann.* 15.41; Macr. *Sat.* 3.11.7, 12.1; *Mythogr. Vat.* 1.69, 2.153. Giovenale 1927; Coarelli 1988a, 61–77; *LTUR* 3.15–17, s.v. *Hercules Invictus, Ara Maxima* (F. Coarelli).
- 22 In general, Hopkins 2016.
- 23 Flower 2006, 45.
- 24 Gjerstad 1953–73, 3.384–5, 452–6; Pallottino 1965, 505; Ioppolo 1966, 1971–2; Virgili 1977, 27–8; Sommella 1977, 1981, 2000, 13–14; Virgili and Pisani Sartorio 1979, 41–4; Cristofani 1990; Colonna 1991; Mertens-Horn 1995, 273; Shoe Meritt and Edlund-Berry 2000, 100; Edlund-Berry 2008, 442; Winter 2009; Hopkins 2016, 66–84; Cangemi in Terrenato *et al.* 2012; Brocato and Terrenato 2012; Urbanus 2014. Contra Adornato 2003, who prefers a date of 520–500 for the second building phase.
- 25 Gjerstad 1953–73, 3.384; Ioppolo 1971–2, 14–17; Virgili 1977, 30–1; Virgili and Pisani Sartorio 1979, 42.
- 26 Sommella 1968; Pisani Sartorio 1977 and 1995 with extensive bibliography; Virgili 1979; Ziolkowski 1992, 104–9; *LTUR* 2.281–5, s.v. *Fortuna et Mater Matuta, aedes* (G. Pisani Sartorio); Ioppolo 2000, 171–3; Cangemi in Terrenato *et al.* 2012; Brocato and Terrenato 2012; Hopkins 2016, 146–52. Contra: Coarelli 1988, 216–19.
- 27 Terrenato and Brocato 2017; Samuels 2017; Naglak 2017; Pavia 2017. For an earlier view of the Regia: Brown 1935, 1967, 1974–5; Downey 1995; *LTUR* 4.189–92, s.v. *Regia* (R. T. Scott); Winter 2006, 350–1, 210; Hopkins 2016, 39–48, with extensive bibliography. Adjacent building: Carettoni 1978–80; Coarelli 1983; Carandini 1988, 360–73; Ziolkowski 1989; Scott 1993a 11–13, 1993b, 165–6, 2009, 9–11; *LTUR* 2.169–70; s.v. *Domus Regis sacrorum/sacrificuli* (E. Papi); Arvanitis 2004, 58–9, 147–8; Hopkins 2016, 144.
- 28 Thompson 1940; Ampolo 1971.
- 29 Serv. *Aen.* 2.57, 8.363; Fest. 347 L, 372 L. King's house: Stopponi 1985; Scheffer 1990; Filippi 2004, 119–20; Prayon 2004, 2009. Religious function: Brown 1967; Coarelli 1983, 56–79; *LTUR* 4.189–92, s.v. *Regia* (R. T. Scott), 189–92; Samuels 2017; Naglak 2017; Pavia 2017.
- 30 Fest. 372 L; Suet. *Iul.* 46; Carettoni 1978–80; Coarelli 1983; Carandini 1988, 360–73; Ziolkowski 1989; *LTUR* 2.165–6, s.v. *Domus Publica* (R. T. Scott), 169–70, s.v. *Domus Regis sacrorum/sacrificuli* (E. Papi).
- 31 Liv. 2.5.2–3; Coarelli 1997, 183–5.
- 32 Liv. 1.55.2, 2.8; Dion. Hal. 3.69.2, 5.35.3, 6.1.4; Tac. *Hist.* 3.72; Varr. in Macr. *Sat.* 1.8.1; Cornell 1995, 167.
- 33 Sommella 2000a and b; Danti 2001; Albertoni and Damiani 2008.
- 34 Cifani 2008, 111. Four walls of gray tufo masonry survive within the later temple, and the foundation was discovered in medieval robber trenches. Dion. Hal. 6.1.4; Liv. 2.21.1. Oscillation between dates may derive from the fact that T. Larcus was dictator in 501 and 498–497 (and consul in 498). Pensabene 1982; *LTUR* 4.234–6, s.v. *Saturnus, aedes* (F. Coarelli); La Rocca 1990, 294; Gorski and Packer 2015, 225–7.
- 35 Luc. *Phars.* 3.155; App. *BC* 1.31; Sol. 1.12; Macr. *Sat.* 1.8; Serv. *georg.* 2.502, *Sen.* 8.322; Asc. *Mil.* 36; Plut. *Ti. Gracch.* 10.6.
- 36 Orlin 1997, 19–29.
- 37 Dion. Hal. 6.17.2–3; Tac. *Ann.* 2.49.1; La Rocca 1990, 295; *LTUR* 1.260–1, s.v. *Ceres, Liber, Liberaque, aedes; aedes Cereris* (F. Coarelli); Orlin 1997, 24, 111.
- 38 Liv. 2.27.6–7; Val. Max. 9.3.6. Richard 1982; *LTUR* 3.245–7, s.v. *Mercurius, aedes* (M. Andreussi).
- 39 Liv. 4.25.3; also 4.29.7; Coarelli 1997, 377–91; Orlin 1997, 22; *LTUR* 1.49–54, s.v. *Apollo, aedes in Circo* (A. Viscogliosi).
- 40 Liv. 6.35–42; Plut. *Cam.* 42.4–6; Ov. *Fast.* 1.641–4. Momigliano 1942; Levick 1978; Ziolkowski 1992, 22–4; Cornell 1995, 334; *LTUR* 1.316–20, s.v. *Concordia, aedes* (A. M. Ferroni); Heyworth 2011.
- 41 Arizza and Serlorenzi 2015.
- 42 Varr. *DLL* 5.45; Coarelli 2014, 29–34.
- 43 Arizza 2015, 155–8.
- 44 Liv. 4.21.9, 10.46.7; Manca Di Mores 1982–3; Coates-Stephens 2014 and personal communication, 2016.
- 45 Orlin 1997, 28–32.
- 46 Liv. 2.20.12, 2.42.5; Dion. Hal. 6.13; Forsythe 2005, 7; Gorski and Packer 2015, 285–9. Liv. 2.40.11 sets a vow and dedication of a temple to Fortuna Muliebris in 487 during a war with the Volsci, though most scholars treat his account with skepticism. Also Dion. Hal. 8.55–56; Val. Max. 1.8.4; Forsythe 2005, 192.
- 47 Säflund 1932, 8–9; Carandini 1997, 70, 207–11; Pensabene and Falzone 2001, 111–21, 134.

- 48 Hermans 2012.
- 49 Panella 2013, 20, 28–45. Shrine A: approx. 1.10 by 1.10 m.; Shrine B: approx. 2.40 by 1.45 m.
- 50 Liv. 5.21.3, 22.67, 23.7, 31.3, 52.10; La Rocca 1990, 313; *LTUR* 3.125–6, s.v. *Iuno Regina* (M. Andreussi); Gustafsson 2000; Oakley 2004, 22.
- 51 Liv. 6.5.8; Ziolkowski 1992, 101–4; *LTUR Suburbium* 1v.44–5, s.v. *Mars, aedes, templum, lucus* (F. Coarelli). Also Beard *et al.* 1998, 15.
- 52 So believes Arvanitis 2010, 57; Argento 2010, 74–88. Scott 2009, 21–3, dates the same remains to the late third century. Overview of arguments in Bernard 2012b, 324–5. Also Gorski and Packer 2015, 311–6.
- 53 Plin. *NH* 16.235; Palmer 1974, 19–21; *LTUR* 3.122–3, s.v. *Iuno Lucina, aedes* (G. Giannelli); Orlin 2010, 41–2. For other views: Muccigrosso 2006; Marroni 2010, 113–25; Fraioli 2013b, 327.
- 54 Liv. 6.20.13, 7.28.4–6; Ov. *Fast.* 6.183–5. For other traditions: Liv. *Andr. fr.* 21; Hyg. *Fab. pr.* 27; Cic. *De Div.* 1.101, 2.69; Suda; Isid. *Etym.* 16.18.8; also *Comm. Bern.* ad Lucan 1.380; Mancini 1921; Ziolkowski 1992, 71–6; Coarelli 1994a; Meadows and Williams 2001; Forsythe 2005, 254; Roller 2010, 154–5.
- 55 Varr. *DLL* 5.66 (on the *collis Mucialis*); Liv. 8.20.8 (*adversus aedem Quirini*); Dion. Hal. 9.60.8; Tert. *Nat.* 2.9.28; *LTUR* 4.263–4, s.v. *Semo Sancus in colle, aedes, fanum, sacellum, templum* (F. Coarelli). Capanna 2010; 2013, 451, sets it near S. Silvestro al Quirinale.
- 56 Liv. 23.7, 52.10; Virgili and Pisani Sartorio 1979, 44; Terrenato *et al.* 2012 and personal communication. Contra: Sommella 1968, 65. Coarelli, 1988a, 214–9, dates the third phase of construction, after the destructive layer, to this time, and this pavement to the time of Fulvius Flaccus (below).
- 57 *LTUR* 4.234–6, s.v. *Saturnus, aedes* (F. Coarelli). Apollo: Liv. 7.20.9; Asc. in Cic. *Orat.* 90; *LTUR* 1.49–54, s.v. *Apollo, aedes in Circo* (A. Viscogliosi); Coarelli 1997, 387.
- 58 Panella 2013, 41–2. Around mid-century, Shrine A was heightened with additional rows of cappellaccio blocks, and the ground level raised on the north side of the east-west artery road, to coincide with a resurfacing of the road. At the end of the century the shrine was heightened again, and a ramp paved in cappellaccio was built.
- 59 Liv. 3.63.6–11; *LTUR* 1.49–54, s.v. *Apollo, aedes in Circo* (A. Viscogliosi); Spaeth 1996, 1–11; Coarelli 1997, 377–91; Forsythe 2005, 174, 186; Orlin 1997, 11–14, 2010, 35–6.
- 60 Le Gall 1976; Orlin 2010, 32, 36; also Pape 1975, 37.
- 61 Liv. 5.21.3, 22.67, 23.7, 31.3, 52.10. La Rocca 1990, 313; *LTUR* 3.125–6, s.v. *Iuno Regina* (M. Andreussi); Oakley 2004, 22; Orlin 2010, 37, 41.
- 62 Also Aberson 1994, 137.
- 63 Orlin 1997, 76–115; Ziolkowski 1992.
- 64 Sabbatucci 1954; Richard 1978, 580–4; Spaeth 1996, 104; Beard, North, and Price 1998, 64–5, 87–8; Forsythe 2005, 167–70; Rüpke 2006b.
- 65 On *convée* labor: Bernard 2012b, 77–90 and *passim*.
- 66 Liv. 2.43; Dion. Hal. 8.68–80; Cic. *Rep.* 2.27.35, *Phil.* 2.44, *Lael.* 8.11, *Dom.* 38; Val. Max. 9.6.3. Contra Forsythe 2005, 7.
- 67 Crawford 1974, nos. 428/1–2; Arvanitis 2006, 57; Elkins 2015, 31.
- 68 Gjerstad 1953–73; Sommella 2000a and b, 2009, who suggests a height of about 12 m; Cifani 2008b, 81–4; Hopkins 2012b, 2016, 97–122. Contra: Castagnoli 1955, 1966–7, 13–14, 1974, 435, 1984; Giuliani 1982; Stamper 2005, 19–33.
- 69 Gros 1973 and 1976, 407–9, who sees it as a hybrid of Greek traditional Ionic and the Italic “*sine postico*” design.
- 70 Liv. 7.3.5; *CIL* 6.32329.9; Dion. Hal. 4.62.5; Gjerstad 1960, 168–89; Sommella 2001; Hopkins 2016, 107–8.
- 71 Hopkins 2012b, 114.
- 72 Varr. in Plin. *NH* 35.45.157; Cic. *Div.* 1.16; Colonna 1981; Turfa and Steinmayer 1996; Hopkins 2016, 102–3. On S. Omobono: Gjerstad 1953–73, 3.384–5, 452–6; Sommella 1977, 1981; Virgili 1977, 27–8; Virgili and Pisani Sartorio 1979, 44; Colonna 1991; Shoe Meritt and Edlund-Berry 2000, 100; Edlund-Berry 2008, 442; Winter 2009; Hopkins 2016, 66–84.
- 73 Davies 2006; Hopkins 2012b, 2016, 97–122.
- 74 Hopkins 2012b; also Barletta 1983, 1993, 2000; Sherratt and Sherratt 1993; Horden and Purcell 2000; Malkin 2005; Morris 2005; Davies 2006.
- 75 A possible exception is the Temple of Mercury. Servius, *Virg. Aen.* 9.406, states that temples to Mercury, Vesta, Diana, and Hercules were generally circular. Bariviera 2013, 427.
- 76 Saturn: Cifani 2008b, 109–11. Castor: Nielsen and Poulsen 1992, 61–79. Fortuna and Mater Matuta: Pisani Sartorio 1977 and *LTUR* 2.281–5, s.v. *Fortuna et Mater Matuta, aedes*. Apollo Medicus: *LTUR* 1.49–54, s.v. *Apollo, aedes in Circo* (A. Viscogliosi); Viscogliosi 1996, 15–43. Juno Moneta: Giannelli 1981; Tucci 2005, 2014. Also Jackson and Marra 2006, 419–20.
- 77 Pisani Sartorio 1990, 114; Hopkins 2016, 146–7. On podia vs. platforms: Potts 2011.
- 78 Castor: Nielsen and Poulsen 1992, 78. Apollo Medicus: *LTUR* 1.49–54, s.v. *Apollo, aedes in Circo* (A. Viscogliosi); Ciancio Rossetto 1997–98, 189. The podium measured at least 38.20 by 21.45 m, of which the cella block occupied only approximately 25 by 21.45 m. Fortuna and Mater Matuta: Pisani Sartorio 1990, 114.
- 79 Nielsen and Poulsen 1992, 78. Viscogliosi argues for a prostyle tetrastyle façade at the Temple of Apollo Medicus: *LTUR* 1.49–54, s.v. *Apollo, aedes in Circo* (A. Viscogliosi). Terracotta column casing: Gjerstad 1953–73, III.133–5; Andrén 1940, 364–5 1: 365, pl. 109: 389.
- 80 Vit. 3.3.4–5, trans. Rowland and Howe. Also 3.3.1.
- 81 La Rocca 1990, 295; Nielsen and Poulsen 1992, 78; Arizza 2015.
- 82 Plin. *NH* 35.45.154, trans. Rackham. Pliny notes that Varro describes everything in the temples as Tuscanic before this shrine, in the context of talking about Greek paintings; Coarelli takes this to imply that the entire temple was Greek in design, with a peristyle: *LTUR* 1.260–1, s.v. *Ceres, Liber, Liberaque, aedes; aedes Cereris* (F. Coarelli).
- 83 For a fragment of a painted terracotta frieze from an interior cella wall from Caere: Andrén 1940, ccviii. Forsythe 2005, 175, argues for a representation of a tale involving civil discord, secession, and reconciliation through purificatory and chthonic rites of Demeter.

- 84 Varr. *DLL* 5.66; Non. 793; Jackson and Marra 2006, 425.
- 85 Ammerman *et al.* 2008, 22.
- 86 Andrén 1940, ccxii. On S. Omobono: Gjerstad 1953–73, 3; Pallottino 1965, 505; Ippolo 1966, 1971–2; Sommella 1977, 86; 2000a, 13–14; Virgili and Pisani Sartorio 1979, 41–3; Cristofani 1990; Mertens-Horn 1995, 273; Edlund-Berry 2008, 442; Hopkins 2016, 66–84, 146–52.
- 87 Apollo Medicus: Ciancio Rossetto 1997–98, 193–5, 1999. Castor (all of which probably came from the pediment area): Grønne 1992, 157–76. From the Temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta, probably, come fragments of revetment forming an anthemion frieze: Gjerstad 1953–73, 3.448; Hopkins 2016, 149–50. Others, found on the Capitoline, probably belonged to a substantial temple near the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus: Muñoz and Colini 1930, 11; Andrén 1940, 342–3; Gjerstad 1953–73, 3.203–4. A floral revetment from the Velian may once have decorated a temple: Andrén 1940, 364–5, 1: 365, pl. 109; 389; Gjerstad 1953–73, 3.133–5; Nielsen and Poulsen 1992, 161.
- 88 Andrén 1940, clxiii; Grønne 1992, 157–76. Similar antefixes survive from the Aracoeli garden on the Arx and the area of S. Antonio on the Esquiline: Andrén 1940, 342 1:4, 345 1:3, pl. 107. Similar antefixes, of around 480–470, came to light at the northeast corner of the Palatine: Zeggio 2006.
- 89 Lulof 2007; Hopkins 2016, 132–4. Also Andrén 1940, 345 1:4 for the head of a bearded warrior from the Esquiline, perhaps Hercules, perhaps from a figure crowning a pediment.
- 90 Vitr. 3.3.5, trans. Rowland and Howe.
- 91 Rüpke 2006, 218–220.
- 92 Stambaugh 1978, 587.
- 93 Plin. *NH* 34.9, 34.16; Liv. 2.41.10; Dion. Hal. 8.79; Val. Max. 5.8.2.
- 94 Jupiter: Cic. *Div.* 1.12.20; Liv. 10.7.10; Plin. *NH* 33.36.111, 35, 45.157. Hercules: Plin. *NH* 35.12.157. Martin 1987, 28–32; Coarelli 1988a, 81. Ara Coeli: Sommella 2010.
- 95 Also Fortuna Muliebris. Liv. 24.47.15–16, 25.7.5–6; Plin. *HN* 8.194–7, 36.163; Dion. Hal. 4.40.7; Ov. *Fast.* 6.569–72, 6.579–80, 6.613–26; Val. Max. 1.8.11; Varr. *ap. Non.* p. 278 L; Cass. Dio 58.7.2; Arnob. *Adv. Nat.* 2.67; August. *Civ. dei* 4.11; Pisani Sartorio 1983, 51–6; Coarelli 1988a, 265–73; Martin 1987, 20–1; Stamper 2005, 42.
- 96 Cass. Dio 24, fr. 84.2; La Rocca 1977, 27 n. 58; *LTUR* 1.50, s.v. *Apollo, aedes in Circo* (A. Viscogliosi). By that date, the temple of 433 had been restored and a new cult image had been commissioned; the archaic statue was probably preserved.
- 97 Martin 1987, 25–45.
- 98 Plin. *HN* 34.9.15; also Liv. 21.62.8; Martin 1987, 47–9; Gruen 1992, 107–9. For a different view, *LTUR* 5.24–5, s.v. *Tellus, aedes* (F. Coarelli).
- 99 Semo Sancus: Fest. 276 L; Plin. *NH* 8.194; Plut. *Q. Rom.* 30; *LTUR* 4.263–4, s.v. *Semo Sancus in colle, aedes, fanum, sacellum, templum* (F. Coarelli). Capitoline: Liv. 6.4.3, 7.38.2; Forsythe 2005, 280.
- 100 Forsythe 2005, 173; Roller 2010, 147–8. Bronze realized from the goods of Vitruvius Vaccus, who led the Priverni and Fundani in revolt against Rome in 330, was consecrated to Semo Sancus: Liv. 8.20.5.
- 101 Temple of Ceres: Liv. 3.55.13; *LTUR* 1.260–1, s.v. *Ceres, Liber, Liberaque, aedes; aedes Cereris* (F. Coarelli). The Temple of Semo Sancus housed the treaty between Rome and Gabii, supposedly incised on a shield in the time of Tarquinius Superbus: Dion. Hal. 4.58.4; *LTUR* 4.263–4, s.v. *Semo Sancus in colle, aedes, fanum, sacellum, templum* (F. Coarelli). Other military treaties were in the *area sacra* of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. Juno Moneta: Liv. 4.7.12, 20.8; *LTUR* 3.123–5, s.v. *Iuno Moneta, aedes* (G. Giannelli). Castor: Liv. 8.11.16; *LTUR* 1.242–5, s.v. *Castor, aedes, templum* (I. Nielsen).
- 102 *CIL* 11.6726.2, 5.8119.4, 13.10030.13–14; *ILS* 8637a; Stambaugh 1978, 583.
- 103 Beard, North, and Price 1998, 87–8.
- 104 Liv. 7.3.5–6.
- 105 Castor: Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.129. Apollo: Liv. 34.43.2, 37.58.3, 39.4.1, 41.17.4.
- 106 Castor: Taylor 1966, 28; Stamper 2005, 57. Saturn: Macr. *Sat.* 1–8; App. *BC* 1.31; Luc. *Phars.* 3.154; Plut. *Ti. Gracch.* 10.6; Varr. *DLL* 5.183; Polyb. 23.14.5–6; *CIL* 1².593.46s. Military standards: Liv. 3.69.8, 7.23. Stamper 2005, 36–7. Ceres: Liv. 3.55.13; *LTUR* 1.260–1, s.v. *Ceres, Liber, Liberaque, aedes; aedes Cereris* (F. Coarelli); La Rocca 1990, 295–6; Forsythe 2005, 170–83.
- 107 Varr. *RR* 1.2.1–2; Plut. *Q. Rom.* 46; implicit in Plut. *Aem.* 32; Stambaugh 1978, 575–6; Beard, North, and Price 1998, 2.78.
- 108 Liv. 5.13.5.
- 109 Mars: Ziolkowski 1992, 289–90; Coarelli 1997, 182. If properly identified, its location is described as *in clivo, in via Appia* (Liv. 22.1.12; Serv. *ad Aen.* 1.292), and *extra Portam Capenam* (Liv. 7.23.3; Paul. in Fest. 115 L; Ov. *Fast.* 6.191–2), which places it near Porta S. Sebastiano: Lugli 1953–59, 3.33–7. Juno Lucina: Varr. *DLL* 5.50; Plin. *NH* 16.235; Ov. *Fast.* 2.435f.; Fest. 476 L; Ziolkowski 1993, 218–19, 1992, 67–71; *LTUR* 3.122–3, s.v. *Iuno Lucina, aedes* (G. Giannelli). Found beneath the monastery of S. Francisco de Paula, *CIL* 6.358 suggests an alternative location on the Oppian; *MAR* 153, s.v. *Iuno Lucina* (A. G. Thein). Southwest Palatine: Pensabene and Falzone 2001, 11. Velian: Panella 2013.
- 110 Pape 1975, 41–2; Ziolkowski 1992, 218–9, 268–9; Orlin 1997, 138, n. 64; Rüpke 2007, 28.
- 111 Von Sydow 1973; Richardson 1992a, 215; Arata 2010, 124–6, sets the temple of Juno Moneta on the summit of the Arx and identifies the walls in the Aracoeli garden as part of the citadel's early fortifications. On security for weights and measures: Meadows and Williams 2001.
- 112 Giannelli 1981; Linderski 1986; Ziolkowski 1992, 72; *LTUR* 3.123–5, s.v. *Iuno Moneta, aedes* (G. Giannelli); Tucci 2005, 19–21; Flower 2006, 45–51; Rüpke 2008, 8; Cifani 2008, 75–8; also Roller 2010. Bernard 2012b, 325–6, notes that in some places blocks of *tufo rosso a scorie nero* sit above the *tufo del Palatino*, possibly due to secondary work. Liv. 6.20.13, 7.28.4–6; Ov. *Fast.* 6.183–5; Solin. 1.21 (who places it in the area of T. Tatius' residence); Val. Max. 6.3.1a; Plut. *Cam.* 36.8, also *Rom.* 20.5.

- 113 Liv. 5. 22.6–7, 23.7, 52.11; *CIL* 6.364–5. *LTUR* 3.125–6, s.v. *Iuno Regina* (M. Andreussi), who associates the temple with a third-century peperino *distylos in antis* beneath the south-east aisle of S. Sabina: Krautheimer 1970, 82; Ziolkowski 1992, 76–7, 277–9; Bruno 2013, 395–6.
- 114 Varr. *DLL* 5.43; Liv. 1.45.2–6; Dion. Hal. 4.26; *De vir. ill.* 7.9; *LTUR* 2.11–13, s.v. *Diana Aventina, aedes* (Venditelli); Ziolkowski 1992, 289. Hypotheses place it between S. Sabina, S. Alessio, and S. Prisca on via S. Sabina, or, more likely, in the area of S. Sabina at the crossroads with via S. Alberto Magno. Venditelli 1990, 164, and 1988, 108, suggests that a late-Republican portico on the Aventine is part of the sanctuary.
- 115 Ceres: Vitruv. 3.3.5; Plin. *NH* 35.154; Tac. *Ann.* 2.49. Mercury: Ov. *Fast.* 5.669; Apul. *Met.* 6.8; *LTUR* 3.245–7, s.v. *Mercurius, aedes* (M. Andreussi); *MAR* 167, s.v. *Mercurius, aedes* (L. Haselberger). Ziolkowski 1992, 76–7, 277–9. On the Aventine, see Mignone 2016.
- 116 Cass. Dio 12, fr. 50.1; Asc. *Tog. Cand.* 90–1; Liv. 27.37.11; Plin. *NH* 36.34; La Rocca 1990, 313; Ziolkowski 1992, 266, 290; Viscogliosi 1996 1, 50; Coarelli 1997, 387–9; Stamper 2005, 55.
- 117 Cornell 1995, 308–9; Forsythe 2005, 190.
- 118 Cornell 1995, 301, 308–9.
- 119 Liv. 6.29.8–9; Bastien 2007, 189. Contra: Oakley 1997, 608.
- 120 Liv. 8.14.12; Cornell 1995, 349.
- 121 Liv. 1.37.5 and *passim*; Humm 2009, 119.
- 122 Dion. Hal. 6.95; Cic. *Pro Balbo* 53; Liv. 2.33.9; Cornell 1995, 299.
- 123 Forsythe 2005, 236; also Harris 1976.
- 124 Dion. Hal. 6.17.2–3; Liv. 1.53.3. On the origins of the practice: Ziolkowski 1992, 241–2; Aberson 1994, 96–101.
- 125 Liv. 23.14.4; also 24.21.9–10; Isager 1993, 266; Beard 2007, 175; Humm 2009, 119.
- 126 Liv. 4.20, 7.15.8; Fest. 498 L s.v. *trientum tertium*.
- 127 Liv. 6.29.8–9, trans. Foster; Bastien 2007, 189.
- 128 Humm 2009, 122–3.
- 129 Liv. 8.14.12; Cornell 1995, 349.
- 130 Humm 2009, 122–3; also Hölscher 1990, 75, 1994, 20.
- 131 Plin. *NH* 34.11; Liv. 8.13.9; Eutr. 2.7; *LTUR* 2.229, s.v. *Equus: C. Maenius* (E. Papi); *RCC* 363; Coarelli 1985, 39–53; *LTUR* 1.301–2, s.v. *Columna Maenia* (M. Torelli).
- 132 Plin. *NH* 34.23–5. Also Liv. 4.17.6; Cic. *Phil.* 9.2.4. *LTUR* 4.212, s.v. *Rostra (Età repubblicana)* (F. Coarelli). Later dedications on the Rostra support this view: after 230, the state erected statues of P. Iunius and Ti. Coruncanius, legates assassinated on a mission to the court of Teuta, queen of the Illyrians; and the senate commissioned a statue of Cn. Octavius when he was killed on embassy to Antiochos IV in 162. Plin. *NH* 34.23–5.
- 133 Plin. *NH* 34.11, trans. Rackham.
- 134 Cornell 1995, 345–51; Oakley 2004, 25–6; Potter 2004, 70, 338; Forsythe 2005, 292.
- 135 Ampolo 1988; Coarelli 1988a; Cornell 1995, 202–10; Smith 2000, 27; Barbera and Cianetta 2008, 16–21.
- 136 *Pomerium*: Tac. *Ann.* 12.24; Smith 2000, 26. Circuit of walls: Barbera and Cianetta 2008, 16–21 with bibliography; also Bruno and Filippi in Carandini and Carafa 2013, 1.79–80, who describe it as *tufo lionato*; Cifani 2013, 83. Hilltop walls: Bernard 2012a, 50–8.
- 137 The new level was 9 m.a.s.l. *LTUR* 2.313–325, s.v. *Forum Romanum (fino alla prima età repubblicana)* (G. Tagliamonte); Ammerman 1990; Ammerman *et al.* 2008; Hopkins 2016, 29–38. Carafa 1997 and Gusberti 2005 prefer a date of 750–675. Also Filippi 2005, 2013 1, 154–6.
- 138 Antognoli and Bianchi 2009, 93–4; Hopkins 2010, 47–51, 2012a, 2016, 32–3; Bianchi and Antognoli 2010, 131–2, 2014, 115–19.
- 139 *Tabernae veteres*: Liv. 1.35.10; Dion. Hal. 3.67.3; *LTUR* 5.12–13, s.v. *Tabernae circa Forum* (E. Papi), 5.15, s.v. *Tabernae Veteres* (E. Papi). Comitium: Plut. *Rom.* 19.10; Palmer 1969; Coarelli 1977a, 166–71; Carafa 1998; Hopkins 2016, 48–53.
- 140 Varr. *DLL* 5.155; Plin. *NH* 7.212; Gantz 1974; Coarelli 1977a, 171–2, 181–2; *LTUR* 4.295–6, s.v. *Sepulcrum Romuli* (F. Coarelli); *LTUR* 2.373, s.v. *Graecostasis* (F. Coarelli); Amici 2004–5, 352; Hopkins 2016, 50–3.
- 141 Amici 2004–5, 352–4. Varr. *DLL* 5.155; Cic. *Rep.* 2.17.31; Liv. 1.30; Hor. *Carm.* 4.7.15; *De vir. ill.* 4.3; Varr. in Gell. 14.7.7; *LTUR* 1.331–2, s.v. *Curia Hostilia* (F. Coarelli); Delfino 2008.
- 142 Hopkins 2016, 48–51.
- 143 Liv. 26.27.1–4, 27.11.16; Gaggiotti 1985, 1993–95; also Gros 1984, 62–3. Contra *LTUR* 1.137, s.v. *Atrium Regium* (F. Zevi); Welch 2003.
- 144 Varr. *RR* 3.2; Liv. 26.22.11; Castagnoli 1947, 148 ff.; Taylor 1966; Richardson 1992a, 278; Coarelli 1997, 155–64.
- 145 Liv. 1.35.8; *De vir. ill.* 6.8; Eutrop. *Brev.* 1.6; Dion. Hal. 4.44.1; Holland 1961, 34, 348; Humphrey 1986, 64–7; Marcattili 2009; Bernstein 2011.
- 146 Gjerstad 1953–73, 2.22, 44, 58–9, 73–4; Nielsen 1990, 89–104; Nielsen and Poulsen 1992, 39–40, 67–9, 75, 157; Hopkins 2016, 144–6.
- 147 Amici 2004–5, 354; also Coarelli 1983; Carafa 1998.
- 148 Liv. 3.48.5; Dion. Hal. 11.37.5; *LTUR* 5.13–14, s.v. *Tabernae Lanienae* (E. Papi); Freyberger and Ertel 2007; Fraioli 2013, 287; Russell 2016, 77–81.
- 149 Respectively, La Rocca 1990, 322; Gros 1996; Torelli 2007, 115. For the lacunose archaeological record: Hopkins 2016, 4–5.
- 150 Pomponius *Digest* 1.2.2.5–6; Forsythe 2005, 211–12.
- 151 On benefits and amenities: Meier 1982, 196. Early houses: Boni 1903, 165–70; Gjerstad 1954, 86–154; Melis and Rathje 1984; Manino 1989; Carandini and Carafa 1995; Gros, 1996, 238; Carandini and Papi 1999; Smith 2000, 29; Zaccaria Ruggiu 2003; Cifani 2008, 139–49; Russell 2016, 81–7.
- 152 Liv. 30.21.12; *RRC* 429/2a; Coarelli 1997, 164–75; *LTUR* 5.203–5, s.v. *Villa Publica* (S. Agache). *LTUR* 4.228–9, s.v. *Saepta Iulia* (E. Gatti); Torelli 2007, 113–15; Bernard 2012b, 95 and *passim*.
- 153 Richardson 1976, 389, based on Varr. *RR* 3.2.4. Coarelli, 1997, 164–75; D'Alessio 2013, 498; Steinby 2012, 28.
- 154 Liv. 30.21.12, 33.24.5.
- 155 Liv. 6.4.12; Bernard 2012b, 318–9.
- 156 Liv. 6.32.2, 7.20.9; Varr. *DLL* 5.163; Barbera and Cianetta 2008, 17–18, 22; Bernard 2012b, 71–2, 75–7, 321.

- 157 Liv. 1.44.3; Dion. Hal. 4.54.2; Säflund 1932; Lyngby 1954, 63–71; Gerkan 1955; Picozzi and Santoro 1973; Coarelli 1988c, 13–16; *LTUR* 3.319–34, s.v. “*Murus Servii Tullii*”: *mura repubblicane* and “*Murus Servii Tullii*”: *mura repubblicane: portae*; Barbera and Cianetta 2008, 24–6; Bernard 2012a; Cifani 2013.
- 158 Säflund 1932; Coarelli 1988a, 13–42; Barbera and Cianetta 2008, 22–3; Bernard 2012a, 5, 2012b, 66–8; Bariviera 2013, 427. Also Diod. Sic. 14.18.2–7.
- 159 Plut. *Cam.* 22.6, 28.1; Liv. 6.1.1–3 (versus 5.41.9–10).
- 160 Polyb. 2.18.2; Coarelli 1977a, 197, 1983, 129–30; Carandini and Carafa 1995, 253–4; Pensabene 1998a, 150; Cornell 1995, 313–18; Forsythe 2005, 251–9; Torelli 2007, 115–16; Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani 2007, 27; Delfino 2014, 226–39.
- 161 Liv. 5.40.8–10, 51–4.
- 162 Forsythe 2005, 251–9. Cornell 1995, 317–19, questions how damaging the occupation was even in terms of morale.
- 163 Coarelli 1988a, 328; Jackson and Marra 2006, 419–20, 427; Barbera and Cianetta 2008, 21; Cifani 2013, 83.
- 164 Bernard 2012b, esp. 87–91.
- 165 Amici 2004–5, 354–9; also Coarelli 1985, 11–22; Carafa 1998.
- 166 Cornell 1995, 299–309; Oakley 2004, 22; Forsythe 2005, 189–90. For other views: e.g. La Rocca 1990, 296; Smith 2006, 316; Torelli 2006, 85–6, 2007, 113; also Flower 2010, 37. Archaeological evidence consists primarily of pottery imported from Greece and burial deposits.
- Quirinus: Liv. 10.46.7; *LTUR* 4.185–7, s.v. *Quirinus, sacellum* (F. Coarelli).
- 17 Liv. 10.19.17; Ziolkowski 1992, 255; Beard, North, and Price 1998, 34.
- 18 Liv. 9.43.25; Ziolkowski 1992, 144–8, 242.
- 19 Fors Fortuna: Liv. 10.46.14 (*locavit*); Ziolkowski 1992, 38–9. Fons: Cic. *Nat. Deor.* 3.52; Degrassi 1963, 2; Ziolkowski 1992, 38; *LTUR* 2.256–7, s.v. *Fons, delubrum* (F. Coarelli); Coarelli 1997, 250–8; 2014, 83–112. On manubial temples, Orlin 1997, 127–32; Bastien 2007, 92, 331–2.
- 20 Liv. 10.47.6–7; Oros. 3.22.5; Val. Max. 1.8.2; Strab. 12.5.3; Nepot. *Epit.* 9.3; Augustin. *CivDei* 3.17; La Rocca 1990, 325; *LTUR* 1.21–2, s.v. *Aesculapius, aedes, templum (Insula Tiberina)* (D. Degrassi); Ziolkowski 1992, 17–18.
- 21 Ov. *Fast.* 6.731–2; Cic. *De Civ.* 1.16; Liv. *Per.* 14; Ziolkowski 1992, 154–5; *LTUR* 4.385–6, s.v. *Summanus, aedes* (F. Coarelli); Bernard 2012b, 352–3, sees it as a votive temple.
- 22 Jupiter Fulgur: Degrassi 1963, 13.2 20; Vitruv. 1.2.5; Manacorda 1990; *LTUR* 3.136–8, s.v. *Iuppiter Fulgur, aedificium* (D. Manacorda). Ziolkowski 1992, 79–80, 261, dates it between 292 and the early first century. Luna (date unknown): Liv. 40.2.1–2; Ziolkowski 1992, 99–100. Portunus: Coarelli 1981, 16, 1988a, 113–27; Ruggiero 1991–92; *LTUR* 4.153–4, s.v. *Portunus, aedes* (C. Buzzetti). Tiberinus (date unknown): Degrassi 1963, 13.2 24; Ziolkowski 1992, 164–7.
- 23 Bauman 1996, 13.
- 24 Diod. Sic. 20.36; Liv. 9.46; Taylor 1960, 132–7.
- 25 Plin. *NH* 33.19, adapted from Rackham’s translation; Liv. 9.46.1–15 (who places it in the Volcanal); also Rüpk 2011, 44–59.
- 26 Ziolkowski 1992, 242–3.
- 27 Liv. 10.32–4, 37.1–12; Zon. 8.1; Broughton 1951–86, 1.150–1; Castagnoli 1964, 185–6. Contra: Cecamore 2002, 122–3, 146. On the date of his aedileship: Seidel 1908, 12–13. Ziolkowski 1992, 174, believes that he vowed the temple as consul in 305.
- 28 Liv. 10.31.9; Serv. *Aen.* 1.720; Dion. Hal. 17–18.4; Càssola 1968, 194–8; Bastien 2007, 107.
- 29 Ziolkowski 1992, 167–71, 255, 259; Muccigrosso 2006, 201–2; Bastien 2007, 182–3.
- 30 Ziolkowski 1992, 259–60.
- 31 Liv. 10.23.10–12, adapted from Foster’s translation. Plin. *NH* 34.7, claims that in early days the lintels and folding doors of temples were commonly made of bronze.
- 32 Wiseman 1995b, 73.
- 33 Liv. 10.23.13.
- 34 Liv. 24.16.19; Fest. 108 L; Weinstock 1971, 133–45; Von Ungern-Sternberg 1986, 321; Clark 2007, 59. Also Ziolkowski 1992, 85–7; *LTUR* 3.144, s.v. *Iuppiter Libertas, aedes* (M. Andreussi). The temple may be shown on *denarii* of 76: Elkins 2015, 26.
- 35 Gell. 10.6; Liv. *Per.* 19; Suet. *Tib.* 2.3; Val. Max. 8.1 *Damn.* 4; Von Ungern-Sternberg 1986, 321; Ziolkowski 1992, 85–7, 259.
- 36 Ov. *Fast.* 5.295–330; Ziolkowski 1992, 31–4; *LTUR* 2.253–5, s.v. *Flora, aedes* (E. Papi); Wiseman 1999, 196.
- 37 Manca di Mores 1982–3; Coarelli 2014, 30–3; Arizza 2015, 68.
- 38 Arvanitis 2010, 57; Argento 2010, 74–88. Contra Scott 2009, 21–3.
- 39 Panella 2013, 41: it was raised with peperino slabs, curved on the exterior.

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- 1 Liv. 8.23.6; Cornell 1995, 301–4; Forsythe 2005, 190–1.
- 2 Cornell 1995, 352–7; Potter 2004; Forsythe 2005, 294–310.
- 3 Cornell 1995, 358–62.
- 4 Cornell 1995, 363–4.
- 5 Lazenby 2004; Pitassi 2009, 51–79.
- 6 Goldsworthy 2006; Gargola 2006, 147–9.
- 7 Gruen 2004, 242–8.
- 8 Gargola 2006, 150.
- 9 Liv. 10.6.1–9.2; Beard, North, and Price 1998, 135.
- 10 Fest. 290 L; Lintott 1999, 38; Flower 2006, 52.
- 11 Oakley 2004, 19–21; Forsythe 2005, 339–43; Hölkeskamp 2005; Humm 2005, 146; Rosenstein 2006; Flower 2006, 51–62; also Polyb. 31.29.1; Plin. *NH* 7.139–40.
- 12 Lintott 1999, 113; Forsythe 2005, 270–5.
- 13 Fest. 290 L; Clemente 1981, 4; Lintott 1999, 38; Flower 2006, 51–62; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 331.
- 14 Bernard 2012b, 148, 167, 170 suggests a population of under 100,000 in the early fourth century, roughly doubled to 200,000 by the second quarter of the third.
- 15 Liv. *Per.* 11; Plin. *NH* 16.37; Gell. 15.27.4; Von Ungern-Sternberg 1986; Lintott 1999, 38.
- 16 Ziolkowski 1992, 244–5; Orlin 1997. On Pales: Flor. 1.15; Schol. Veronesi Virg. Georg. 3.1; Schol. Bern. Virg. 3.1; Ziolkowski 1992, 126; *LTUR* 4.50–1, s.v. *Pales, templum* (J. Aronen). Mefitis: Varr. *DLL* 5.49 and Festus 476L; Richardson 1992a, 251; *LTUR* 3.239–40, s.v. *Mefitis, aedes, lucus* (F. Coarelli); Coarelli 1998; Falasca 2002; Marroni 2010, 157–61; Fraioli 2013, 327.

- 40 Liv. 5.46.2–3, 5.52.3, 10.29.14. *LTUR* 3.161, s.v. *Iuppiter Victor, Templum* (F. Coarelli). *CIL* 6.438 suggests a restoration in 236.
- 41 Liv. 10.37.15; Coarelli 1996; Bastien 2007, 154, 182–8.
- 42 Münzer 1999, 54–7.
- 43 Bastien 2007, 332; Coarelli 2014, 83–112.
- 44 Varr. *DLL* 6.20; Fest. 228 L; Ziolkowski 1992, 24–5.
- 45 At the *equirria*, equestrian games held in honor of Consus at the *Consualia*, his cult was served by the *flamines Quirinales* (along with the Vestal Virgins). Tert. *De spect.* 5.5, 7, 8.6; Sabatucci 1988, 274–83; Ziolkowski 1992, 24–5.
- 46 Bastien 2007, 362. Contra *LTUR* 1.321–2, s.v. *Consus, aedes* (M. Andreussi).
- 47 Tomb of the Scipios: La Rocca 1977, 1990, 354ff.; Coarelli 1988b, 8–9; Talamo 2008b; Volpe 2014. Also the Tomb of the Corneli for fledgling signs of personalized commemoration: Pisani Sartorio and Quilici Gigli 1987–8. Esquiline tombs: Lanciani 1875, 190–1; Pinza 1914, 117–76; Lissi Carona 1969, 85–7. Eulogies: Bastien 2007, 118, 163. On exalting personal ancestors: Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 218–25.
- 48 Plut. *Fab.* 24.1 states as much for a later generation. Also Val. Max. 5.7.1; Bastien 2007, 180–92.
- 49 Fest. 228 L; Ziolkowski 1992, 183–5; Cornell 1995, 357–63; Bastien 2007, 143–6. A similar connection may have been true of Curius Dentatus, if he evoked Feronia from the Sabines in 290. Plin. *NH* 7.136 on links between the Fulvii and Etruria.
- 50 Juno Curitis: Degrassi 1963, 2.518; *LTUR* 3.121–2, s.v. *Iuno Curitis* (D. Manacorda). Ziolkowski 1992, 62–7, sets it between 292 and 219 or after 180/167 and before the compilation of the *Fasti Antiates Maiores* at the beginning of the first century. He suggests that it was a general's foundation (because of its location on the Campus Martius) and that the cult was evoked in 241 on Falerii's destruction. Feronia: Castagnoli 1946, 169–75; Degrassi 1963, 2, 530; Coarelli 1981, 14–15, 40–2, 1997, 197–209, who attributes it to Curius Dentatus after the conquest of the Sabines in 290; Ziolkowski 1986, 1992, 25–8, who prefers C. Aemilius Papus, consul of 225, after the battle at Telamon; *LTUR* 2.247–8, s.v. *Feronia, aedes* (F. Coarelli). For Zevi 1995, 135, Feronia had a “social” function, as a protectress of manumissions and freedpeople.
- 51 Fest. 446–8 L. Ziolkowski 1992, 109–12; Coarelli 1997, 216.
- 52 Fabii: Liv. 5.46.2–3, 52.3. Magnus Custos: Ziolkowski 1992, 50–6. Invictus: Plin. *NH* 34.57; Ziolkowski 1992, 46–50. Hercules *ad Portam Collinam*: Livy 26.10.3; Wissowa 1897, 264; Coarelli 1988a, 77–84; Ziolkowski 1992, 45–6; Bastien 2007, 169–71.
- 53 Clark 2007, 1–28 on the term, and 33–4; Axtell 1907; Beard, North, and Price 1998, 62.
- 54 Salus: Weinstock 1971, 167; Linderski 1993, 55–6; Eckstein 2006, 223. Concordia: Ziolkowski 1992, 243; also Coarelli 1985, 87–8; *LTUR* 1.320–1, s.v. *Concordia, aedicula* (A. M. Ferroni); Levick 1978, 220–1; Curti 2000, 78–81; Alexander 2006, 239; Torelli 2007, 122.
- 55 Zon. 8.1.2; Fears 1981, 786; also Rosenstein 1990.
- 56 *CIL* 1².211, 213; *LTUR* 2.285–7, s.v. *Fortunae tres, aedes* (E. Papi); Capanna 2013, 453. Ziolkowski 1992, 40–5, prefers Q. Lutatius Cerco, consul of 241.
- 57 Liv. 9.46.4–7. On the law, Ziolkowski 1992, 228 (who argues that Livy misreports the event); Orlin 1997, 163–7.
- 58 Liv. 10.32–4, 10.36.19, 37.1–14; Zon. 8.1; Dion. Hal. 17[18].5.3–4, 19.5, 6.3, who places his triumph in 291. Also App. *Samn.* 7.2; Dio frag. 39.6–8; Zon. 8.2 and sources in Broughton 1951–86, 1.189–90; Gagé 1933, 1957, 16; Càssola 1968, 194–8; Fears 1981; Cecamore 2002, 146–9; Bastien 2007, 85–118, 154, 163; Pelikan Pittenger 2008, 42–4; Davies 2012a.
- 59 Janus: Tac. *Ann.* 2.49.1; Holland 1961; Gros 1976a; Ziolkowski 1992, 61–2. Iuturna: Serv. auct. *ad Aen.* 12.139; La Rocca 1990, 327; Ziolkowski 1992, 94–7; Coarelli 1997, 243–50. Other possible vowers are C. Lutatius Catulus, consul of 220, or Q. Lutatius Catulus, consul of 102.
- 60 Neptune: Liv. 28.11.4; Cass. Dio frag. 57, 60; Ziolkowski 1992, 117–19; Bianchi and Tucci 1996; Coarelli 1997, 397–446. Volcanus: Liv. 24.10.9; Ziolkowski 1992, 179–83; Coarelli 1997, 218–42. The temple probably dates between 292 and 219.
- 61 Flor. 1.14.2; Frontin. *Strat.* 1.12.3; Jordan. *Rom.* 160; Dion. Hal. 8.79.3; Ziolkowski 1992, 155–62; Marroni 2010, 189–204.
- 62 Tempestas: *CIL* 6.1286–7 = *ILLRP* 310; Ov. *Fast.* 6.193–4; Ziolkowski 1992, 162–4. Fons: Cic. *Nat. Deor.* 3.52; Ziolkowski 1992, 38. He also subsequently dedicated it.
- 63 Spes: Cic. *De Leg.* 2.28; Tac. *Ann.* 2.49.2; Crozzoli Aite 1981; Ziolkowski 1992, 152–4; Coarelli 1997, 227–35. Plin. *NH* 11.174, records that as *pontifex* a Metellus dedicated the Temple of Ops Opifera. *LTUR* 3.362–4 s.v. *Ops Opifera, aedes* (J. Aronen). For some this points to Caecilius Metellus Delmaticus, *pontifex maximus* from 115 or 113. Ziolkowski 1992, 122–5 (with counter arguments of Morgan 1973b *et al.*); Coarelli 1997, 228–9.
- 64 Liv. 22.33.7–8, 23.21.7; *LTUR* 1.321, s.v. *Concordia in arce, aedes* (G. Giannelli).
- 65 Cic. *Nat. Deor.* 2.61; Pietila-Castren 1987, 40–1; Ziolkowski 1992, 28–31; Clark 2007, 61–2. Reusser 1993; *LTUR* 2.249–52, s.v. *Fides Populi Romani/Publica* (C. Reusser).
- 66 Cic. *Nat. Deor.* 2.61; *De vir. ill.* 32.
- 67 Liv. 10.11.9, 10.13, 10.15, 10.22. Plin. *NH* 7.133. Münzer 1999, 54–7; McDonnell 2006, 212–9. Fabius Maximus may also have triumphed in 322 over the Samnites: Bastien 2007, 13. Cicero states that a Fabius Maximus dedicated a Temple of Honos at Porta Capena after a Ligurian war, and that when Claudius Marcellus restored it, its initial dedication was *multis ante annis*. Mayor 1880, *ad loc.*, conjectures that *non* was dropped from the text; Richardson 1978 argues that, associating the temple with a dedicator often coupled with Claudius Marcellus for other reasons, Cicero chose the wrong Fabius Maximus. Also Ziolkowski 1992, 58–60. On *honos*: Rosenstein 2006, 371. Another Temple of Honos stood *extra Portam Collinam*, 292–19, perhaps vowed for a cavalry battle and located by an inscription under the east wing of the Ministero delle Finanze: Cic. *De Leg.* 2.58; *CIL* 1².31 = 6.3735 = 6.31061; Ziolkowski 1992, 57–8; Capanna 2013, 453.
- 68 Liv. 4.20.1–11; Plut. *Marc.* 74–5; Bastien 2007, 13–14, 69. Clark 2007, 68 on the rivalry. Jupiter Feretrius: Liv. 1.10.5–7,

- 1.33.9, 4.20.3–11, 4.32.4, Prop. 4 (5).10.45–8; *LTUR* 3.135–6, s.v. *Iuppiter Feretrius, aedes* (F. Coarelli).
- 69 Cic. *Nat. Deor.* 2.61; Livy 27.25.6–10. Gros 1979, 105–7; *LTUR* 3. 31–3, s.v. *Honos et Virtus, aedes* (D. Palombi); McDonnell 2006, 234–5; Bastien 2007, 69.
- 70 Bastien 2007, 154.
- 71 Vit. 1.2.5: *sub divo* (like Semo Sancus in the regal period). Portunus: Ruggiero 1991–92; *LTUR* 4.153–4, s.v. *Portunus, aedes* (C. Buzzetti); Del Buono 2009, 16. At the precinct of Aesculapius, Brucia 1990, argues for the presence of porticoes and a structure resembling the *abaton* at Epidauros, though no evidence survives to support the hypothesis.
- 72 On the site's identification, Castagnoli 1964, 185–6; Pensabene 1980, 73; Wiseman 1981, 36–40; Ziolkowski 1992, 173. Contra: Cecamore 2002, 122–6. In general: Pensabene 1988a and 1988b, 1991, 11, 1998a, 26–34; *LTUR* 5.149–50, s.v. *Victoria, aedes* (P. Pensabene); Battistelli 2001; Pensabene and D'Alessio 2006; Coarelli 2012, 226–34.
- 73 Pensabene 1991.
- 74 On the Ionic style in Italy and Sicily: Rocco 2003, 97–108, 183–92, who places the development of Ionic in Italy between the end of the fourth century and the first century. Pietrabbondante: La Regina 1989. Fragments of peperino Corinthio-Italic capitals were also discovered in the foundations, which may indicate that the fluted column fragments come from a restoration during the construction of the Temple of Magna Mater: Pensabene 1991, 14.
- 75 Pisani Sartorio and Quilici Gigli, 1987–88; Coarelli 1972, 17.
- 76 Pensabene 1988a and 1988b, 1991, 11; Davies 2012a.
- 77 Vit. 3.3.6, trans. Rowland and Howe; also 3.3.8. He cites no example of a eustyle temple in Rome.
- 78 Davies 2012a. For the Temple of Capitoline Jupiter scholars calculate interaxials of approximately 7.30 for the outer pair, 8.65, and 12 m for the central columns (Hopkins 2010); for the Temple of Castor and the Temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta around 7.50 m; for the Temple of Apollo Medicus about 6.50 m. Calculations in Rowe 1989, plans in Nielsen and Poulsen 1992, Viscogliosi 1996. The Palatine temple must have had interaxials of around 3.20 m (calculated by centering the lateral colonnades on the foundation walls, as Pensabene does).
- 79 Davies 2012a.
- 80 On *lapis Albanus*: Jackson and Marra 2006, 427–8; also Vit. 2.7.1; Frank 1924, 23–4; Jackson, personal communication. Contra Cifani 2014.
- 81 Coarelli 1981, 15.
- 82 Andrén 1940, p. ccxlii. Terracottas from the Temple of Fors Fortuna: Scheid and Broise 1978, 77; Champeaux 1982, 199–207; from the Quirinal, possibly from the Temple of Quirinus: NSc 1907, 504–25; Gjerstad 1953–73, 3.145–60, 3.376–7; Manca di Mores 1982–3; Ziolkowski 1992, 142.
- 83 Pensabene and d'Alessio 2006, 32.
- 84 Davies 2012a.
- 85 Davies 2012a.
- 86 *LTUR* 1.190–2, s.v. *Bellona, aedes in Circo* (A. Viscogliosi); Coarelli 1997, 391–5.
- 87 Portunus: Coarelli 1981, 16; Ruggiero 1991–2; *LTUR* 4.153–4, s.v. *Portunus, aedes* (C. Buzzetti). Temple A: Coarelli 1981, 16–18, 37–49, 1997, 243–50 (Lutatius Catulus' Iuturna); Castagnoli 1946, 169–75 (Juno Curitis); Ziolkowski 1986, 1992, 25–8 (Feronia, an Etrusco-Sabine goddess from Capena, whose cult was introduced between 293 and 219).
- 88 Ruggiero 1991–92, 258 fig. 5.
- 89 La Rocca 1990, 327; Hülsen 1906, 189–92; *LTUR* 3.90–1, s.v. *Ianus, aedes (apud Forum Holitorium, ad Theatrum Marcelli)* (F. Coarelli); Ziolkowski 1992, 152–4; *LTUR* 4.336–7, s.v. *Spes, aedes* (F. Coarelli).
- 90 Feronia: Castagnoli 1946; Coarelli 1981, 14–15, 40–2; 1997, 197–209; *LTUR* 2.247–8, s.v. *Feronia, aedes* (F. Coarelli). Iuturna: Ziolkowski 1986, 623–9; 1992, 25–8.
- 91 Marchetti-Longhi 1936, 302–4: The *cella* occupies two-thirds of the overall plan, unless the stairs are included, which makes it half the plan, as prescribed (Vit. 4.7). On materials: Coarelli 1981, 15.
- 92 Shoe Meritt and Edlund-Berry 2000, 22–4; Jackson and Marra 2006, 427. Marchetti-Longhi 1936, 300–5: fragments of terracotta revetment plaques with a meander pattern, antefixes, and fragments of acroterial sculpture may belong to the temple; Strazzulla in Benedetto 1973, 122 ff., nos. 131–43; Coarelli 1981, 15. Andrén 1940, 349, dates them later.
- 93 Plin. *NH* 35.7.19, adapted from Rackham's translation.
- 94 La Rocca 1977, 1990; Talamo 2008b, 119.
- 95 Lanciani 1875, 191; Pinza 1914; Holliday 2002, 83–91; *LTUR* 4.288, s.v. *Sepulcrum: Fabii/Fannii* (F. Oriolo). Fannius' tomb: La Rocca 1984. Fabius' tomb: Coarelli 1976a; Talamo 2008a, 169.
- 96 Plin. *NH* 35.19; Val. Max. 8.14.6; Dion. Hal. 16.3.6; Holliday 1980; Bastien 2007, 159; Clark 2007, 52; Livy 9.30.1–2, 9.40.8, 9.40.10–11.
- 97 Varr. *DLL* 7.57; Fest. *De sign. verb.* 228, trans. Pollitt; Holliday 1980, 5.
- 98 Varr. *RR* 1.2.1. Strabo 2.5.17; Holliday 1997, 137; Tortorella 2008. Humm 2005, 142, connects the painting to Ap. Claudius Russus, consul of 268, whose family maintained a wide circle of clients in southern Italy. Val. Max. 6.3.16b and Dion. Hal. 8.79.3 relate that the people fulfilled Sempronius' vow, so the painting may have been commissioned at the state's behest or by a later family member.
- 99 Holliday, 1997.
- 100 Archaeological Museum, Milan. *CIL* I.2922b; *LTUR* 4.385–6, s.v. *Summanus, aedes* (F. Coarelli).
- 101 Liv. 4.21.9.
- 102 Magistrates and foreign delegations: Cass. Dio frag. 109.5; Liv. 26.21.1, 28.9.5, 28.38.2, 31.47.6, 33.22.1, 36.39.5, 38.44.10, 39.29.4, 41.6.4, 42.21.6, 42.28.2; *CIL* 1.196. Proconsuls and praetors: Liv. 30.21.12, 30.40.1, 33.24.5, 42.9.2, 42.36.2; Cic. *Verr.* 2.5.41; Sall. *Hist.* frag. 5.26. Also La Rocca 1990, 313; *LTUR* 1.190–2, s.v. *Bellona, aedes in Circo* (A. Viscogliosi); Stambaugh 1978; Stamper 2005, 56; Bastien 2007, 92, 154; de Nuccio 2011.
- 103 Coarelli 1997, 244–6.
- 104 Flower 2006, 51–62, on writing history in monuments.
- 105 Bernard 2012b.

- 106 Ov. *Met.* 14.829–37. The Temple of Quirinus may have stood in the gardens of the Palazzo Quirinale (Lanciani 1893–1901, tav. 16; Hülsen 1894, 405; Carafa 1993; Carandini 2007) or in the area of Palazzo Barberini where, by the sixteenth century, remains of an ancient structure had been dubbed the “Tempio di Flora” (*LTUR* 4.185–6, s.v. *Quirinus, aedes* [F. Coarelli]; Coarelli 2014, 83–112); or on the podium in the ex-Ufficio Geologico: Manca di Mores 1982–3. Also Ziolkowski 1992, 140–2; Muccigrosso 2006, 189.
- 107 Jupiter Stator: Fabius F18 in Cornell 2013; Livy 10.37.15; Coarelli 1983, 26–33; Castagnoli 1988; Ziolkowski 1989, 1992, 271; *LTUR* 5.271, s.v. *Iuppiter Stator, aedes* (J. Arce); Wiseman 2004; Bastien 2007, 154; Fraioli 2013, 287. Victoria: Dion. Hal. 1.32.3–33.1; Ziolkowski 1992, 272, 282; Coarelli 2012, 219–26; Bruno 2013, 220.
- 108 Liv. 10.46.14; Savage 1940, 32; Ziolkowski 1992, 38–9; *LTUR Suburbium* 111.270–1, s.v. *Fortis Fortunae fanum, templum* (*I miglio via Campana*) (F. Coarelli).
- 109 Fides: *LTUR* 2.249–52, s.v. *Fides Populi Romani/Pubblica* (C. Reusser). Tellus: Val. Max. 6.3.16; Dion. Hal. 8.79.3; Plin. *NH* 34.30. Flower 2006, 47. Colini 1961–62, 1983, placed it on a podium near the Compitum at the crossroads of via del Colosseo and via del Cardello; also Schingo 1996; *LTUR* 5.24–5, s.v. *Tellus, aedes* (F. Coarelli); Fraioli 2013, 287–8. Ziolkowski 1992, 155–62, 269, sets it further north.
- 110 Liv. 5.46.2–3, 5.52.3, 10.29.14. *LTUR* 3.161, s.v. *Iuppiter Victor, Templum* (F. Coarelli); Ziolkowski 1992, 91–4; Muccigrosso 2006, 200. Also Cecamore 2002, 99–114; Vella 2010–11, 366–71.
- 111 *LTUR* 5.26–7, s.v. *Tempestates, aedes* (A. Ziolkowski). It was presumably not far from Porta S. Sebastiano. Scamuzzi 1963, 99; Ziolkowski 1992, 163; Coarelli 1996, 208–9; Russell 2016, 110–14.
- 112 Coarelli 1965–67; 1997, 391–5; La Rocca 1987, 365 ff.; De Nuccio 1995, 2011, 196; *LTUR* 1.190–2, s.v. *Bellona, aedes in Circo* (A. Viscogliosi); Russell 2016, 114. Another tomb for the *gens* may have later been grouped with Claudius Marcellus’ Temples of Honos and Virtus at Porta Capena: *LTUR* 3.31–2, s.v. *Honos et Virtus, aedes* (D. Palombi). Contra: Bernard 2012b, 266–7.
- 113 Cic. *Nat. Deor.* 3.52; Zonar. 8.18.14; Lanciani 1893–1901, pl. 22; NSA 1889, 225; Gatti 1889, 437–40; NSA 1909, 7 ff.; Ziolkowski 1992, 38, 248; Coarelli 1997, 251–8; Pelikan Pittenger 2008, 44–45.
- 114 Degrassi 1963, 13.2 24; Ziolkowski 1992, 164–7.
- 115 Liv. 10.47.6–7; Oros. 3.22.5; Val. Max. 1.8.2; Strabo 12.5.3; Nepotian. *Epit.* 9.3; Augustin. *CivDei* 3.17; La Rocca 1990, 325; *LTUR* 1.21–2, s.v. *Aesculapius, aedes, templum* (*Insula Tiberina*) (D. Degrassi); Ziolkowski 1992, 17–18. The temple may feature on coins minted in 87/6, with a small distyle building containing an altar with a serpent. Zehnacker 1964, pl. XLIV; *RRC* 348/4–6; Carafa and Pacchiarotti 2013, 552.
- 116 Besnier 1902, 170–1.
- 117 Ziolkowski 1992; Curti 2000, 83–6; *LTUR* 4.229–30 s.v. *Salus, aedes* (F. Coarelli). Varr. *DLL* 5.74, attributed the cult of Flora to T. Tatius, and there was apparently another temple to the goddess on the Quirinal; Ziolkowski 1992, 271–2.
- On Fortuna Publica Populi Romani Quiritium and Fortuna Publica Citerior: Vitruv. 3.2.2; Ziolkowski, 40–5; *LTUR* 2.285–7, s.v. *Fortunae tres, aedes* (E. Papi); Capanna 2013, 453. *LTUR* 3.161, s.v. *Iuppiter Victor, Templum* (F. Coarelli); Bastien 2007, 154; Coarelli 2012, 234–48. For another view: Cecamore 2002, 99–114. Maybe also a Temple of Sol Indiges: Degrassi 1963, 13.2; Ziolkowski, 148–9; contra Coarelli 2014, 112–20.
- 118 Pensabene and D’Alessio 2006, 45–6, point to Greek *poleis* such as Athens, with its sacred spaces connected to foundation myths and to the city’s fortune.
- 119 Degrassi 1963, 13.2 58, 88, 186–7; Liv. 40.2.1–2; Ziolkowski 1992, 99–100.
- 120 Venus Obsequens: Ziolkowski 1992, 167–71. La Rocca 1990, 325: it was in the plebeian area near the sanctuary of Murcia and Fortuna Virile, and also a seat of urban prostitution. For views on the location and form of the Temple of Jupiter Libertas: Darsy 1968 and Ziolkowski 1992, 86 (who associate it with a peperino *distylos in antis* beneath S. Sabina). Contra Krautheimer and Corbett 1976; *MAR* 63–4, s.v. *Aventinus: Colonnades* (L. Haselberger).
- 121 Fest. 276 L; Ziolkowski 1992, 32.
- 122 Plin. *NH* 34.57; Giovenale 1927, 351–71; Cressedi 1984, 258; Coarelli 1988a, 84; Ziolkowski 1992, 46–50; *LTUR* 3.15–16, s.v. *Hercules Invictus, Ara Maxima* (F. Coarelli).
- 123 Fest. 446–8 L; Ziolkowski 1992, 109–12; Bruno 2013, 395, with the unlikely suggestion that the temple was octastyle and peripteral from its inception.
- 124 Varr. *DLL* 6.20.
- 125 La Rocca 1990, 326; Ziolkowski 1992, 183–5; *LTUR* 5.213–14, s.v. *Vortumnus, aedes* (J. Aronen).
- 126 Bastien 2007, 403–7. On the route: Becker 1846, I 153; Morpurgo 1908; Makin 1921; Coarelli 1968b; Bonfante 1970; Bastien 2007, 317–22; Östenberg 2010. On procession widths and dynamics: La Rocca 2008.
- 127 On Feronia and Iuturna, above n. 50. Neptune: Tucci 1996. Vulcanus: Ziolkowski 1992, 179–83; Coarelli 1997, 219–42. Juno Curitis: Castagnoli 1946 (Temple A); Ziolkowski: perhaps the remains found under S. Anna, south of Temple C, west of the Crypta Balbi; Lanciani *FUR* tab. 21; Rodríguez-Almeida 1979, 99–100, 1981, 130–6; Manacorda 1990; Coarelli 1997, 210–18. There may have been an archaic cult of Juno Caprotina in Largo Argentina: Marchetti-Longhi 1956–58; *LTUR* 3.120–1, s.v. *Iuno Caprotina* (F. Coarelli); D’Alessio 2013, 297.
- 128 Magnus Custos: Ziolkowski 1992, 50–56.
- 129 Hülsen 1906, 189–92; La Rocca 1990, 327; *LTUR* 3.90–1, s.v. *Ianus, aedes* (*apud Forum Holitorium, ad Theatrum Marcelli*) (F. Coarelli).
- 130 Ziolkowski 1992, 152–4; *LTUR* 4.336–7, s.v. *Spes, aedes* (F. Coarelli).
- 131 Östenberg 2010, arguing primarily from textual evidence. The repeated paving and widening of the east–west artery leading into the Forum from the northeast corner of the Palatine (Panella 2013, 32–33) supports the idea of a triumphal route, as would the siting of a temple on the substructure on the west side of the Palatine (especially if rightly identified as the Temple of Fortuna Respicens).

- 132 Porta Triumphalis: Terrenato, personal communication. Also Coarelli 1988a, 363–414; *LTUR* 3.333–4, s.v. *Porta Triumphalis* (F. Coarelli); La Rocca 2008, 39. Temple of Honos: Ov. *Fast.* 6.193; Liv. 25.40.3; Aug. *RG.* Richardson 1992a, 190, places it inside the gate; others prefer a location outside: *LTUR* 3.31–3, s.v. *Honos et Virtus, aedes* (D. Palombi); *LTUR* 2.275, s.v. *Fortuna Redux, ara* (F. Coarelli); Ziolkowski 1992, 58–60.
- 133 Richardson 1978, 244; McDonnell 1999, 2006, 215–16; Forsythe 2005, 306; also D’Ippolito 1986, 72; Muccigrosso 2006, 198.
- 134 Alternatively, there might have been a more general consensus or prohibition against manubial temples within the *pomerium* at some time, perhaps in the mid-third century. This would explain the centrifugal dispersal of these temples and a slightly transgressive quality for the later Temple of Felicitas that L. Licinius Lucullus built on the Velabrum in 151 when denied a triumph.
- 135 Coarelli 1968b; Bonfante 1970, 55; Bastien 2007, 317–22; La Rocca 2008, 42.
- 136 Liv. 39.22.4; Plin. *NH* 11.174. Cic. *Off.* 3.29.104; Coarelli 1997, 233. Vella 2010–11, 366–71, puts the Temple of Jupiter Victor there as well.
- 137 La Rocca 1990, 347; *LTUR* 4.336–7, s.v. *Spes, aedes* (F. Coarelli). *LTUR* 2.249–52, s.v. *Fides Populi Romani/Publica* (C. Reusser).
- 138 Liv. 9.40.16.
- 139 Liv. 10.46.4, trans. Foster.
- 140 Plin. *NH* 7.213–14; Hannah 2009, 134, 177 n. 63, suggests Aquilonia.
- 141 Flor. 1.13.26–7, trans. Forster; also 1.13.18.6; Plut. *Pyrrh.* 15.1; Zon. 8.2.7; Sen. *Brev.* 13; Plin. *NH* 8.16–17.
- 142 Bastien 2007, 176–7, 264; Östenberg 2009, 173–4.
- 143 In the same year in Alexandria, Ptolemy II Philadelphus put on an extravagant festival, the *Ptolemaica*, to mark the death of his father, Ptolemy Soter, and his own coronation, and included an extraordinary Dionysiac procession: Arrian, *Anab.* 6.27; Diod. Sic. 3.65.7, 4.5.2. Ptolemy II’s pleasure pavilion and the luxury ship *Syracusa* sent by Hieron to Ptolemy IV also belong in this sensationalist climate: Athen. *Deipn.* 197A–202B, 207C; Pollitt 1986, 280–1; La Rocca 1990, 406; Bastien 2007, 173–5. On Dionysos–Liber as the inventor of the triumph: Beard 2007, 315–16.
- 144 Plin. *NH* 34.34; Bastien 2007, 143–6. Also sensationalist, in 251 L. Caecilius Metellus brought 140 Carthaginian elephants back to Rome from Sicily after facing Hasdrubal: Plin. *NH* 8.16–17; Bastien 2007, 176–7, 264; Östenberg 2009, 175–6.
- 145 Plin. *NH* 7.213–15. Hannah 2009, 73–4.
- 146 Liv. 42.20.1; Plin. *NH* 34.11.20; Sil. *Pun.* 6.663–6; Quint. *Inst.* 1.7.12; Östenberg 2009, 46–9.
- 147 Plut. *Marc.* 8.1–2, trans. Perrin.
- 148 Liv. 8.30.8–9, trans. Foster; Bastien 2007, 88, 326–7.
- 149 Liv. 10.7.9–11, trans. Foster; also 33.23.6, 38.43.9–10; Plin. *NH* 35.7; Polyb. 9.10; Wiseman 1987, 393–413; Isager 1993, 261, 266; Bastien 2007, 211, 327.
- 150 *AE* 1991, 313; Flower 1997, 1998; Humm 2009, 130.
- 151 Liv. 9.40.15–16.
- 152 Liv. 9.40.16–17, trans. Foster; Bastien 2007, 159.
- 153 Liv. 10.46.4, trans. Foster.
- 154 Liv. 10.46.14–15. Carvilius’ triumph could have been in 272. The triumphs fell on the Ides of January and on the Ides of February, respectively; Livy treats them in reverse order.
- 155 Plin. *NH* 34.43, trans. Rackham; Hölscher 1978, 323; Bastien 2007, 157.
- 156 It may have been inspired by reports of Lysippus’ *colossi* in Tarentum or by a large sculpture of Hercules placed on the Capitoline in 305: Liv. 9.44.16; Bastien 2007, 169, n. 115 for possible dedicators; also Humm 2009, 127.
- 157 Liv. 10.46.2–8; Plin. *NH* 7.213–14; Coarelli 2014, 114.
- 158 The echo leads some historians to see it as a duplication of a single episode: Hölscher 1978, 320; La Rocca 1990, 346; Rawson 1990, 164–5; Bastien 2007, 158–9.
- 159 Liv. 10.46.2–8, trans. Foster; Bastien 2007, 180–92.
- 160 *ILLRP* 119–20; *CIL* 1² 2675^{a–b}; Coarelli 1997, 197–208.
- 161 The text appears to read *M. FOL[VIO. Q. F COS]OL. O. VOLS[NIO.]CAPTO*. Shoe 1965 [2000]; Mercado 1966, 44–52; Ioppolo 1966, 68–90; Torelli 1968, 71–5; Torelli in Benedetto 1973, 103–4; Coarelli 1988a, 213–15; *LTUR* 2.281–5, s.v. *Fortuna et Mater Matuta, aedes* (G. Pisani Sartorio), esp. 283; Bastien 2007, 143, 328; Terrenato *et al.* 2012. *CIL* 6.30767a, from the Quirinal, records a dedication to Mars by P. Cornelius, consul in 236, that may indicate dedications of spoils.
- 162 Plin. *NH* 7.213–15, trans. Rackham. Coarelli 1983, 126 associates with the sundial a complete reworking of the Comitium. Contra: Amici 2004–5.
- 163 Plin. *NH* 35.22, trans. Rackham; Bastien 2007, 163.
- 164 On sundials, functionality, and memory: Davies 2000.
- 165 Plin. *NH* 7.214.
- 166 Hannah 2009, n. 64.
- 167 Plin. *NH* 34.11.20; Quintil. *Inst.* 1.7.12; Serv. *Georg.* 3.29; Pietilä-Castrén 1987; *LTUR* 1.309, s.v. *Columna rostrata C. Duilii (Forum)* (L. Chioffi); Sehlmeier 1999, 118; also Kondratieff 2004.
- 168 *CIL* 6.1300, translation adapted: 31591, 37040; Degraasi 1963, 3, nn. 13 and 69, 1937, 13; Pietilä-Castrén 1987, 30; Kondratieff 2004.
- 169 Liv. 42.20.1; Lahusen 1983; *LTUR* 1.307–8, s.v. *Columna rostrata M. Aemilii Paulli* (D. Palombi); Sehlmeier 1999, 119–20; Lazenby 2004, 235; Bastien 2007, 338.
- 170 Fest. 120 L.
- 171 Coarelli 1985, 142–6; Welch 2003, 18; Filippi 2013, 158. The location of the Antiate rostra and the equestrian statue of Maenius at the Comitium, the proximity of the Comitium to an Atrium Maenium recorded in literary texts, and the balconies’ name lead scholars to link the monuments at the Comitium and its restructuring with the remodeling of the shops, and to reason that, using booty from Antium, Maenius spearheaded a systemic restructuring of the area between his triumph in 338 and his censorship in 318. *LTUR* 1.309–14, s.v. *Comitium* (F. Coarelli); *LTUR* 5.10–12, s.v. *Tabernae Argentariae* (E. Papi); Torelli 2007, 121–4. This is improbable on two counts: the equestrian statues and the rostra were acts of state homage, not self-glorification on the part of the consuls; and once Maenius ceded *imperium* at the end of his consulship, he almost certainly

- lacked the authority to reconfigure civic space (except, in theory, as dictator in 320). Also Steinby 2012, 30.
- 172 Varr. frag. 72 Non. 853 L. Humm 2009, 124 and others see the influence of Aristotle's vision of an ideal Greek city (Arist. *pol.* 7.12.4.1331a, 7.12.6.1331b).
- 173 La Rocca 1990, 346.
- 174 Liv. 9.29.6; also Frontin. *Aq.* 5; Degrassi 1963, 1.37; Diod. Sic. 20.36; MacBain 1980, 360–1.
- 175 Diod. Sic. 20.36.1–4.
- 176 Tibiletti 1972; Humm 1996, 704, 716–24, 744–6; 2005, 491–3.
- 177 Ashby 1935, 49–54; Evans 1994, 15, 66–7; Faletti 2010. For the most recent discoveries of tracts of the Aqua Appia: http://roma.repubblica.it/cronaca/2017/04/04/news/scavi_metro_c_a_roma_scoperto_acquedotto_romano_sotto_al_celio-162182328/ and http://roma.repubblica.it/cronaca/2017/04/16/news/roma_alla_prenestina_riaffiora_l_acquedotto_appio-163075536/ (last accessed 22 April 2017).
- 178 Front. *Aq.* 5, also 65.3; Liv. 9.29; Diod. Sic. 20.36; Eutr. 2.9.2; *De vir. ill.* 34.6–7; Paul. Fest. 23 L; Van Deman 1934, 23–8; Ashby 1935, 49–54; De Kleijn 2001, 10–12; Humm 2005, 493. On the Salinae: Coarelli 1988, 109–13.
- 179 Fest. 232 L; *LTUR* 4.93–4 s.v. *Piscina Publica* (F. Coarelli); *MAR* 190–1, s.v. *Piscina Publica* (E. A. Dumser and L. Haselberger); Bariviera 2013, 378.
- 180 Front. *Aq.* 5; Ferenczy 1967, 34–5.
- 181 Liv. 9.25.2.
- 182 Thus, Ferenczy's 1967 interpretation of Liv. 9.46.10–11 and Diod. Sic. 20.36.4.
- 183 Liv. 9.26.5–22; Diod. Sic. 19.76.3–5; Humm 1996, 713; 2005, 147–8, 153–60; Pitassi 2009, 30.
- 184 Laurence 1999, 13–5; Humm 2005, 135–7.
- 185 Liv. 35.41.10; Cornell 1995, 380–90.
- 186 Polybius 6.17, trans. Walbank; Torelli 2007, 119.
- 187 Plut. *Popl.* 7; Diod. Sic. 20.36.4; Liv. 9.46; Staveley 1959; Taylor 1960, 132–7; MacBain 1980, 361–64; Humm 1999, 625–32; Laurence 1999, 15–18.
- 188 Evans 1994, 65–74; Hodge 2002, 5–7; Oakley 2005, 367, n. 7; Torelli 2007, 127–8.
- 189 Schiöler 1994; Bernard 2012b, 130–1; Tibiletti 1972; Humm 1996, 704, 716–24, 744–6; 2005, 489–93.
- 190 Humm 2005, 495; Bernard 2012b, 125–6.
- 191 Hölkeskamp 1988; Humm 2005, 496.
- 192 Schubring 1865; Colin Bouffier 1987; La Rocca 1990, 324; Veyne 1990; Humm 2005, 495–6.
- 193 Tibiletti 1972; Schiöler 1994; Humm 1996, 704, 716–24, 744–6; 2005, 489–93; Bernard 2012b, 130–1.
- 194 Bernard 2012b, 134–42, 145. Crawford 1974 2 713; 1985, 29; Belloni 1993, 39; Cornell 1995, 396; Laurence 1999, 15–16. Also Mitchell 1969; Burnett 1977, 1978. Contra: Mattingly 2004 [1990], citing Plin. *NH* 33.13; Liv. *Per.* 15.
- 195 Diod. Sic. 20.36.1–2; Taylor 1960, 137; MacBain 1980, 361; Humm 1996, 734–43; 2005, 140, 485–9; Laurence 1999, 15; also Bernard 2012b, 133–4.
- 196 So implies Diod. Sic. 20.36. Staveley 1959, 410, 412, 418–19; MacBain 1980, 361–2; Cornell 1995, 373–7.
- 197 Livy 9.29.3; Staveley 1959, 410; MacBain 1980, 359–65.
- 198 Livy 9.46; Val. Max. 2.2.9; Taylor 1960, 134; also Humm 2005, 101–31.
- 199 Diod. Sic. 20.36.6; also Cic. *Cat. M.* 37; Val. Max. 8.13.5. Humm 2005, 139–44.
- 200 Degrassi 1963, 3.79: after 312 he was twice consul, dictator, quaestor, curule aedile, and three times interrex. Humm 1996, 731–2.
- 201 Livy 9.43.25; Wiseman 1970, 139–40; *LTUR* 5.146–47, s.v. *Via Tiburtina* (J. Patterson); Forsythe 2005, 309; Bernard 2012b, 332.
- 202 Wiseman 1970, 133–4; Carnabuci 1992; *LTUR* 5.133–4, s.v. *Via Aurelia* (J. R. Patterson); Bernard 2012b, 367. Contra: Fentress 1984.
- 203 Front. *Aq.* 1.6, trans. Bennett; also *De vir. ill.* 33; *LTUR* 1.45–6, s.v. *Anio Vetus* (Z. Mari); De Kleijn 2001, 12–14.
- 204 Van Deman 1934, 385 ff. no. 47. On the basis of imperial *cippi*, Mari 1991 prefers a length of about 85 km.
- 205 Front. *Aq.* 18.2–3.6, 21.1–3; Bruun 1991, 119; *LTUR* 1.44–5, s.v. *Anio Vetus* (Z. Mari); De Kleijn 2001, 12–14; Gautier di Confiengo 2007.
- 206 Cic. *Brut.* 55.
- 207 Bastien 2007, 328.
- 208 Front. *Aq.* 6.1–4.
- 209 Polyb. 2.21.7–8; Von Ungern-Sternberg 1986, 316–17.
- 210 Polyb. 2.21.7–8; Plut. *Marc.* 4.3, 6.1; Zonar. 8.20; Liv. *Per.* 20, 21.63.2; Yavetz 1962; Bastien 2007, 197–8, 241; Pelikan Pit-tenger 2008, 38–40.
- 211 Liv. *Per.* 20; Plut. *Q. Rom.* 66; Cassiod. *Chron.* 337M. Fest. 79 L dates the road to his consulship in 223; Strab. 5.1.11 prefers 187; Ashby and Fell 1921; Von Ungern-Sternberg 1986, 318; Messineo and Carbonara 1993; *LTUR* 5.135–7, s.v. *Via Flaminia* (J. R. Patterson); Laurence 1999, 21–3.
- 212 Zevi 1976, 1048; *LTUR* 1.269–72, s.v. *Circus Flaminius* (A. Viscogliosi); Coarelli 1997, 363–76.
- 213 Liv. 3.54.15, 3.63.7, *Ep. Oxyrh.* 20; Fest. 89 L (who puts it in a consulship, in 223 or 217); Plut. *Q. Rom.* 66; Varr. *DLL* 5.154; Gilbert 1883–90; Castagnoli 1946, 114; Develin 1979; *LTUR* 1.269–72, s.v. *Circus Flaminius* (A. Viscogliosi); Coarelli 1997, 363–74; *LTUR* 4.160–1, s.v. *Prata Flaminia* (F. Coarelli); Bernard 2012b, 375–6. Wiseman 1974a, 5, sees it as more or less circular in form.
- 214 Liv. 2.36, 39.5; Plut. *Luc.* 37.2; Fl. Jos. *Bell. Iud.* 7.5.4; Verr. 2.5.36; Varr. *DLL* 5.154; Val. Max. 1.7.4; Wiseman 1974a, 4; Coarelli 1997, 363–74; Torelli 2007, 130; Beard, North, Price 1998, 67 n. 206; Rüpke 2006, 225.
- 215 Liv. 27.21.1; Cic. *Att.* 1.14.1, *Sest.* 33; *P. red. in sen.* 13.17; Plut. *Marc.* 27; Taylor 1960, 20; *LTUR* 1.269–72, s.v. *Circus Flaminius* (A. Viscogliosi); Coarelli 1997, 363–74; Mouritsen 2001, 43–5.
- 216 Especially when, perhaps in 218, he was the only senator to support the *lex Claudia* prohibiting senators and their sons from owning large ships. Liv. 21.63; Broughton 1951–86 1.167, 242; Wiseman 1974a, 5; Develin 1979; Dauster 2003, 71.
- 217 Liv. 6.20.13; Giuseppe Gatti 1888a, 497–8; 1888b, 330–1; Serafini 1943–45; Bufalini 2001; Serafini 2001, 33–5.
- 218 Sall. *Catil.* 55; Coarelli 1985, 64–74; *LTUR* 1.236–7, s.v. *Cancer* (F. Coarelli), who places it in *ca.* 300. Also Frank 1924, 23, 39–46; Lugli 1932, 1946, 107–11; Le Gall 1939; Coarelli 1983, 62–87; Fortini 1998; Catalano *et al.* 2001; Di Giacomo 2007; Cadoux 2008. For the location: Livy 1.33.8; Cass. Dio 58.5, 58.11; Val. Max. 6.3.3.

- 219 Liv. 26.27, 39.22.10; Varr. *DLL* 5.151; Cadoux 2005, n. 13, 2008; Bernard 2012b, 335–6.
- 220 Sall. *Catil.* 55, trans. Rolfe; Val. Max. 6.3.3, 9.12.6; Liv. 29.22.7–10, 34.44.6–8; Calpurnius Flaccus, *Declamationes* 4; Plut. *Mar.* 12; Cadoux 2008, 206.
- 221 Liv. 25.7.12, 32.26.17, 35.10.12 (on 198 and 190), 37.3.8, 43.16.13 (on 169); Gran. Lic. 28.35 f.; Castagnoli 1946; *LTUR* 1.133–5, s.v. *Atrium Libertatis* (F. Coarelli); *LTUR* 5.229, s.v. *Atrium Libertatis* (C. M. Amici); Amici 1995–96. By Servius' time, it was a building of large dimensions (*Aen.* 1.726).
- 222 Liv. 26.27.1–4, 27.11.16; *LTUR* 1.137, s.v. *Atrium Regium* (F. Zevi). Also Carettoni 1948; *LTUR* 1.173–5, s.v. *Basilica Fulvia* (H. Bauer). Hieron's visit: Eutr. 3.1; Zevi 1991. Hellenistic diplomacy: Liv. *Per.* 14; Dio frag. 41, book 10 = Zon. 8.6.11; Suet. *Claud.* 25.3; Polyb. 1.16.5–10; Eutr. 3.1; Welch 2003, 23–9. Contra Gaggiotti 1985; also Gros 1984, 62–3. As conceived in this hypothesis, the building shared the general proportions of houses lining the Forum and the north slope of the Palatine, with a façade about 20 m wide (Carandini and Papi 1999; Cifani 2008; Wiseman 2008, 271–92); it had features typical of royal halls in contemporary Hellenistic palaces, reconstructed (from literary descriptions and later archaeological remains) to have columned aisles on three sides and a clerestory above: Athen. *Deip.* 5.196a–c; Polyb. 15.25–34; Strab. 17.1.8. Since Greek dynasts used their halls for conducting business, casting judgments, considering petitions, and entertaining embassies, the Atrium Regium may have functioned as a venue for informal meetings and negotiations with foreigners, for housing and entertaining foreign dignitaries, and as a covered extension of the Forum.
- 223 Liv. 8.20.2; also Enn. in Cic. *Div.* 1.108; Varr. *DLL* 5.153; Humphrey 1986, 133, 157–70; Marcattili 2009, 160–1.
- 224 Cic. *Legg.* 3.3.7. Lintott 1999b, 130–1; Val. Max. 8.1.7; Broughton 1951–86, 1.143–4.
- 225 Liv. 10.23.13, trans. Foster; also 10.47.4 for paving of the via Appia from the Temple of Mars to Bovillae by unnamed curule aediles in 292; Coarelli 1988d, 37 (who notes a milestone found near Posta di Mesa, naming aediles P. Claudius and C. Furius, who were probably consuls in 249 and 251 respectively: *CIL* 1².21); Laurence 1999, 18–19.
- 226 Stuart Jones 1926, 56–8; Dulière 1979, 55–6; Holleman 1987, 427–9; *RRC* 20.1.
- 227 Wiseman 1995a, 73.
- 228 Dulière 1979, 58–62; Torelli 1982, 104; Coarelli 1985, 89; Wiseman 1995a, 75–6.
- 229 Dulière 1979, 52–3; Coarelli 1985, 90; Wiseman 1995a, 73, 107–28; also D'Ippolito 1986, 71–92; *LTUR* 5.290–1, s.v. *Statua: Lupa, Romulus et Remus* (E. Papi).
- 230 Liv. 10.6.3–8.
- 231 Richardson 1978, 244; D'Ippolito 1986, 72; McDonnell 1999; Forsythe 2005, 306; Muccigrosso 2006, 199.
- 232 Varr. *DLL* 5.158; Ov. *Fast.* 5.275, 5.287–94, trans. Kline; Fest. 276 L; *LTUR* 1.284, s.v. *Clivus Publicius* (F. Coarelli); also Staccioli 2003, 17–19. Contra: Lyngby 1968.
- 233 Front. *Aq.* 5; Davies 2012b.
- 234 Varr. *DLL* 5.158; Steinby 2012, 53.
- 3 A STATE OF FEAR, AND NEW HORIZONS: ca. 217–134
- 1 Polyb. 2.13.7, 3.1–15, 3.17, 3.20–1, 3.33–56; Liv. 21.5–37; App. *Hisp.* 2.10–3.13; Lazenby 2004; Gargola 2006.
- 2 Polyb. 3. 68–84; Liv. 21.48, 21.53–6, 22.2–22.7.5.
- 3 Polyb. 3.106–17; Liv. 22.44–5.3. Both consuls died, and though he probably exaggerated, Polybius estimated the casualties at 70,000 infantry and over 5,500 cavalry; a further 10,000 Romans were captured.
- 4 Polyb. 3.118, 7.9.12–15; Liv. 23.1.2–10, 11.11.
- 5 Polyb. 8.3–7; Liv. 24.21–24.39, 25.23–25.31.
- 6 Polyb. 9.3–9; Liv. 26.4.–16.
- 7 Polyb. 8.24–34, 10.2–40; Liv. 25.32–36, 26.18.6–20.6, 26.41–51, 27.9.6, 27.15.9–16.9, 27.17–20.8, 28.1–4.4, 28.12.10–16.13; App. *Hisp.* 3.14–4.23, 7.38; Lazenby 2004, 234, 240.
- 8 Liv. 27.36; App. *Hisp.* 5.28.
- 9 Polyb. 11.1–3; Liv. 27.43–9.
- 10 Polyb. 14.1–19; Liv. 28.40–29.1.18, 30.19.12–20, 30.29–38; App. *Pun.* 2.6–9.66.
- 11 On omens: Liv. 22.1.8–13, 22.36.6–9, 24.10.6–13, 25.7.7–9, 27.11.1–6, 27.37.1–10, 28.11.1–7, 29.14.1–5, 30.2.9–13. Floods: Liv. 24.9.6 (215), 24.47.15–16 (213), 26.27.1–9 (210), 30.26.5 (203), 30.38.10 (202); Aldrete 2007.
- 12 Liv. 22.32.4–9, 22.54.8, 23.21.6, 23.48.5, 23.48.10–12, 24.11.6–9, 24.18.2, 24.18.10–11; 26.9.6–9; 26.35–6, 27.38.1–2.
- 13 Liv. 22.57.2–4; Cass. Dio frag. 47; Oros. 4.13.3; Plut. *Marc.* 3.4; Beard, North, and Price 1998, 79–87.
- 14 Liv. 25.1.6–12, 34.1–8; Polyb. 3.112.
- 15 Gruen 1990a, 94; McDonnell 2006, 232–3; Bastien 2007, 12–13, 111; Clark 2007, 112.
- 16 Liv. 38.56.12–13.
- 17 Liv. 31.1.6–10; Green 1990, 286–311; Gruen 2004, 248–9.
- 18 Liv. 31.2.1–4, 31.27–47.
- 19 Polyb. 18.1–12, 18.44–6; Liv. 33.7–10, 33.32–4; App. *Mac.* 11.1; Gruen 2004, 249–50.
- 20 Liv. 36.14–35, 37.7–45, 38.1–11; Green 1990, 414–26; Gruen 2004, 251–2.
- 21 Polyb. 22.18, 25.3; Liv. 40.54, 42.5; App. *Mac.* 19; Just. 32.3.5; Green 1990, 426–32; Gruen 2004, 253.
- 22 Liv. 44.17–18, 44.20–1, 44.28–46, 45.4–8; Plut. *Aem. Paull.* 10–27; Green 1990, 430–7; Gruen 2004, 254–7.
- 23 Liv. *Per.* 48–50; Diod. Sic. 31.40a, 32.15, 32.27.9a–b, 15; Zonar. 9.28. Polyb. 36.10, 36.17.13–15; Paus. 7.13.1.
- 24 Polyb. 38.15.8–16, 39.2; Paus. 7.12.9.
- 25 Liv. 36.36–8. Gruen 1990a, 66–9.
- 26 Liv. 34.11–16, 40.47–50, 41.17.1–4; App. 6.43; Keay 1988, 29–35.
- 27 App. *Pun.* 6.63.
- 28 Liv. *Per.* 47; App. 9.44–15.98; Keay 1988, 35–42.
- 29 App. *Pun.* 11.74–20.135; Lazenby 2004.
- 30 Polyb. 10.40. Also Flower 1996, 48–52.
- 31 Coarelli 1997, 564–5.
- 32 Liv. 39.7.4–6, trans. Sage.
- 33 Cic. *Off.* 2.76, trans. Miller.
- 34 E.g. Liv. 35.10, 35.24.4–5, 37.47.6–8, 37.57.9–15, 39.32.5–15, 39.40–1.
- 35 Bastien 2007, 219, 285.
- 36 Lintott 1990, 1–7.

- 37 Lintott 1990, 4, 11, 13–15.
 38 On triumphs, Pelikan-Pittenger 2008.
 39 E.g. Plin. *NH* 33.148–50; also Gruen 1992, 94–103; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 329–55.
 40 Liv. 25.40.1–3; Plin. *NH* 33.148, 37.12; Vell. *Pat.* 2.1–2; Malcovati *ORF* frag. 224; Gruen 1990a, 136–7; 1992, 96; Russell 2016, 130–9.
 41 Liv. 39.40–1, 39.44.3–3. Unabated, natural disasters in the 190s and 180s may have made people fear that the gods still withheld their favor. Astin 1978, 76, 88: floods, earthquakes, and a serious fire in 192; twelve inundations in 189; plague in 187. On Cato, see also Cornell 2013, 191–3.
 42 The *lex Orchia* and the *lex Fannia*: Liv. 40.19.11, *Per.* 47; *ORF* no. 8, fr. 136; Macrobi. *Sat.* 3.17.2; Athen. *Deipn.* 6.108.274c; Liv. 39.6.7–9; Gell. 2.24; Lintott 1990, 5; Dauster 2003; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 315, 329–30. *Lex Licinia sumptuaria*: enacted by the death of Lucilius in 103–102, possibly by P. Licinius Crassus.
 43 Lintott 1990, 5–7; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 330, 344.
 44 Astin 1958: 36 for aedile, 39 for praetor, and 42 for consul. The quaestorship could be held by 25, and was probably normally held before age 30.
 45 Salmon 1969, 112; Bodei Giglioni 1974, 88. De Ligt 2006 for a summary of scholarship on rural estates.
 46 Boren 1957–58, 896; Brunt 1971b, 79; Bodei Giglioni 1974, 87–8; de Ligt 2006.
 47 App. *Iber.* 78; Taylor 1962, 20–2, 26.
 48 Cic. *De Leg.* 3.20; Liv. *Per.* 55; Taylor 1962, 26.
 49 Liv. *Per.* 44, 47; Cic. *Brut.* 80; Malcovati, *ORF*² 79f.; Plin. *NH* 14.19; Plut. *C. Gracch.* 9; Sall. *Jug.* 69.4; Taylor 1962, 24; Lintott 1990, 6–7. Failed ventures: e.g. C. Licinius Crassus' effort to alter the composition of the colleges of priests; C. Laelius' proposal for an agrarian law, possibly in 145; and attempts to regulate generals' behavior overseas: Taylor 1962, 23; Beard, North, and Price 1998, 109.
 50 Liv. *Per.* 56; App. *Iber.* 84; Plut. *Mar.* 12; Cic. *De Or.* 1.181; Taylor 1962, 24–7. On the *lex Aelia* and *lex Fufia* of ca. 150, see p. 199.
 51 Liv. 21.63, 22.9.7–11, trans. Foster. The Sacred Spring occurred in 195: Liv. 33.44.1–3.
 52 Liv. 22.33.7–8, trans. Foster, 23.21.7; *LTUR* 1.321, s.v. *Concordia in arce, aedes* (G. Gianelli).
 53 Liv. 27.25.7–10, adapted from Moore's translation; McDonnell 2006, 220.
 54 Liv. 27.27.12–28.1, 29.11.13.
 55 Liv. 24.47.15–16, trans. Moore, 25.7.5–6.
 56 Mercado 1966; Sommella 1968; Terrenato *et al.* 2012.
 57 Liv. 29.10.4–6. Gruen 1990b for a more optimistic view, accepted by Orlin 2010, 78, but refuted by Burton 1996 and Roller 1999.
 58 Liv. 29.11.4–8, 29.14.5–14, 29.37.2; Roller 1999, 282.
 59 Liv. 22.10.10, 22.25.12–15; Sabbatucci 1988, 200–1; Galinsky 1969, 174–6. Also Bastien 2007, 184.
 60 Polyb. 1.56.1–58.9; 1.59.8–61; Diod. Sic. 24.8; Galinsky 1969; Goldsworthy 2006, 95, 124; Bastien 2007, 184; Orlin 2010, 73–4. In Livy's account (21.41.9–11), Scipio recalls the events at Eryx when he is about to confront Hannibal at the River Ticinus in 218.
 61 Diod. Sic. 4.83.4–5, trans. Oldfather; also Verg. *Aen.* 5.759.
 62 Galinsky 1969, 63–102, 141–90; Orlin 2010, 74.
 63 Livy places her in Pessinus; Varr. *DLL* 6.15, in Pergamon; Ov. *Fast.* 4.264 at Mount Ida. Galinsky 1969, 176–7; Roller 1999, 264–71, 284; Orlin 2010, 79–82.
 64 Liv. 22.10.10, trans. Foster.
 65 Galinsky 1969, 176.
 66 Liv. 23.30.14, 23.31.9, 23.32.20.
 67 The diametrically opposed military strategies of the two protagonists of the war made them irresistible literary counterpoints and ancient authors may have constructed much of their antagonism; e.g. Plut. *Marc.* 9. Bastien 2007, 184. Also McDonnell 2006, 223–4.
 68 Liv. 22.10.10, 23.30.13, 23.31.9, 23.32.20. Otacilius Crassus was also Claudius Marcellus' half-brother. Münzer 1999, 70–7; La Rocca 1990, 347. *LTUR* 3.240–1, s.v. *Mens, aedes* (C. Reusser). Bastien 2007, 188, suggests that the dedication of the Temple of Venus served the election of Fabii.
 69 Juv. 3.137; Val. Max. 8.15.3, *De vir. ill.* 46. Roller 1999, 281–2, argues that he was a compromise, a weak member of the family with no personal influence and limited potential to reap benefits from the honor.
 70 Gros 1979, 105–7; McDonnell 2006, 219–23.
 71 Cic. *Cael.* 14.34; Prop. 4.11.51; Liv. 29.14.12; Ov. *Fasti* 4.305–48; Plin. *NH* 7.120.35; Suet. *Tib.* 2.3; Sil. Ital. 17.33–47; App. *Hann.* 7.9.56; Herod. 1.11.4–5; Stat. *Silv.* 1.2.245–6; *De vir. ill.* 46; August. *Civ. dei* 10.16.2; Roller 1999, 265–6, 282.
 72 Ov. *Fast.* 4.871–6; *LTUR* 5.114–16, s.v. *Venus Erucina, aedes (ad Portam Collinam)* (F. Coarelli). There were possibly two temples, both at Porta Collina.
 73 Liv. 36.36.5–6; Cic. *Brut.* 73; Plin. *NH* 29.57; Torelli 1984, 200–2; *LTUR* 3.163, s.v. *Iuventas, aedes* (F. Coarelli).
 74 Liv. 29.36.4–9; Ziolkowski 1992, 40–5; *LTUR* 2.285–6, s.v. *Fortuna Tres, aedes* (F. Coarelli); Orlin 2010, 180–1.
 75 Liv. 22.57.9, 23.14.3, 25.5.5, 26.35–36, 27.9, 27.37.1–5, 29.15; Burton 1996, 40. Brunt 1971b, 62–3, discredits the census numbers.
 76 Liv. 27.36.9, 29.38.8.
 77 Polyb. 34.9.8; *RRC* 1.33, 2.635; Van Nostrand *ESAR* 3, 129; Liv. 27.51.7–10, 29.16.1–3.
 78 Liv. 29.14.5–14, 29.16.1–3, 29.37.2.
 79 Liv. 34.53.5, 36.36.3–7; Cic. *Brut.* 73; Plin. *NH* 29.57.
 80 Orlin 2010, 180, counts an unparalleled fifteen temple dedications between 194 and 173.
 81 Liv. 33.25.2–3, 33.42.10, 34.53.4; *LTUR* 2.242, s.v. *Faunus, aedes* (D. Degraffi).
 82 Liv. 35.10.11–12, 35.41.9–10; Wiseman 1993, 184.
 83 Liv. 38.35.4–7.
 84 Liv. 26.23.3, 27.23.5–7, 30.39.8; Ov. *Fast.* 5.287–96, 5.327–30; also Vell. *Pat.* 1.14.8; Plin. *NH* 18.286; Taylor 1937; Gruen 1992, 185–7; Orlin 2010, 143–5. Broughton 1951–86, 1.273, places the inauguration of the *ludi Cereales* in 211; Bernstein 1998, 163–6, sets it in 219.
 85 Liv. 36.36.5–6; Cic. *Brut.* 73; Plin. *NH* 29.57.

- 86 On the political capital earned through games: Shatzman 1975, 159 ff.; Nicolet 1980, 364–72; Steinby 2012, 53. Contra Morgan 1990, 28 ff.
- 87 Thanks to a strategy whereby creditors circumvented usury laws by transferring ownership of accounts to subjects of allied states, which was only regulated in 193. Liv. 35.7; Barlow 1980, 214; Lazenby 2004, 234, 240.
- 88 Zevi 1995, 142–3. Or in the third century: Ziolkowski 1992, 120–2; *LTUR* 3.350–1, s.v. *Nymphae, aedes* (D. Manacorda). On the origin of the Nymphs as Lymphai: Deschamps 1983; Coarelli 1997, 234–5.
- 89 Also Beard, North, and Price 1998, 88–90; Ziolkowski 1986, 635–6; 1992, 26.
- 90 Liv. 31.21.12, 34.53.7, 35.41.8; Ov. *Fast.* 1.293–4; Degrassi 1963, 2.2; *CIL* 6.379. For an assessment of literary sources on these temples: Bernard 2012b, 391–3, 398–400. A second-century mosaic pavement inscription in palombino *tesserae* against a red background, found in 1854 under rooms annexed to S. Giovanni Calibita on Tiber Island, refers to a monument to Iove Iurarius and may have been part of a shrine or a temple: *C. Volaci(us) C. f. har(uspex) de stipe Iovi Iurario [—m] onimentom* (*CIL* 1.105 = 1².990 = 6.379); Besnier 1902, 255–71; Brucia 1990, 52–5; Richardson 1992a, 221, 406; *LTUR* 3.143–4, s.v. *Iuppiter Iurarius* (D. Degrassi); *MAR* 155, s.v. *Iuppiter Iurarius* (Ö. Harmanşah). Iuppiter Iurarius may have been related to Semo Sancus; a statue base of the second century CE records a statue to Semo Sancus on the island: *CIL* 6.567; *LTUR* 5.264, s.v. *Semo Sancus* (D. Degrassi).
- 91 Juno Sospita: Liv. 32.30.10, 34.53.3; Orlin 2010, 180. Victoria Virgo: Liv. 35.9.6; *LTUR* 5.150–1, s.v. *Victoria Virgo, aedicula* (P. Pensabene); Keay 1988, 29–35. Lares Permarini: Liv. 40.52.4–6; *Macr. Sat.* 1.10.10; Degrassi 1963, 543; Coarelli 1997, 258–60.
- 92 Liv. 39.2.11, 40.52.1; *LTUR* 2.14 s.v. *Diana, aedes in Circo* (A. Viscogliosi); Coarelli 1997, 485–7. The *dies natalis* for both temples was December 23, the last day of the Saturnalia, when the city was in festival, and the day after the *dies natalis* of the Temple of the Lares Permarini.
- 93 Venus Erycina: Liv. 40.34.4; App. *BC* 1.93. Fortuna Equestris: Liv. 40.40.10, 42.10.5; Coarelli 1997, 271.
- 94 Pietilä-Castrén 1987; Ziolkowski 1992, 268–310; Anselmino 2006, 238; Coarelli 2012, 200–19. Plutarch believed that Aemilius Paullus was the first to honor Fortuna after Numa and one of the Tarquinii, and the theme of fortune’s capriciousness meshes well with his life: his fortune in battle (the defeat of Perseus at Pydna) was matched by personal misfortune (giving up two of his sons for adoption, one of them Scipio Aemilianus, only to have the remaining two pre-decease him during the very course of his triumph). Liv. 45.40.6–8; Plut. *Aem.* 35.1–2; *De Fort. Rom.* 10; Val. Max. 5.10.2; Strazzulla 1991. Still, recent assessments of the building fabric suggest a later date.
- 95 Eum. *Paneg.* 5 (9).7.8.3; Cic. *Arch.* 27; *Macr. Sat.* 1.12, 16; Serv. *Dan. Aen.* 1.8; Liv. 38.5.2, 38.9.13, 38.43; Coarelli 1997, 452–84. Contra Castagnoli 1961; Olinder 1974; Aberson 1994, 199–216; Rüpke 2011, 88–90, who interpret the absence of a vow in Livy’s text to mean that Fulvius Nobilior merely added to an existing temple to Hercules, perhaps Hercules Custos; Bernard 2012b, 411–14, who suggests that Fulvius Nobilior made his dedications in an otherwise unknown temple to Hercules.
- 96 Liv. 10.23.3; Fest. 282 L; Plin. *NH* 35.4.19. Wissowa 1912, 261–2 associated this temple with Aemilius Paullus, who vowed a hecatomb and games to Hercules before the battle at Pydna: Plut. *Aem. Paul.* 17.19. Pais 1920 II, 501, and Latte 1960, 218, suggest Scipio Aemilianus, to whom Plut. *Praec. Ger. Reip.* 20.4, attributes a temple to Hercules as censor in 142. Richter 1901, 188–9; Lyngby 1973; Cressedi 1984, 249–96; Coarelli 1988a, 84–92, 164–80; Ziolkowski 1988, 312–13; *LTUR* 3.15, s.v. *Hercules Invictus, aedes (Forum Boarium)* (F. Coarelli); *LTUR* 3.11–12, s.v. *Hercules, aedes Aemiliana* (F. Coarelli). Also Palmer 1990, 234–40.
- 97 *CIL* 1.2 626 = 6.331 (found on the Caelian); Warming-ton 1948.
- 98 Morgan 1971 argues that electoral and administrative obstacles delayed the construction of the Temple of Jupiter Stator until 143. Its dedication must have been at least by 131, the year of his censorship. He argues for the role of the temple in securing his censorship. Also Gros 1976; Coarelli 1997, 488–92. Mars: Prisc. *Gramm.* 8.17.4 = Nep. frag. 26 Peter; Zevi 1976, 1996; Tortorici 1988; Coarelli 1997, 492–7; La Rocca 2011; Kosmopoulos 2012 with bibliography.
- 99 Pietas: Liv. 40.34.4–6; Val. Max. 2.5.1. Felicitas: Cass. Dio 43.21.1; Strab. 8.6.23; App. *Bell. Hisp.* 52; Keay 1988, 37–8.
- 100 On this phenomenon and the development of *ludi*: Orlin 2010, 158–9; on Italian deities: 170, 181.
- 101 Clark 2007, 29–30, 69–71, 89.
- 102 Gruen 1990 suggests that the ban was a display of power directed at the Italian allies, and at members of the senate itself, generals “whose popularity made them a threat to the senate’s collective authority.” Also Orlin 2010, 165–8.
- 103 Liv. 40.29, trans. Sage–Schlesinger; Orlin 2010, 168–70, 174–6, who suggests this was stage-managed by the senate.
- 104 Plut. *Cat. Mai.* 22.1–5; Plin. *NH* 7.112; Cic. *Rep.* 3.9; Gruen 1992, 53; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 161–2. Such was Carneades’ eloquence, when he came to Rome in 155 with a trio of philosophers, that Cato feared young Romans would favor verbal artifice over truth.
- 105 Orlin 2010, 182–5. Two Epicureans were expelled in 173 or 154 by a consul, L. Postumius; philosophers and rhetors by the senate in 161; Chaldaean astrologers and possibly Jews in 139, by the praetor and *Xvir* Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hispanus. On Cato’s works: Cornell 2013, 193–218.
- 106 Hercules Musagetes: Ov. *Fast.* 6.812, *Ars Am.* 3.168; Plin. *NH* 35.66. Muses: Pol. 21.30.9; Liv. 38.9.13; Ferrary 1988, 519–20. On athletics: Newby 2005, 24–5.
- 107 Eumen. *Paneg.* 9.7.3; Gros 1979, *passim*; Martin 1987, 149–50; Pietilä-Castrén 1991, 104–5; Gruen 1992, 100–1, 109–10; Orlin 1997, 65.
- 108 Liv. 40.51.3, trans. Sage–Schlesinger.
- 109 Fest. 112 L; Donatus, *Ad Ter. Eun.* 2.56; Fraioli 2013, 290.
- 110 Some scholars attribute the restoration at the Temple of Apollo to the period around 179 when Aemilius Lepidus, as censor, let a contract for construction of a theater and *proscenium* in front of the temple: Liv. 40.51.3. *LTUR* 1.49–54,

- s.v. *Apollo, aedes in Circo* (A. Viscogliosi); La Rocca 1990, 381–2; Ciancio Rossetto 1997–98, 192. The fragment of Corinthian capital of a Sicilian variety may be attributable to this phase: Lauter-Bufe 1987, 28, 74, 81, tav. 20 a–b; Viscogliosi 1996, 27–8.
- 111 Ruggiero 1991–92, who opts for a date around 179; *LTUR* 4.153–4 s.v. *Portunus, aedes* (C. Buzzetti); *MAR* 208–10, s.v. *Portunus, aedes* (L. Haselberger). Coarelli 1988a, 147, considers the changes contemporaneous with the construction of the existing temple.
- 112 Nielsen and Poulsen 1992, 50.
- 113 Marchetti-Longhi 1936; Coarelli 1981, 16–18; Coarelli 1997, 197–209, 243–50, 314–19; *LTUR* 2.247–8, s.v. *Feronia, aedes* (F. Coarelli); *LTUR* 3.162–3, s.v. *Iturna, Templum* (F. Coarelli); Ziolkowski 1992, 25–8.
- 114 Measuring approximately 35.5 by 23.7 m. Coarelli 1988a, 178–80, hypothesizes that Scipio Aemilianus was responsible as censor; *LTUR* 3.15–17, s.v. *Hercules Invictus, ara Maxima* (F. Coarelli); also Bariviera 2013, 430.
- 115 Obs. 19.
- 116 Obs. 16 (156); Gros 1973, n. 1.
- 117 Plin. *NH* 33.57, 36.185.
- 118 Colini 1943; Nielsen and Poulsen 1992, 50; Mogetta 2013, 128–31.
- 119 *LTUR* 4.189–92, s.v. *Regia* (R. T. Scott), esp. 192.
- 120 Liv. 22.9.9–10, 22.10.10, 23.31.9, 23.32.20. Rodríguez Almeida 1991; *MAR* 79–80, s.v. *Capitolium: Marble Plan Temples* (A. G. Thein); also Bernard 2012b, 379–80.
- 121 Varr. in Serv. *Georg.* 4.265; also Suet. *Cal.* 7; *Galba* 18.2.
- 122 Liv. 23.21.7; Bernard 2012b, 377–8; also *LTUR* 1.321, s.v. *Concordia in arce, aedes* (G. Giannelli); Tucci 2005, 15, 19.
- 123 *MAR* 96–97, s.v. *Concordia, Aedes (Arx)* (A. G. Thein); Heyworth 2011.
- 124 *LTUR* 3.206–8, s.v. *Magna Mater, aedes* (P. Pensabene) with history of excavation; Bruno 2013, 225.
- 125 *LTUR* 2.242, s.v. *Faunus, aedes* (D. Degrassi); Degrassi 1963, 2.388; *LTUR* 5.101, s.v. *Veiōvis, aedes (Insula Tiberina)* (D. Degrassi).
- 126 Liv. 35.9.6.
- 127 Venus Erycina: Liv. 29.36.8, 34.53.5. In Strabo's time the temple was "remarkable for its shrine and surrounding colonnade," likely due to restoration: 6.2.6. The temple may have stood on the remains of a podium at the crossroads of via Gaeta and via Curtatone: *LTUR* 5.114–16, s.v. *Venus Erycina, aedes (ad portam Collinam)* (F. Coarelli); contra *MAR* 255, s.v. *Venus Erycina, aedes (extra portam Collinam)* (E. A. Dumser). Fortuna Primigenia: *LTUR* 2.285–7, s.v. *Fortunae Tres, aedes* (F. Coarelli). Lanciani 1897–1901, 417–19, associated the temple with an unpublished podium at the crossroads of via Flavia and via Servio Tullio, near piazza Sallustio; contra Ziolkowski 1992, 40–4. Also Castelli 1988; *MAR* 248, s.v. *Tres Fortunae, aedes* (E. A. Dumser).
- 128 Coarelli 1981, 1997, 258–68; *LTUR* 3.174–5, s.v. *Lares Permarini, aedes* (F. Coarelli); Zevi 1993. The temples' identities are tied to the location of the Porticus Minucia of ca. 106.
- 129 Suet. *Claud.* 18.1; *MAR* 160, s.v. *Lares Permarini* (E. J. Kondratieff).
- 130 Fortuna Equestris: Vitruvius 3.3.2; Obs. 16 (which may refer to the Temple of Fortuna of S. Omobono); *LTUR* 2.268–9, s.v. *Fortuna Equestris, aedes* (F. Coarelli); Coarelli 1997, 268–75, who suggests identification with remains found beneath S. Maria in Monterone in the nineteenth century. *MAR* 127, s.v. *Fortuna Equestris, aedes* (E. J. Kondratieff) places it south of the theater. On the terracottas: Packer 2012.
- 131 The later precinct also appears on fragments 31 cc, dd and hh, and Renaissance drawings 31eff and 31ggz. For Hercules Musarum: *LTUR* 3.17–19, s.v. *Hercules Musarum, aedes* (A. Viscogliosi); Richardson 1977; Marabini Moevs 1981; Martina 1981; Iezzi 1984; Gianfrotta 1985; also Russell 2016, 139–45. Column fragments from the Temple of Juno Regina may survive in a medieval house on the site. *LTUR* 3.126–8, s.v. *Iuno Regina, aedes in Campo, ad Circum Flaminium* (A. Viscogliosi); Stamper 2005, 53.
- 132 Diana: Liv. 40.52; *LTUR* 2.14 s.v. *Diana, aedes in Circo* (A. Viscogliosi). Coarelli 1997, 470 and 485–7, believes it was demolished by Caesar and rebuilt in a new location by Augustus, and that the plebeian associations of the Aventine temple to the goddess were appropriate in the Circus Flaminius, a response to Fulvius Nobilior's transgressive temple; La Rocca, 1990, 382–3, suggests that it was incorporated into the Temple of Apollo. Mars: remains were first discovered between via di S. Salvatore and via de' Specchi by Baltard in 1837; other discoveries were made in 1872. Gros 1973, 151; 1976a; Coarelli 1976b; Zevi 1976; *LTUR* 3.226–9, s.v. *Mars in Circo* (F. Zevi); Tortorici 1988. Rodríguez Almeida 1991–92, 3–26, sees the temple on a fragment of the *Forma Urbis Romae*.
- 133 Pietas: Ciancio Rossetto 1994–95; 1995, 199–200; Coarelli 1997, 447–51; *LTUR* 4.86, s.v. *Pietas, aedes in Foro Holitorio | in Circo Flaminio* (P. Ciancio Rossetto); Vitti 2010. Juno Sospita: Crozzoli Aite 1981, 62–4; *LTUR* 3.128–9, s.v. *Iuno Sospita (in Foro Holitorio), aedes* (F. Coarelli). The temple may have been peripteral on three or (less likely) four sides in this phase.
- 134 Cass. Dio 43.21.1; Martin 1987, 155.
- 135 Hercules Victor: Ziolkowski 1988. Locating the *aedes Aemiliana Herculis* depends on interpreting descriptions of Renaissance records. On the basis of Pomponius Leto 1515, LX, De Rossi 1854 placed it behind S. Maria in Cosmedin. Hülsen 1896, 243–4, preferred a spot to the left of the church's façade in the zone of the one-time pastificio Pantanella, followed by Coarelli 1988a, 88–90. Scipio Aemilianus may have been responsible for a redesigning of the nearby Ara Maxima, preserved as a base in the crypt of S. Maria in Cosmedin, built of Aniene tufo *opera quadrata* and measuring approximately 21.7 by 31.5 m. According to one reconstruction, it was disposed over several levels, like the altar at Pergamon, with an open portico and raised on a high podium. Colored marble columns are still incorporated in the rear part of the church. Aniene tufo makes construction before 144 unlikely; the beginning of the Aqua Marcia is the first known use of it for major construction work. Krauthimer 1959, 286–7, fig. 21; Cressedi 1984, 257, fig. 3, 262–3. Tolotti 1988; *LTUR* 3.15–17, s.v. *Hercules Invictus*,

- ara *Maxima* (F. Coarelli). Contra: Richardson 1992a, 186–7; Ziolkowski 1994, 195–6.
- 136 Iuventas: Liv. 36.36.5–6; Cic. *Brut.* 73; Plin. *NH* 29.57; Torelli 1984, 200–2; *LTUR* 3.163, s.v. *Iuventas, aedes* (F. Coarelli). East Palatine: Anselmino 2006.
- 137 Colini 1943; *LTUR* 5.99–100, s.v. *Veiōvis, aedes (in Capitolio)* (M. Albertoni).
- 138 Liv. 40.52.4–6, trans. Sage–Schlesinger.
- 139 Pobjoy 2000, 81–3.
- 140 *CIL* 1².2711; Münzer 1933; Broughton 1951–86 1.403, 2.472, 3.174; Marina Mattei, personal communication, July 2013. Contra Kajanto 1981, 90–6; Coarelli, *LTUR* 2.247–8, s.v. *Feronia, aedes* (F. Coarelli); 1997, 314–22 and Zevi 1995, 137, who prefer the consul of 151, a *Ilvir* in 142 (a year of pestilence). The same man was responsible for a small altar to the god Verminius found near piazza dei Cinquecento: Mustilli 1939, 8, no. 14, tav.VII 24. Coarelli 1997, 314–16. *Lex Plaetoria*: Rawson 1976, 161.
- 141 *ILLRP* 45; *CIL* 1² 2675; Viscogliosi 1996, 26; Coarelli 1997, 387–8. The reference to the aediles has crumbled away since 1954. Epigraphic and linguistic forms favor a date in the first half or the middle of the second century.
- 142 Macr. *Sat.* 1.12.16; Rüpke 2011, 87–108; Russell 2016, 144.
- 143 Cic. *Arch.* 11.27, trans. Yonge; also Schol. Bob. ad loc.
- 144 Plin. *NH* 35.4.19. Wissowa 1912, 261–2 and Coarelli 1988a, 86–7, 167–78. Contra Lyngby 1954, 23–4.
- 145 For which: Warmington 1982.
- 146 Plin. *NH* 35.23; Coarelli 1988a, 167, 173.
- 147 Liv. 24.16.19; Weinstock 1971, 136; Holliday 1980, 5–6. Clark 2007, 178–9.
- 148 Liv. 41.28.8.
- 149 Liv. 40.34.5; Martin 1987, 146–7; La Rocca 1990, 381, sees this as a contradiction of accounts of gilded statues on Stertinius’ and Scipio Africanus’ arches, but see pp. 121–22.
- 150 Clark 2007, 30. Coarelli 1997, 450, attributes the delay between vow and dedication to the prosecution, and suggests that Acilius Glabrio died before the dedication.
- 151 *Inter alia*, the Temple of Venus Erycina may be featured on a *denarius* of 57, showing a tetrastyle façade: *RCC* 424; *LTUR* 5.114–16, s.v. *Venus Erucina, aedes (ad Portam Collinam)* (F. Coarelli); and Vitruvius 3.2.3 describes the Temple of Faunus as a tetrastyle prostyle temple.
- 152 Andrén 1940; Ferrea 2002; Torelli 2004–2005; Anselmino 2006; Strazzulla 2006; Coarelli 2012, 207–16.
- 153 For the Ionic style: Rocco 2003, 183–92.
- 154 La Rocca 2011, 14–15.
- 155 Colini 1942, 50–1.
- 156 Di Manzano and Giustini 1998–99; Carafa and Pacchiarotti 2013, 553. Contra: Bernard 2012b.
- 157 Liv. 35.9.6; *LTUR* 5.150–1, s.v. *Victoria Virgo, aedicula* (P. Pensabene); Coarelli 2012, 229–33; Bruno 2013, 225. Contra Pensabene 1998a, 1998b. Other identifications, on the basis of a later brick building on the site, include the Auguraculum (Schneider Graziosi 1915) and the Temple of Juno Sospita (Guarducci 1971, 112).
- 158 Indeed, such was his zeal that as consul in 195, the year of his temple vow, he launched a vociferous (if unsuccessful) assault against a repeal of the *lex Oppia* curtailing women’s expenditure despite the treasury’s gradual recovery: Liv. 34.1–8; Astin 1978; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 334–5.
- 159 Remains indicate a diameter of 11 m. *LTUR* 3.17–19, s.v. *Hercules Musarum, aedes* (A. Viscogliosi); Richardson 1977; Marabini Moevs 1981; Martina 1981; Iezzi 1984; Gianfrotta 1985; Coarelli 1997, 452–84.
- 160 Miller 1973.
- 161 Vell. Pat. 1.2.3; Gianfrotta 1985; *LTUR* 3.17–19, s.v. *Hercules Musarum, aedes* (A. Viscogliosi). Marble probably did not revet the entire building, judging by Velleius Paterculus’ comments on the Temple of Jupiter Stator: see below.
- 162 On acculturation in this period: Veyne 1979.
- 163 Serv. *Aen.* 1.8; Lloyd 1982; Gruen 1995, 109–10.
- 164 Plin. *NH* 33.57 notes that the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus had brass tiles, which Lutatius Catulus gilded; also Sen. *Contr.* 1.6.4, 2.1.1.
- 165 Liv. 42.3, trans. Sage–Schlesinger; Vitruvius 3.3.2. *LTUR* 2.268–9, s.v. *Fortuna Equestris, aedes* (F. Coarelli); Coarelli 1997, 268–75. On the fame of the Temple of Juno Lacinia: Liv. 24.3.3–7, 40.40.10, 42.10.5; Val. Max. 1.1.20.
- 166 Liv. 42.3.10–11.
- 167 Liv. 42.3.11.
- 168 Orlin 2010, 176–80. Before leaving Italy, Hannibal massacred those who had taken refuge in this temple: Jaeger 2006.
- 169 Vell. Pat. 2.2.
- 170 Vell. Pat. 1.13; Ziolkowski 1988; Lazenby 2004, 227.
- 171 Pape 1975, 139. Morgan 1971, 501; Graverini 2001, 108–109. Ancient sources describe Mummius as a mediocre orator, *simplex et antiquus*. His father, L. Mummius, was tribune of plebs in 187 with Q. Mummius, perhaps his brother, and praetor in Sardinia in 177. Mummius is first known as praetor in Hispania Ulterior in 153, and triumphed in 152.
- 172 Vat. Lat. 3439, Fo. 32. Confusion exists between Giovanale/Coarelli and Cressedi over the authorship of the drawings. Richter 1901, 188–9; Lyngby 1973; Cressedi 1984, 268–9; Coarelli 1988a, 84–92; Ziolkowski 1988, 312–13; *LTUR* 3.15, s.v. *Hercules, aedes (Forum Boarium)* (F. Coarelli); Liv. 10.23.3; Plin. *NH* 35.4.19. *LTUR* 3.11–12, s.v. *Hercules, aedes Aemiliana* (F. Coarelli); Palmer 1990, 234–40.
- 173 *Cod. Bodleianus* 27. Giovanale 1927, 377–80, posits eighteen columns set pycnostyle (sufficient to support a marble entablature), an external diameter of about 21 m (23 with the podium), a *cella* diameter of approximately 15.5 m on the exterior, 12.5 on the interior, and a tile roof or a cupola. A margin note in Peruzzi’s sketch gives the distance between the peristyle columns and the *cella* wall as 7 feet; there were five niches inside, separated by columns (i.e. six columns). Marble could have been the motivation for the demolition order.
- 174 Coarelli 1988a, 91–2.
- 175 Orlin 2010, 185.
- 176 Vell. Pat. 1.11.2–5; Liv. *Per.* 52.7; Val. Max. 7.5.4; Eutr. 4.14.2; Vitruvius 3.2.5, 3.3.8; Gros 1973, 393, 395–7; 1976a; Pollitt 1986, 242–7; Viscogliosi 1996; Coarelli 1997, 488–92; *LTUR* 3.157–9, s.v. *Iuppiter Stator, aedes ad circum* (A. Viscogliosi);

- Boyd 1953; Corso 1988; Winter 2006, 7. Gros 1973, 395–7, argues that Hermodorus arrived in Rome after the porticus had been built. It is likely that East Greek *marmorarii* executed his plans.
- 177 Vitr. 3.2.5. Castagnoli 1955 emends Vitruvius' text for consistency with the marble plan. Gros 1973, 139–43, suggests a plan of 6×11 columns with a long *cella* (influenced by Hermogenes of Alabanda, whose pseudodipteral temple Vitruvius considers ideal), or 6×10 with a short *cella*.
- 178 Gros 1967, 508; 1973, 139–43; 1976a, 81, 114; Coarelli 1997, 535–6. Plin. *NH* 36.42–43 recounts that the builders, Saura and Batrachos, signed the column bases with pictograms of their names, a lizard and a frog; apocryphal as it may be, the tale suggests that, like Greek temples, the building had no inscription.
- 179 Castagnoli 1947; Coarelli 1997, 485–7; *LTUR* 3.126–8, s.v. *Iuno Regina, aedes in Campo, ad Circum Flaminium* (A. Viscogliosi). Stamper 2005, 53, believes that it must have been hexastyle, as the Temple of Jupiter Stator was, suggesting a coordination of the façades at the time of Caecilius Metellus' restoration. Gros 1973, n. 1: it is not clear how much changed with the restructuring; the level may have been raised dramatically, meaning the temple would be almost entirely rebuilt.
- 180 I owe this observation to Lauren Jackson.
- 181 Vitr. 7. *Praef.* 17.
- 182 Kuttner 1999; Miles 2008, 233.
- 183 Gruen 2004, 257–9.
- 184 Ziolkowski 1988.
- 185 Valadier 1813, 3. 5; Strong and Ward-Perkins 1960, 24–5; Rakob and Heilmeyer 1973, 9–11; Stamper 2005, 70–5. Vitr. 4.8.1 states that there should be no podium for a round temple except for a *monopteros* (i.e. not for a temple with a peristyle).
- 186 *CIL* 6.33936. Coarelli 1988a, 92–103, 180–204; *LTUR* 3.19–20, s.v. *Hercules Olivarius* (F. Coarelli); Bariviera 2013, 429.
- 187 Ziolkowski 1988.
- 188 Delbrück 1907–12, 2, 43, 58 (who dates the temple to ca. 130); Rakob and Heilmeyer 1973, 19–21, 23 (who, nevertheless, date the temple to ca. 100–90); Strong and Ward-Perkins 1960; Ziolkowski 1988, 315–16; Stamper 2005, 72.
- 189 Gros 1973, 158–9; Ziolkowski 1988.
- 190 Rodríguez Almeida 1991–92, 3–26; Vat. Lat. 3439, Fo. 15v; Kosmopoulos 2012, 13–14. Neither representation shows a *crepidoma*.
- 191 Prisc. *Gramm.* 8.17.4 = Nep. frag. 26 Peter; Gros 1973, 151; 1976a; Coarelli 1976b; 1997, 492–7; Zevi 1976; 1996; Tortorici 1988; *LTUR* 3.226–9, s.v. *Mars in Circo* (F. Zevi); La Rocca 2011, 11–14; Kosmopoulos 2012. Five columns survive; Baltard noted a sixth at the corner of the church. Along with the remains of the building were found fragments of a female statue: Tortorici 1988, 74.
- 192 Pensabene 1998a, 1998b, 42; Roller 1999, 274. Battistelli 2001 and Bruno 2013, 223, date the basin to the time of the construction of the Temple of Victoria.
- 193 Liv. 36.36.3–4; Didasc. Plaut., *Pseudolus*; Dion. Hal. 2.19.2–5; Cic. *Har. Resp.* 11.22, 12.24–26; Val. Max. 2.4.3; Hanson 1959, 13–16; Castagnoli 1964, 173; Pensabene 1998a, 1998b; Gruen 1992, 186, 205–22; Roller 1999, 288.
- 194 Liv. 7.2.3–13; Cic. *Brut.* 72–3, *De Sen.* 50, *Tusc. Disp.* 1.3; Duckworth 1952, 4–17; Gruen 1992, 185; Bernstein 2011.
- 195 Fest. 446 L; Gruen 1992, 87–8. Bruno 2013, 397.
- 196 Liv. 24.43.7, 26.23.3, 27.23.5–7, 30.39.8, 39.7.8–10, 40.59.6–8; Didasc. Plaut. *Stich.*; Ov. *Fast.* 5.287–96, 5.327–30, 5.347–8; Vell. Pat. 1.14.8; Plin. *NH* 18.286; Taylor 1937; Gruen 1992, 185–7.
- 197 On community: Morgan 1990, 26–35; Orlin 2010, 137–61.
- 198 Liv. 40.51.3; Gruen 1992, 183–7, 205–22; Beacham 1999, 3.
- 199 *LTUR* 3.206–8, s.v. *Magna Mater* (P. Pensabene); Liv. 36.36; Cic. *Har. Resp.* 12.24; Val. Max. 2.4.3.
- 200 Liv. 34.44.4; Val. Max. 2.4.3. On reactions: Liv. 34.54.3–8. Wiseman 1974b, 159–69; Beard, North, and Price 1998, 97; Orlin 2010, 159–60. On theaters and social order: Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 166–9.
- 201 Liv. 33.42.1; Beard, North, and Price 1998, 100–1; Morgan 1990.
- 202 Nielsen and Poulsen 1992, 50, 80–6, 170; Guldager Bilde and Slej in Nielsen and Poulsen 1992, 188–217; Nielsen in Nielsen and Poulsen 1992, 177–80; Grønne in Nielsen and Poulsen 1992, 157–76. Also Ulrich 1994, 87–90; Gorski and Packer 2015, 291–3.
- 203 Nielsen and Poulsen 1992, 50; Obs. 8, 19.
- 204 *LTUR* 3.168–170, s.v. *Lacus Iuturnae* (E. M. Steinby); Mogetta 2013, 154–8; also Coarelli 1976b, 27–30, 1977, 14.
- 205 Minucius Felix 7.3. *Antiquario Forense inv.* 3145–9. Coarelli 1977b; Martin 1987, 98–103, 241–2.
- 206 Coarelli 1976a (dating them ca. 117), 1990 (preferring Aemilius Paullus as a patron); Martin 1987, 98–103, 241–2; Germini 2008; Strazzula 2010.
- 207 *CIL* P.586; also Cic. *Verr.* 1.129; Plin. *NH* 7.22. This contested passage leads Steinby to associate the temple's reconstruction with Aemilius Paullus as censor in 164 (in Nielsen and Zahle 1985, 27 n. 65), 2012, 60–1; Fest. 362 L; Nielsen and Poulsen 1992, 55; Ulrich 1994, 92.
- 208 Cic. *Nat. deor.* 2.6, 3.11, 3.13; Flor. 1.28.14–15; Val. Max. 1.8.1; Lact. *Inst.* 2.7.10; *LTUR* 3.168–70, s.v. *Lacus Iuturnae* (E. M. Steinby); Filippi 2013, 162; Gorski and Packer 2015, 291.
- 209 Cic. *Lael.* 96: *primus instituit in forum versus agere cum populo*; Varr. *RR* 1.2.9: *primus populum ad leges accipiendas in septem iugera forensia e comitia eduxit*. Taylor 1966, 23–5; Rawson 1976, 161; Steinby 1987; Nielsen and Poulsen 1992, 86; Ulrich 1994, 91.
- 210 Cic. *De Leg.* 3.15–16/34–35; Taylor 1966, 34; Millar 1998, 25–7; Jakobson 2006, 389–90.
- 211 Taylor 1966, 34 n. 2; Nicolet 1976/1980, 267–77; Ulrich 1994, 91–2; Elkins 2015, 24.
- 212 Lin 2014.
- 213 Coarelli 1977a, 1982; Carandini and Papi 1999.
- 214 Tert. *Apolog.* 33.4; Anselmino 2006, 227.
- 215 Anselmino 2006, 237.
- 216 DeLaine 2001; Lancaster 2005, 3, 12–18.

- 217 Polyb. 9.6.1–5; Liv. 25.40.3, 26.9.6–7; Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.121; Pape 1975, 92, 95–6; Gruen 1992, 100.
- 218 Liv. 26.21.4–10, trans. Moore. He also displayed the first *tabulae mobiles*.
- 219 Cic. *Rep.* 1.21; Plut. *Marc.* 19.4–6; Patterson 2000, 99.
- 220 Plut. *Fab.* 22.6; Liv. 27.16; Plin. *NH* 34.39–41. The base is preserved in the Capitoline Museum. Pape 1975, 8 (who conjectures that the statue of Victoria from Tarentum that Augustus placed in the Curia in 29 came from Fabius Maximus' spoils); La Rocca 1990, 348; Gruen 1992, 102 n. 87; Bassett 2004, 152–4; Bastien 2007, 169, 329; Miles 2008, 68–9; Östenberg 2009, 87.
- 221 Liv. 30.45.2, 7, trans. Moore; App. *Pun.* 66.
- 222 Liv. 34.52.4, trans. Sage.
- 223 Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.129, trans. Greenwood; Pape 1975, 9; Pietilä-Castrén 1982, 122; Martin 1987, 146.
- 224 Liv. 37.59, trans. Sage.
- 225 Liv. 39.5.13–17, trans. Sage; Pape 1975, 12–14.
- 226 Liv. 38.9.13, 38.43. Aemilius Lepidus did not celebrate a triumph.
- 227 Plin. *NH* 34.14; Liv. 39.6.3–7.2; Pape 1975, 12; Dauster 2003, 69.
- 228 Liv. 45.33.5–7, trans. Schlesinger.
- 229 Liv. 45.35.3, 45.40.1–5, 45.42.12; Polyb. 36.5.9; Plut. *Aem.* 32; Pietilä-Castrén 1982, 134–6. The textiles may have come from Meliboea, famous for purple fabrics.
- 230 App. *Pun.* 135, trans. White; Polyb. 39.2.1–2 (from Strab. 8.6.23) names two paintings by Aristeides; also Plin. *NH* 35.24. Strabo mentions a painting of Dionysus taken to the Temple of Ceres, and Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.4 refers to statues of the Thespiades. Morgan 1971, 501.
- 231 Vell. Pat. 1.11.3; Plin. *NH* 34.64; Arrian, *Anab.* 1.16.4; Moreno 1981; Calcani 1989, 23–30. Judging by its impact, the group's fame was far-reaching: Q. Caecilius Metellus Scipio commissioned an imitation on the Capitoline in 55–52, and a version at Lanuvium is attributed to L. Licinius Murena; Cic. *Att.* 6.1.17; Coarelli 1996, 68–9, 382–417. Small-scale bronze reproductions from Herculaneum represent Alexander on Bucephalus, and two riderless horses. Pollitt 1986, 41–3; Calcani 1989, 102–3, 267; La Rocca 1990, 392.
- 232 Pape 1975, 59–68.
- 233 Plut. *Fab.* 25.1, expresses the equation. Gros 1979, 103–5. Scholars have long posited a law of around 180, gleaned from Val. Max. *De iure triumphandi*, and Gell. *NA*, that defined the criteria for a triumph: Bastien 2007, 20, 241, 250 ff., 277; Maiuro 2008, 22–3. Pelikan Pittenger 2008 argues convincingly against single acts of legislation.
- 234 Gros 1979, 103–5.
- 235 Plut. *Marc.* 21.1–5, trans. Perrin; Pape 1975, 95; Gros 1979, 103–5.
- 236 Gros 1979, *passim*; Pietilä-Castrén 1991, 104–5; Gruen 1992, 100–1; Lippolis 2004, 41, 51; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 133.
- 237 Plin. *NH* 35.66.
- 238 Rüpke 2006b, 221, believes there was no substantive difference between cult statues and votive statues. For other views: Scheer 2000, 1–34. On sacrilege, Östenberg 2009, 80–7.
- 239 Plut. *Marc.* 22.1; McDonnell 2006, 225–6.
- 240 Liv. 26.30.9, trans. Moore; also Plut. *Marc.* 23. Cic. *Rep.* 1.22, insists, however, that Claudius Marcellus did not profane the gods. Miles 2008, 65–6.
- 241 Plut. *Marc.* 21, trans. Perrin.
- 242 Palazzo Altemps inv. 8598; Vatican Museums, Saletta degli originali greci, inv. 905. Hafner 1966; Martin 1987, 112–15. The style and use of Greek island marble argue for the provenance of the Ludovisi Acrolith, and a date of around 490–480. De Angelis d'Ossat 2002, 174; Guarducci 1985, suggests that the head originated, perhaps with the Ludovisi Throne, in the temple at Locri at Marasà in South Italy. Coarelli sees it as the cult statue at Porcius Licinus' Temple of Venus Erycina at Porta Collina (*LTUR* 5.114–16, s.v. *Venus Erycina, aedes (ad Portam Collinam)*). Ovid also attributes a Temple of Venus Erycina to Claudius Marcellus, mentioned by Livy (30.38.10) in his account of 202. Scholars identify the head as Venus/Aphrodite on the basis of the supposed find-spot but it is equally consistent with images of Persephone/Proserpina. Hartswick 2004, 75, suggests that it was brought from Sicily for the founding of the Temple of Venus Erycina in 181, or later, when worship at Eryx had ceased.
- 243 Liv. 25.40.1–3, trans. Moore. Also Plut. *Marc.* 21; but Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.121. Gros 1979, 87–8; Miles 2008, 65–6, 91–2.
- 244 Plut. *Marc.* 21, trans. Perrin; also *Fab.* 22.5; Gros 1979, 96–7, 108; Isager 1993, 262–3; McDonnell 2006. Plin. *NH* 34.40 states that he left a statue of Zeus by Lysippus that stood about 20 m high, because it was too difficult to move. Gruen 1992, 101–2, suggests that if it was a cult statue, Fabius Maximus made a virtue of circumstance; still, its huge size probably mitigates against placement within a building. See also Fabius Maximus' condemnation of Q. Pleminius, a legate who violated the sanctuary of Proserpina at Locri in 204: Liv. 29.18.8–19.3.
- 245 Liv. 38.43.2–5, trans. Sage; Martin 1987, 150.
- 246 Liv. 39.4.11–13; Pape 1975, 12–13, 43; Gruen 1992; Bastien 2007, 329; Miles 2008, 70. Liv. 38.44.5, 38.12–13, 39.4.11–12.
- 247 Serv. *Aen.* 7.607 mentions a statue of Janus brought to Rome when Falerii was conquered in 241; Ov. *Fast.* 3.839–48 suggests Minerva Capta on the Caelian may have come from there too. Martin 1987, 37–45; Gruen 1992, 87–8; Bastien 2007, 175.
- 248 Liv. 6.29.8–9.
- 249 Gruen 1992, 113.
- 250 Liv. 29.17–18, 38.44.4–5. E.g. the Locrians against Q. Pleminius in 204.
- 251 Liv. 26.34.12.
- 252 Liv. 34.4.4–5, trans. Sage; Pape 1975, 84.
- 253 ORF³ frag. 98 (*uti praeda in publicum referatur*). Pape 1975, 36, 74, contends that, since Romans recognized no space outside the *ager romanus* as sacred, no gods' images outside that boundary were sacred; plundering a temple in a non-Roman sphere was therefore not sacrilege, and a plundered statue of a god was a *res profana* that had to be vowed in Rome before being set up in a temple.
- 254 Liv. 42.28.10–12, trans. Sage–Schlesinger.
- 255 Östenberg 2009, 86–7.

- 256 For Caecilius Metellus preventing his army from sacking temples: Paus. 7.15.9–10; Graverini 2001, 111. Coarelli 1996, 51, notes: “è difficile infatti che simulacra di culto provenissero dal bottino di guerra;” and in 1997, 444: “la riutilizzazione di statue greche come simulacra di templi romani in età repubblicana abbastanza antica non è attestata.”
- 257 Roman troops also razed other cities, such as Haliartus in Boeotia in 171, but Liv. 42.63.11 does not record their treatment of sacred art.
- 258 App. *Pun.* 133.631–2, trans. White. Also 127.146/8.127; Plut. *Flam.* 1.1; Plin. *NH* 36.39; Diod. Sic. 32.25; Miles 2008, 97.
- 259 *ILS* 8769; *IG* 14.315. Also Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.74, 2.4.78, 2.4.97, 2.5.186; Bovio-Marconi 1935, 201. On restorations: Cic. *Verr.* 2.2.3, 2.2.86, 2.4.73, 2.4.84, 2.4.93, 2.5.185; Diod. Sic. 13.90.4–5, 32.25. Astin 1967, 76–7; Miles 2008, 97.
- 260 Paus. 7.16.5–10, trans. Levi; Dio Chrys. *Discourse* 37.42; Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.4; Waurick 1975; Nenci 1978; Graverini 2001, 106–7, 120–3; Lippolis 2004, 41, 46, 48; Sauron 2013, 15. For the razing: Morstein-Marx 1995, 84–96; Miles 2008, 73.
- 261 Ferrary 1988, 578–88; Gruen 1992, 117–18; Morstein-Marx 1995, 88; Bastien 2007, 167.
- 262 Gatti 1911, 36–9; Carettoni 1973, 32–5; *LTUR* 3.206–8, s.v. *Magna Mater, aedes* (P. Pensabene).
- 263 Martin 1987, 146; *BMC RR* 1052 ff., nr 596–7.
- 264 Plin. *NH* 16.216; Martin 1987, 23–4.
- 265 Plut. *Aem.* 6.9–10; Plin. *NH* 35.135; Sauron 2013, 49. Liv. 39.22.1–2 records that *multi artifices* came to Rome in Fulvius Nobilior’s train in 186 and that, as an ambassador mediating between Antiochus and Eumenes in the 180s, Scipio Asiagenus collected *artifices* throughout Asia (39.22.10). Scholars typically translate *artifices* as “artists,” but in both cases Livy mentions them in the context of *ludi*, so they were more likely actors.
- 266 Plin. *NH* 36.35, trans. Rackham.
- 267 Martin 1987, 63; Coarelli 1998, 258; *LTUR* 1.49–54, s.v. *Apollo, aedes in Circo* (A. Viscogliosi). There is no evidence for Aemilius Lepidus commissioning statues for the temples of either Juno or Diana (contra Coarelli, 1998, 277).
- 268 Martin 1987, 63–86, 207.
- 269 La Rocca 1990, 428.
- 270 Plin. *NH* 36.35.
- 271 Plin. *NH* 34.52.
- 272 A coin minted by Metellus Scipio in Africa in 47–46 probably shows the sculpture. Mustilli 1930; Coarelli 1996, 70, 269–73; Ridgway 2000, 233; Giustozzi 2001. La Rocca 1990, 428, sees it as the image of Latona that Pliny places in the Temple of Apollo.
- 273 Capitoline Museums inv. 253. Martin 1987, 88–90, 209; Coarelli 1996, 70; Ridgway 2000, 242–4. The head is hollow, backless, and stylistically close to the “Juno.” Scipio Aemilianus may have commissioned it after the sack of Carthage, or Caecilius Metellus, hoping to forge a link with his ancestor, Q. Caecilius Metellus, consul of 251 and 247, who vowed the temple of Ops: La Rocca 1990, 427; Coarelli 1996, 69. Contra: Queyrel 1991.
- 274 Varr. *Menipp.* 201; Coarelli 1996, 264; Palazzo dei Conservatori inv. 1265. Martin 1987, 90–8, 211, who conjectures that there were also cult statues in gold and silver at this time (195). Lugli 1952–53, 125–26; Servius and Macrobius indicate that the cult statue, which Pliny describes as old, had its head covered with the lion pelt, so the gilded statue can only have been a votive.
- 275 *CIL* 6.33936; Plin. *NH* 36.26, trans. Rackham; Coarelli 1996, 77–8. La Rocca 1995b, 15–30, believes the colossal cult statue of Veiovis from the temple on the Capitoline, generally considered Flavian, to be Republican. Tortorici 1988: fragments of an arm, a mantle, and a shoulder of a colossal statue, probably female, found at the Temple of Mars, may have belonged to a statue of Venus.
- 276 Martin 1987, 90–8, 198–200; Coarelli 1996, 269.
- 277 Pollitt 1986, 165–8; Themelis, 1996; Ridgway 2000, 232–42.
- 278 Martin 1987, 197–8; Gruen 1992, 139–40.
- 279 Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.121, *Rep.* 1.21; Miles 2008, 65–6.
- 280 As at Liv. 45.33.1–2; Pape 1975, 95–6.
- 281 Liv. 26.32.4; Plut. *Marc.* 30.4–6; Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.121. *CIL* 1².608; *ILS* 12, 13. 12. Pape 1975, 6–7; Patterson 2000, 99; Miles 2008, 67–8; Russell 2016, 133–8.
- 282 Vogel 1948, 1953; Shatzman 1972; Pape 1975, 27–35; Abernson 1994; Bradford Churchill 1999; Coudry 2009; Tarpin 2009.
- 283 Implicit in Polyb. 18.35.9–11; Bradford Churchill 1999, 96–7, 100, 114–15.
- 284 Bradford Churchill 1999, 100, 108; also Bastien 2007, 159, 211, 327.
- 285 Coudry 2009; also Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.57 for Syracusan records. For auctions: e.g. Plin. *NH* 33.147–50. La Regina 1991 estimates that entries in the registers averaged two pages in length and included historical information, artist, original location, circumstance of transfer to Rome, value, and name of donor. Ridgway 2000, 304 notes that the numbers need not be Republican. Contra: Riggsby, forthcoming.
- 286 Horse: *L·I·XXIIIX* on the left flank, *XIII* on the left foreleg, and *C* in dots on the right foreleg. Bronze nude: *L·VI·P·L·XXIIIX* in late second-century letters; *MAR* punched into the right leg in dots. La Regina 1991. On the controversy over the Greek or Roman origin of the sculpture: Ridgway 2000, 305–9 with bibliography.
- 287 *Orat.* 224; *ORF*³ frag. 97: *De praeda militibus dividenda et ne spolia figerentur nisi de hoste capta*; *ORF*³ frag. 98: *Uti praeda in publicum referatur. pro suppellectile statuas deorum, exempla earum facierum, signa*. Prisc. Gramm. 2 367.14 Keil; Astin 1978, 86, 96; Gruen 1992, 111–12; Bradford Churchill 1999, 113.
- 288 Plut. *Cato Mai.* 10.4 ff., trans. Perrin; *ORF*³ frag. 173.
- 289 Pape 1975, 73, 53; Astin 1978, 53.
- 290 Fest. Lindsay 182; Pape 1975, 10–11.
- 291 Liv. 37.57.9–37.58.2, trans. Sage. Also 37.46.3–4; Pietilä-Castrén 1982, 127–9.
- 292 Astin 1978, 55–65; Bradford Churchill 1999, 102, 104.
- 293 In *pro suppellectile statuas deorum, exempla earum facierum, signa*. Prisc. Gramm. 2 367.14 Keil; Astin 1978, 60, 73–4. On the Scipios: Liv. 38.54.1–38.55.8; Gell. 4.18.7–12, 6.19.1–8 etc.

- 294 Liv. 25.39.17; Cornell 2013, 2.277, F3.
- 295 Plut. *Fab.* 22.6; Plin. *NH* 34.39–41.
- 296 Plin. *NH* 35.22; Pape 1975, 11, 43–6.
- 297 *CIL* 6.1307. Pape 1975, 11–12; Martin 1987, 149. Coarelli 1997, 452–84, interprets the nine squares marked on the Forma Urbis as statue bases for the Ambracian Muses. An inscription from Tusculum, now in Villa Rufinella in Frascati, attests to Fulvius Nobilior's votive offerings outside Rome.
- 298 Obs. 27.
- 299 Pape 1975, 11, 43–6.
- 300 Plut. *Aem.* 28.11, trans. Perrin. Bradford Churchill 1999, 114. For Martin 1987, 152, this was because his triumph came at the end of a successful career when he was over sixty and heirless; he was not aiming for a censorship, had no interest in the political coalitions of younger colleagues pursuing power and favor, or in the propaganda value of booty. Yet he did stand for, and win, the censorship of 164.
- 301 Polyb. 18.35.4–5, trans. Walbank; Cic. *Off.* 2.76; Martin 1987, 151–2; Bradford Churchill 1999, 96.
- 302 Polyb. 18.35.9; Pape 1975, 19–21; Martin 1987, 152; Graverini 2001; Miles 2008, 71.
- 303 Plut. *Flam.* 1.1; Plin. *NH* 36.39; Coarelli 1988a, 156–64; Miles 2008, 97; Reg. Cat. XII; *LTUR* 1.49, s.v. *Apollo Caelispex* (F. Coarelli); Bariviera 2013, 430.
- 304 Cic. *Off.* 2.76, trans. Miller.
- 305 Plin. *NH* 34.36, trans. Rackham.
- 306 Strab. 8.6.23; Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.55, 2.3.9, 2.4.4; Liv. *Per.* 52; Plin. *NH* 37.12; App. *Bell. Pun.* 8.135; Eutr. 4.14.2 (etc.); *De vir. ill.* 60. Pape 1975, 17–19; Waurick 1975; Gros 1979, 111; Philipp and Koenigs 1979, 193–216; Graverini 2001, 126–7; Lippolis 2004; Miles 2008, 74. Also McDonnell 2006, 84.
- 307 Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 132–3.
- 308 Plin. *NH* 35.24. Pape 1975, 45; Pietilä-Castrén 1991, 103–5; Lippolis 2004, 40; Cadario 2014, 85–6.
- 309 Polyb. 39.2.1–2, from Strab. 8.6.23; Dio Chrys. 37.42. Pliny (*NH* 35.24) relates that he withdrew Aristides' painting from sale when Attalus offered 600,000 *denarii* for it, and brought it to Rome; and Vell. Pat. 1.13.4 notes that when arranging a shipment of art to Italy, he instructed agents to replace any lost works with new ones, which amounts to negotiating insurance. Pietilä-Castrén 1982, 139–43; Gruen 1992, 123–4; Graverini 2001, 139–40; Bastien 2007, 33; Cadario 2014.
- 310 Pape 1975, 53–4; Bradford Churchill 1999, 100.
- 311 Lloyd 1982; Coarelli 1997, 452–84. He sets the temple on a podium about 1.2 m above ground, accessed by frontal steps; an altar sat in a forecourt defined by the wings, into which were set rectangular niches that may have contained inscriptions of the *fasti*. At the rear of the temple, in his view, the podium formed an apsidal recess or exedra, which was the *schola poetarum* where the newly established college of priests met, probably headed by Ennius.
- 312 Coarelli 1981, 15–16; 1997, 197–209, 243–50; *LTUR* 2.247–8, s.v. *Feronia, aedes* (F. Coarelli); *LTUR* 3.162–3, s.v. *Iuturna, Templum* (F. Coarelli).
- 313 Cic. *Cluent.* 36.101: a quaestor, C. Staienus, placed a gilded bronze statue *ad Iuturna* by 77.
- 314 Liv. 33.27.4; Briscoe 1973, 300; Pelikan Pittenger 2008, 116–18.
- 315 Liv. 33.27.4; Coarelli 1968b, 82, 89–92; Calabi Limentani 1982, 123–35; De Maria 1988, 262; *LTUR* 2.267, s.v. *Fornices Stertinii* (F. Coarelli); also Aberson 1994, 139; Gros 1996, 56–8; Kontokosta 2013, 11–15, 17–18, who notes that *signa* could equally be standards. Contra: Bernard 2012b, 388, citing Plin. *NH* 34.27.
- 316 *De vir. ill.* 49; Liv. 26.19; Val. Max. 1.2.2, 8.15.2.
- 317 Liv. 37.3.7, trans. Sage. La Rocca 1990, 380. Scholars tend to place the seven statues on top of the arch and view them as planetary deities or portraits of members of the *gens Cornelia*. Coarelli 1968b, 91; Scullard 1970; Gualandi 1979; De Maria 1988, 263; *LTUR* 2.266–7, s.v. *Fornix Scipionis* (F. Coarelli); Kontokosta 2013, 15, 19–20; Ridley 2014. Calabi Limentani 1982, 132–3, notes that Livy usually designates portraits with the terms *statuae* and *imagines*.
- 318 Liv. 37.1.9–10.
- 319 Liv. 38.35.4–6; Flower 1996, 48–52; Thein 2002, 221.
- 320 Mentioned at Oros. 5.9. *CIL* 6.1275, from the Capitoline, probably refers to a Trajanic restoration. For attempts to locate it, *LTUR* 2.263, s.v. *Fornix Calpurnius* (F. Coarelli).
- 321 It is tempting also to see them as an attempt to limit the excesses of those who did triumph, by constricting the triumphal path and presenting obstacles to those who hoped to process with extravagant floats (or elephants).
- 322 Bertoldi 1968, 52–3.
- 323 Giuliani 1968, 57; Hölscher 1988, 384; Di Cesare in La Rocca *et al.* 2010, 285; Kuttner 2013.
- 324 Kuttner 2013, 252–5.
- 325 Bertoldi 1968, 41–8; Giuliani 1968, 57; Di Cesare in La Rocca *et al.* 2010, 285–6.
- 326 Rakob 1979: 120–32; Ferchiou 1991. For Hellenistic Greek comparanda: Bertoldi 1968, 41–53; Di Cesare in La Rocca *et al.* 2010, 285–6.
- 327 Hölscher 1988, 384. Summary of hypotheses that place it in the second century: Di Cesare in La Rocca *et al.* 2010, 286–7.
- 328 Plin. *NH* 22.13; Liv. 37.2.2; Vell. Pat. 1.12.2; *De vir. ill.* 3.59; Kuttner 2013 252–5.
- 329 Hölscher 1988, 384–5; also Bertoldi 1968, 40.
- 330 Kuttner 2013, 248, 259–60, 266. The panoply of armor, which does not correspond to the armor of any one nation, also emphasized the monument's foreign quality.
- 331 Bertoldi 1968, 39–40; Giuliani 1968, 56; Di Cesare in La Rocca *et al.* 2010, 285.
- 332 Kuttner 2013, 256; contra: Bertoldi 1968, 39–40; Giuliani 1968, 56.
- 333 Urlichs 1863.
- 334 Von Domaszewski 1909; Kähler 1966; Torelli 1982, 9–13.
- 335 Wünsche 1994. Contra: Coarelli 1997, 407, 416–18, 432–3.
- 336 Furtwängler 1896.
- 337 Plin. *NH* 36.26, trans. Rackham. Urlichs 1863, 129; also Latimore 1976, 16–81; Coarelli 1997, 407, 416–18, 431–3. Judging by their dimensions, Kuttner 1993, 201, suggests that the reliefs were an intermediate member in a taller rectangular structure.

- 338 Inconsistencies force Coarelli into an apologia for Pliny's errors throughout the *NH*: 1997, 438–43.
- 339 Kuttner 1993; Bianchi and Tucci 1996; Lippolis 2004.
- 340 Kuttner 1993, 201, who calculates a group of three to five statues honoring Mars and Neptune. Also Pape 1975; Zevi 1976, 36; Torelli 1982, 8; Wiseman 1987, 214; Zanker 1988, 22; Holliday 2002, 162–6.
- 341 The reliefs were first reproduced in the second half of the 1600s, when they were immured in the courtyard of Palazzo S. Croce in piazza Branca (now piazza Cairoli), owned by the Santacroce family: Kähler 1966, 7, 12. Based on an inventory compiled in 1639, which lists twelve marble fragments that seemed to correspond to the twelve sections of sculpture, Coarelli reasoned that they came to light during construction of the neighboring S. Salvatore in Campo in 1637–9. In turn, he identified traces of a building beneath S. Salvatore in Campo as the Temple of Neptune: 1968c, 305f. When Zevi, 1976, identified these remains as Brutus Callaicus' Temple of Mars, archaeologists located the Temple of Neptune in architectural remains beneath the fifteenth-century palazzo of Lorenzo Manili: Tortorici 1988, 73–5. In 1994, Wünsche determined that at the time of unearthing there were only nine fragments (other fractures being more recent), which divorced the reliefs from their presumed find-spot near Palazzo S. Croce. Coarelli's revised thesis (1997) 420, argued for their discovery in the area of the palazzo of Lorenzo Manili and the relocated Temple of Neptune, around piazza Costaguti; the palazzo and much of the surrounding area was property of the Santacroce family before its move to piazza Branca.
- 342 Castagnoli 1945, 181 f.; Torelli 1982; Kuttner 1993, 199 also suggests the Villa Publica as a possible location.
- 343 Coarelli 1997, 411–14, who argues that Domitius Ahenobarbus hired Scopas the Younger in Rome to sculpt the *thiasos* reliefs for a statue around the time of the temple's refurbishment. The census relief belonged to a second phase when, for unknown reasons, the base was altered to be freestanding. It commemorated both his censorship of 115 and a landmark in the history of his *gens*, when Cn. Domitius Calvinus Maximus became the first plebeian censor, in 280. Coarelli's re-attribution followed Torelli's thesis (1982, 14–15) that the soldiers in the census relief represent the five recruitment classes of the army, and that, because the soldiers bear identical armor, the relief must date after 123 (when a law provided for distribution of arms to soldiers at state expense) and before 107 (when Marius' reforms severed the connection between census class and *exercitus*-*classis*). Lippolis, 2004, counters that army changes actually place the relief better in the third quarter of the second century.
- 344 Coarelli 1968c; Kuttner 1993, 201; also Pape 1975; Wiseman 1987, 214; Holliday 2002, 162–6.
- 345 Lippolis 2004. If his hypothesis were correct, Pliny should name Amphitrite (in the *thiasos* relief) as well as Thetis (as a statue).
- 346 Cass. Dio 22.76.1. Cic. *De Orat.* 2.268, and Val. Max. 4.1.10, attribute the *lustrum* to Scipio Aemilianus (A. Aymard in Gros 1979, 89). Graverini 2001, 132–3; Lippolis 2004, 70.
- 347 Broneer 1971, 66 (fig. 66), 86–90, who reconstructed the early base using blocks from its second-century CE successor, believing them to have been reused. They indicate a base at least 8 m³ in volume. Broneer estimates that when reveted the base measured roughly 4 by 2 m, by 1 m in height. His scale plan shows it closer still to the reliefs' dimensions.
- 348 Above, n. 346; Graverini 2001, 132–3; Lippolis 2004, 70.
- 349 Bastien 2007, 283.
- 350 Polyb. 30.22; Bastien 2007.
- 351 Klar 2006.
- 352 Vell. Pat. 2.1.2. A portico added to the Temple of Hercules Musarum is usually assigned to Marcus Philippus in the Augustan age (the Porticus Philippi), though Coarelli 1997, 452–84, sees it as part of Fulvius Nobilior's original design, which would make it the earliest portico of this kind. Also Viscogliosi: *LTUR* 4.130–2, s.v. *Porticus Metelli* (A. Viscogliosi); *LTUR* 3.17–19, s.v. *Hercules Musarum, aedes* (A. Viscogliosi); Aberson 1994, 153–4.
- 353 He also later looted the city of Meliboea: Liv. 45. 6.10, 44.46.3, 45.33; Pape 1975, 14; Pietilä-Castrén 1982, 134–5.
- 354 Liv. 45.42.2, trans. Schlesinger; Pietilä-Castrén 1982, 137–8.
- 355 His father had achieved the praetorship but not the consulship: Wiseman 1971, 3 n. 2.
- 356 Coarelli 1997, 403–4, 515–28. For a location on via S. Maria dei Calderari: Wiseman 1976; Zevi 1977 (contra: Zevi 1993, 691).
- 357 Velleius Paterculus' use of the plural *porticus*, followed by the singular *amoenissimam* referring specifically to the *porticus* of Octavius, leads some scholars to believe that Octavius' building was a single *porticus*; yet the plural *porticus* designates the three porticoes together, rather than describing the individual nature of the porticoes of Scipio and Caecilius Metellus: Andrew Riggsby, personal communication. Also Coarelli 1997, 522–4. For another view: Olinder 1974. Also Gros 1976, 392.
- 358 Plin. *NH* 34.13; Vitruv. 5.9.2 (who indicates that the exterior columns should be Doric); Fest. 188 L; Gros 1976a, 391–2; Coarelli 1997, 524; *LTUR* 4.139–41, s.v. *Porticus Octavia* (A. Viscogliosi).
- 359 *De vir. ill.* 44 claims he refused a triumph. Vell. Pat. 2.1.2. Tac. *Hist.* 3.71 does not name the porticus but may refer to it.
- 360 Cass. Dio 43.21.1; Strab. 8.6.23; App. *Bell. Hisp.* 52–4. Martin 1987, 155: fragments of *giallo antico* columns found there may belong to an imperial restoration.
- 361 Cass. Dio 22 frag. 76.2; Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.126, 2.4.4; Plin. *NH* 34.69, 36.39.
- 362 Lauter 1980–81, 37–46; Giustini 1990, 72; La Rocca 1990, 385; Coarelli 1997, 529–38; Mogetta 2013, 140–6. A peperino tufo Ionic capital, once stuccoed, and red tufo column fragments, all reused in the late antique house of the Vallati, may have originated in the portico.
- 363 *LTUR* 4.130–2, s.v. *Porticus Metelli* (A. Viscogliosi).
- 364 Bianchi 2010, 287; La Rocca 2011, 9–11.
- 365 Vell. Pat. 1.11.3–5; Coarelli 1997, 536; Thein 2002, 241.

- 366 Vell. Pat. 1.11.3, trans. Shipley; Plin. *NH* 34.64, 36.24; Arrian, *Anab.* 1.16.4; Cic. *Verr.* 4.126. Coarelli 1997, 532–3. Pape 1975, 16, considers an Aesculapius and a Diana by Cephisodotos the Younger on display there to have been booty.
- 367 Nielsen 1999, 81–101 and *passim*; Winter 2006. Gros 1976a, 388–390, notes a *duplex porticus* at Priene. Octavius had opportunity to develop familiarity with Greek architecture on his tour of office in Macedonia, and earlier as a legate to C. Popilius Laenas on a diplomatic tour of Epirus and the Peloponnese from 179 to 169. Pape 1975, 46–47, conjectures that he may have seen the Hall of the Athenians at Delphi, decorated with spoils from the Persian War.
- 368 Also Vitr. 5.9.5, 5.9.9.
- 369 Liv. 22.8.6–7, trans. Foster. Säflund 1932 records no archaeological evidence of this phase of repair.
- 370 Liv. 24.47.15–16, trans. Moore; 25.7.5–6.
- 371 Liv. 24.18.2; 24.18.10–12.
- 372 Liv. 26.36.
- 373 Liv. 26.27.1–9, 26.27.14; 27.11.16; Varr. *Ant.* 1, frag. 2a; Scott 2009, 18–34. This phase of the Atrium Regium probably corresponds to a “basilica” Plautus mentions at *Curc.* 472 and *Capt.* 815, the first references to a basilica in Rome. Welch 2003, 18–19. It must therefore pre-date Plautus’ death or the production of his last play in 184. Sub-foundations of the *tabernae* were found against the later Basilica Fulvia.
- 374 Freyberger and Ertel 2007, 494–5; also *LTUR* 1.187, s.v. *Basilica Porcia* (E. M. Steinby); *LTUR* 4.10–12, s.v. *Tabernae Argentariae* (E. Papi); De Ruyt 1983; Coarelli 1983, 156; 1985, 59–63; Tortorici 1991; Gros 1996, 238–40; Welch 2003, 7; also Carettoni 1948; Gaggiotti 1985; Zevi 1991.
- 375 Liv. 29.37.2, adapted from Moore’s translation.
- 376 Liv. 34.1–8; Astin 1978, 88; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 334–5.
- 377 Liv. 30.26.5. It is possible that an inscription found in the Cloaca Maxima also refers to sewer work at around this time: *CIL* I².244 1; D’Ambrosio 2014.
- 378 Liv. 30.38.10, trans. Moore; 35.9.2–3. There was also a lightning strike at Porta Caelimontana.
- 379 Liv. 35.21.5, trans. Sage; 35.40.8.
- 380 Fest. 258 L; Coarelli 1985 2, 147. For the flood plain: Aldrete 2007.
- 381 Liv. 35.10.11–12, trans. Sage. Wiseman 1993, 184.
- 382 Liv. 35.41.9–10, trans. Sage. Le Gall 1953, 120: while preparing for the Fontana delle Anfore in 1934, workers discovered three *opus incertum* walls. Their quasi-alignment with the main axis of the *opus incertum* structure once identified as the Porticus Aemilia of 193 led Le Gall to speculate that they belonged to this portico, but the re-identification of the latter building (below) makes this proposal unlikely. Some scholars discredit the literary record of this year since it mirrors that of the previous year.
- 383 Crowther 2014.
- 384 Garnsey and Rathbone 1985, 21.
- 385 De Ruggiero 1925, 58; Steinby 2012, 51.
- 386 Coarelli 1997, 186.
- 387 On the Aemilii: Wiseman 1993, 181–92.
- 388 On the waning power of aediles to impose fines: Mommsen 1887–88, 11.491–7, 512–514; Ziolkowski 1992, 259–60.
- 389 Liv. 40.44.12, 44.18.8, trans. Sage–Schlesinger; also Beacham 1999, 12.
- 390 Liv. 34.44.5 (and fire at 26.27.3); Fest. 277 L.
- 391 Colini 1933, 260–5, 1941, 91 f., 1946–48, 195, 1981, 79; Bartoli 1917, 111 tav. 270 fig. 455, inv. 1143; tav. 272 fig. 457, inv. 896. *LTUR* 1.133–5, s.v. *Atrium Libertatis* (F. Coarelli); *LTUR* 5.229, s.v. *Atrium Libertatis* (C. M. Amici); Amici 1995–96; Bernard 2012b, 394–6. The masonry is roughly second century.
- 392 Liv. 43.16.13; Gran. Lic. 28.35; *LTUR* 1.133–5, s.v. *Atrium Libertatis* (F. Coarelli).
- 393 Liv. 38.28.1–3; *LTUR* 1.20–1, s.v. *Aequimelum* (G. Pisani Sartorio). Tradition held that the Aequimelum, a space kept clear of buildings, had been the site of Sp. Maelius’ house, destroyed in 434 on accusations that he had aspired to kingship: Liv. 4.16.1; Cic. *Dom.* 38; Dion. Hal. 12.4; Val. Max. 6.3.1c; *De vir. ill.* 17.5; Quint. *Inst.* 3.7.20. On the landslide: Liv. 35.21.6; Sage, Loeb edn., 1936, 94–5. Coarelli 1977a, 13–14, identifies this project with terracing works in tufo *opus quadratum* and in *opus incertum* of Grotta Oscura and Monteverde tufo, discovered in 1940 at the level of piazza della Consolazione: Colini 1940, 228. Coarelli dated them some ten to fifteen years after the *opus incertum* of the Temple of Magna Mater, which is now generally recognized to be late second century, not late third to early second century as he supposed. If the Claudii had a gentilician tomb in the vicinity (see p. 60), which gained somehow in stature from the intervention, the project was not entirely lacking in personal profit.
- 394 Liv. 39.1–4; also Lintott 1990, 1–5.
- 395 Plin. *NH* 19.24; *LTUR* 2.343–5 s.v. *Forum Romanum (lastricati)* (C. F. Giuliani).
- 396 Liv. 39.44.7, trans. Sage; also Plut. *Cato Mai.* 19.3; Astin 1978, 84.
- 397 Coarelli 1985, 59–62; Welch 2003, 33; *LTUR* 1.187, s.v. *Basilica Porcia* (E. M. Steinby).
- 398 Welch 2003, 26–7.
- 399 David 1983, 223 and 227; La Rocca 1990; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 133. Cases unfolded there in 112 and 73. David also cites later parallels in Pompeii and Cosa.
- 400 David 1983, 228. On open-air courts, Welin 1953.
- 401 Plut. *Cato Mai.* 15.1, trans. Perrin.
- 402 *De vir. ill.* 47. Plut. *Cato Min.* 5.1; also *Cato Mai.* 19.3.
- 403 Liv. 40.46; La Rocca 1990, 381.
- 404 Liv. 40.51.5, trans. Sage–Schlesinger.
- 405 *LTUR* 1.173–5, s.v. *Basilica Fulvia* (H. Bauer); Freyberger and Ertel 2007, 495–7; Freyberger 2009, 38–43. Reconstruction: John Burge, who suggests that the narrow corridor on the north side might be reconstructed as a porch. The interaxials of the bays measured 5.80 m, and the shops were 5.12 m wide, a difference that complicates efforts to locate entrances from one building to the other. For alternative dating sequences for the phases and alternative reconstructions: Carettoni 1948; Fuchs 1956; Coarelli 1985, 135–8,

- 203–5. Traces beneath the basilica indicate an earlier phase of building, with bays measuring 4.9 m, and two aisles on the north side: John Burge, personal communication.
- 406 Coarelli 1985, 150–4; Morselli and Tortorici 1989, 37–45; La Rocca 1990, 328; *LTUR* 3.201–3, s.v. *Macellum* (G. Pisani Sartorio). Livy's passage suggests that the *macellum*, Forum Piscatorium, and Forum Cuppedinis were unified as one structure after the fire of 210. Some archaeologists believe the aediles of 193 took the opportunity to impose a more coherent plan on the buildings of the Forum Piscarium, transforming it into a rectangular peristyle structure with shops under porticoes and large central fountain, on the model of Hellenistic Punic structures possibly seen in Sicily.
- 407 Liv. 41.27.7; Richardson 1991, 396; Bernard 2012b, 423–4.
- 408 Liv. 44.16.9–11, trans. Schlesinger.
- 409 Carettoni and Fabbrini 1961, 53–60; David 1983; Coarelli 1985, 138–9, 154–5; *LTUR* 1.187–8, s.v. *Basilica Sempronia* (I. Iacopi); Freyberger 2009, 43–4.
- 410 Liv. 38.57. He died in 184 or 183.
- 411 Winter 2006, 46.
- 412 Freyberger and Ertel 2007, 498–9. The accompanying water channel was probably adapted to provide water at the rear of each room, sealed with a travertine cover.
- 413 Van Deman 1922; Du Jardin 1930; Lugli 1946; Coarelli 1985, 125–31, 157–8; Welch 2007, 36–8; Filippi 2013, 162; Russell 2016, 62–71.
- 414 Nieddu 1985, 1986; Coarelli 1994a, 45; *LTUR* 4.234–6, s.v. *Saturnus, aedes* (F. Coarelli).
- 415 Liv. 39.44.5–5, trans. Sage; also Plut. *Cato Mai.* 19.1.
- 416 Dion. Hal. 3.67.5, trans. Cornell *et al.* 2013, 2 279, F6; Astin 1978, 84. Bianchi and Antognoli (2014: 111) date work on the *cloaca* in the area of the later Basilica Fulvia to ca. 210 and 179. The first phase of the Lacus Curtius may belong to this initiative: *LTUR* 3.166–7 s.v. *Lacus Curtius* (Giuliani).
- 417 Gowers 1995; Davies 2012b.
- 418 Livy 40.51.4, trans. Sage–Schlesinger.
- 419 Liv. 40.51.4–6, adapted from the translation of Sage–Schlesinger; Cic. *Prov. Cons.* 20; Val. Max. 4.2.1; Gell. 12.8.5–6; Varr. *DLL* 6.4; Rodríguez Almeida 1984, 29–33.
- 420 Liv. 41.27.5–9, adapted from the translation of Sage–Schlesinger; *LTUR* 1.280–1, s.v. *Clivus Capitolinus* (T. P. Wiseman); Staccioli 2003, 19; Richardson 1992a, 280–1.
- 421 Obs. 16; Liv. 40.51.4. Coarelli 1988a, 145–6, suggests that a Pons Lepidus, the first stone bridge of Rome, was built between 298 and 218 (perhaps 241), for access to the via Aurelia (and the sparsely inhabited Trastevere). He attributes the commission to a quaestor, perhaps M. Aemilius Lepidus Numida, on the basis of Plut. *Numa* 9.6: “the stone bridge was built a long time after [the Pons Sublicius] by the quaestor Aemilius.” Discussion in Bernard 2012b, 416–17.
- 422 Le Gall 1953, 109–11; Panella 2013, 45. Part of the embankment is still visible around the mouth of the Cloaca, built slightly obliquely to the Cloaca in Grotta Oscura tufo blocks. The walls at the Pons Aemilia could date to the time of the pilings, 179, or to the stone superstructure of 142.
- 423 Gatti 1936; Le Gall 1953, 119–20; Rodríguez Almeida 1984; Mocchegiani Carpano 1985.
- 424 Le Gall 1953; Rodríguez Almeida 1981; Conticello de' Spagnolis 1986; Coarelli 1988a, 38–9, 147–55; Steinby 2012, 65.
- 425 Pons Aemilia: Blake 1947, 178; Coarelli 1988a, 139–47, who sees the bridge of 179 as a reconstruction; Richardson 1992a, 296–7; *LTUR* 4.106–7, s.v. *Pons Aemilius* (F. Coarelli). Pontoon: Ruggiero 1991–92, 266; Adam 1994; Colini and Buzzetti 1986.
- 426 Gatti 1889; Coarelli 1997, 349; *MAR* 208, s.v. *Portunus, aedes* (L. Haselberger).
- 427 Coarelli 1988a, 36–42; Ruggiero 1990, n. 36.
- 428 Coulton 1976; Winter 2006, 50–70.
- 429 Davies 2012b. Other bridges existed (e.g. Liv. 35.21.6), but besides the Pons Sublicius and the Pons Milvium beyond the northern boundary of the city, none is known by name: Le Gall 1953, 103.
- 430 Varr. *RR* 3.2.6; Suet. *Claud.* 18; *CIL* 15.7150; *CIL* 6.37811; *Fast. Ost.*; Rodríguez Almeida 1971; Wiseman 1993, 184; *LTUR* 1.19–20, s.v. *Aemiliana* (E. Rodríguez Almeida). Contra: Coarelli 1988a, 147–54.
- 431 Liv. 40.51.3, trans. Sage–Schlesinger; 41.27.5–6.
- 432 Liv. 41.27.7, trans. Sage–Schlesinger; Obs. 8; *LTUR* 1.280–1, s.v. *Clivus Capitolinus* (T. P. Wiseman); Broughton 1951–86, 1.404; Humphrey 1986, 70–1; Richardson 1992a, 280–1; Staccioli 2003, 19.
- 433 Dauster 2003, 79–80; Steinby 2012, 48. Contra: Gruen 1992, 188–222.
- 434 Liv. *Per.* 48; App. *BC* 1.28.12; Val. Max. 2.4.2; August. *Civ. dei* 1.32; Oros. 4.21.4; Vell. Pat. 1.15.2.
- 435 Sear 2006; Hanson 1959; Russell 2016, 171.
- 436 On which, Astin 1978.
- 437 Liv. 39.44.5–5, trans. Sage; also Plut. *Cato Mai.* 19.1.
- 438 Liv. 40.51.8–9, trans. Sage–Schlesinger.
- 439 Liv. 40.51.3, trans. Sage–Schlesinger.
- 440 Liv. 43.1.4–12; 43.5.
- 441 Plin. *NH* 7.215, trans. Bostock; Varr. *DLL* 6.4.
- 442 La Rocca 1990, 384; Freyberger and Ertel 2007, 498–9; Freyberger 2009, 41.
- 443 Hannah 2009, 103–4; Riggsby 2009.
- 444 *ORF* frag. 50, trans. Astin; Astin 1978, 87–8.
- 445 Plut. *Cato Mai.* 19.2, trans. Perrin.
- 446 Liv. 40.51.2, 44.16.9; Astin 1986.
- 447 Liv. 40.51.2, trans. Sage–Schlesinger.
- 448 Liv. 42.3.1–11.
- 449 Liv. 41.27.11–13, trans. Sage–Schlesinger.
- 450 Liv. 45.15.9; Plut. *Cato Mai.* 19.2.
- 451 Astin 1978, 84. On other possible reasons: Steinby 2012, 44–5.
- 452 Liv. 40.51.3–9, trans. Sage–Schlesinger. Elkins 2015, 22–3, argues that the censors started construction on the aqueduct, which was finished by Q. Marcius Rex as the Aqua Marcia; and that its initial name, the Aqua Aufeia, was a shortening of Aqua Aemilia-Fulvia: Stuart 1943; 1945, 248–9.
- 453 Liv. *Per.* 48, trans. Schlesinger.
- 454 App. *BC* 1.28.12, adapted from White's translation; also Val. Max. 2.4.2; August. *Civ. dei* 1.32; Oros. 4.21.4; Vell. Pat. 1.15.2. On the traditions, Sordi 1988b, 327–41.
- 455 Gruen 1992, 205–22.

- 456 Rumpf 1950; Frézouls 1983, especially 195–7; La Rocca 1990, 407; Forsythe 1994; Gros 1994, 293–4; Dauster 2003, 70; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 160–9; Russell 2016, 170–1. On stone theaters and acoustics: Vitruvius 5.5.7.
 - 457 Plut. *Demar.* 34.3, trans. Perrin; also *Arat.* 23.1–4, *Sulla* 11.
 - 458 Von Hesberg 1999; Soyoz 2010, on fine-tuning of theater design to control their performances; Russell 2016, 170–1.
 - 459 Coarelli 1977a.
 - 460 Polyb. 6.17.
 - 461 The role of the censor may have been diminishing. As Astin 1985, 176 notes, the census and citizen registration were irrelevant to direct taxation once the *tributum* was abolished in 167.
 - 462 Front. *Aq.* 2.7, trans. Bennett; also Cornell 2013, 2.947, F12.
 - 463 Hodge 1992; Evans 1994; Dodge 2000; de Kleijn 2001.
 - 464 Front. *Aq.* 7.5, trans. Bennett.
 - 465 Colini 1942; Morricone 1980; Sommella 1981; 1984; Sanzi di Mino 1987. Coarelli 1994a, 45, suggests the buildings were contemporaneous with the South West Building, already related to it, and contained the *tabulae publicae*.
 - 466 Coarelli 1997, 316–22.
 - 467 Front. *Aq.* 1.7; Robinson 1980, 49.
 - 468 Fahlbusch 1977, 758–62; Garbrecht 1987, 1979; Hodge 1992, 42–5. Marcus Rex was honored with a statue behind the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, perhaps where the aqueduct terminated: *CIL* 3.846; Roxan 1985, 121; Filippi 2013, 164.
 - 469 Liv. 40.5.7.
 - 470 On forming space through its use: de Certeau 1984, 97.
- 4 TURMOIL AND TENSION: ca. 133–90
- 1 Sall. *Hist.* 4.67.8 M; Flor. 1.35 (2.20) 2. *IGRR* 4.289; Sherwin-White 1984, 80–92; Morstein-Marx 1995, 97–108; Gruen 2004, 261.
 - 2 Oros. 5.13.2; Plin. *NH* 7.166; Flor. 1.37 (3.2) 4.
 - 3 Sall. *Jug.*; Plut. *Mar.* 7–10; Cic. *Brut.* 127–8; Konrad 2006, 173.
 - 4 Liv. *Per.* 64; Sall. *Jug.* 37–8; Oros. 5.15; Eutr. *Brev.* 4.26; Flor. 1.36; Konrad 2006, 174.
 - 5 Sall. *Jug.* 64.5, 80–1; Van Ooteghem 1967, 156–7, 160–2.
 - 6 Sall. *Jug.* 84–6; Plut. *Mar.* 9.1; Scullard 1982, 47–53; Potter 2004, 80–3; Konrad 2006, 174–5.
 - 7 *SIG*³ 700; Van Ooteghem 1967, 106–7; Scullard 1982, 40–3.
 - 8 Liv. *Per.* 63–5; Vell. Pat. 2.12; Obs. 38; Flor. 1.38; Scullard 1982, 45–6.
 - 9 Liv. *Per.* 67.
 - 10 Plut. *Mar.* 12.1.
 - 11 Plut. *Mar.* 11–28, *Luc.* 27, *Sert.* 3; Liv. *Per.* 65–7; Oros. 5.15–16; *Ad Herenn.* 1.15.25; Gran. Lic. 33.1–17; Dio Cass. frag. 91; Vell. Pat. 2.12; Diod. Sic. 36.1; Eutr. *Brev.* 5.1; Scullard 1982, 53–60; Konrad 2006, 175.
 - 12 Huzar 1978, 13–14; Rickman 1980, 50; Casson 1991, 179–80; Pitassi 2009, 144–5.
 - 13 Plut. *Sull.* 5.3–4, 5.6; Vell. Pat. 2.24.3; Amp. 31.2; Festus, *Brev.* 15; Thein 2002, 18; Keaveney 2005, 10–14, 22–7, 30–3, 35–8.
 - 14 Plut. *Ti. Gracch.* 5–20; App. *BC* 1.7–18; Cic. *Har. Resp.* 43; Scullard 1982, 23, 26–9; Konrad 2006, 167–9; Orlin 2010, 194.
 - 15 Cic. *Amic.* 37; Val. Max. 4.7.1; Plut. *Ti. Gracch.* 20.3–7; Scullard 1982, 29; Konrad 2006, 169–70.
 - 16 Plut. *C. Gracch.* 4–12; App. *BC* 1. 21–6; Liv. *Per.* 60; Cic. *Rab. Post.* 12; Oros. 5.11.2; Boren 1957–58, 896; Brunt 1971a, 79; Bodei Giglioli 1974, 87–8; Scullard 1982, 34–6; Rickman 1980, 48–9; Viriout 2003, 63; Konrad 2006, 170–3.
 - 17 Konrad 2006, 172.
 - 18 Cic. *De Or.* 2.132–4; Plut. *C. Gracch.* 13.1–18.1; App. *BC* 25–6; Konrad 2006, 172–3.
 - 19 App. *Bell. Civ.* Preface; Von Ungern-Sternberg 2004, 89.
 - 20 Vell. Pat. 2.3.3–4; Sall. *Jug.* 41.5; Cic. *Rep.* 1.31; von Ungern-Sternberg 2004, 89–96 with sources; Konrad 2006, 172.
 - 21 App. *BC* 19–21; Val. Max. 9.5.1; Scullard 1982, 32, 65–6; Konrad 2006, 170, 177.
 - 22 App. *BC* 35–6; Scullard 1975, 65–7; Konrad 2006, 177–8.
 - 23 App. *BC* 37–53; Liv. *Per.* 73; Scullard 1982, 68–70; von Ungern-Sternberg 2004, 96–8; Konrad 2006, 178.
 - 24 App. *BC* 1.26; Plut. *C. Gracch.* 17; Aug. *Civ. dei* 3.25; also Gorski and Packer 2015, 165–8, 172. Heyworth 2011, 66–7, sees this as a restoration.
 - 25 Obs. 37; Liv. *Per.* 63; Oros. 5.15.20–2; Plut. *Q. Rom.* 83; Cass. Dio 26 frag. 87; Ov. *Fast.* 4, 157–60; De Sanctis 1953, 323; Bayet 1957, 149; Van Ooteghem 1967, 107–9, with secondary sources. From 97, a *senatus consultum* forbade human sacrifice.
 - 26 Ov. *Fast.* 4.157–60, trans. Kline; Obs. 37; Marcatilli 2009, 108–23. A *simulacrum* of the goddess existed in Rome in 174.
 - 27 Plut. *Mar.* 26.3; Coarelli 1997, 289–91; Leach 2010, 114–15.
 - 28 Boyancé 1940; Coarelli 1981; 1997, 275–93; *LTUR* 2.269–70, s.v. *Fortuna Huiusce Diei, aedes* (P. Gros). Also *MAR* 128, s.v. *Fortuna Huiusce Diei, aedes* (E. J. Kondratieff); De Stefano 2013, 542.
 - 29 *CIL* 1².195; *LTUR* 3.33–5 s.v. *Honos et Virtus, aedes Mariana* (D. Palombi).
 - 30 Hinard 1985, 233; Thein 2002, 15–16; Tatum 2008, 50; also Richardson 1978. By the end of the second century, a temple or shrine to Isis appears to have existed on the Capitoline, probably in the *area Capitolina*: *CIL* 6.2247–8; Schol. Veron. *Aen.* 2.714; *LTUR* 3.112–13 s.v. *Isis Capitolina* (F. Coarelli). Arata 2010, 129–36, notes that the epithet *Capitolinae*, otherwise reserved for Jupiter, suggests a private cult.
 - 31 Bianchi and Tucci 1996; Coarelli 1997, 399–403, 409, who argues, with Rodríguez-Almeida, that the temple also appears on fragment 234 of the Severan marble plan and on a relief in the Capitoline Museums. Also Elkins 2015, 36–7.
 - 32 *IGRRP* 4 968; Coarelli 1997, 411–4.
 - 33 Cic. *Scaur.* 46; Asc. ad loc.; Broughton 1951–86, 1.531–3; Van Ooteghem 1967, 106–7; Scullard 1982, 40–3; Nielsen 1992, 87; Gorski and Packer 2015, 293.
 - 34 Eutr. 4.25.1; Vell. Pat. 2.8.2; Bastien 2007, 381–93.
 - 35 Or perhaps his triumph over the Taurisci as consul in 115. Cic. *Nat. Deor.* 2.61; also Plut. *Mor.* 318 E (= 322 C); *LTUR* 2.249–52, s.v. *Fides Populi Romani/Publica* (C. Reusser); *LTUR* 3.240–1 s.v. *Mens* (C. Reusser).
 - 36 Sources in Alexander 1990, 26–9, nos. 52–7.
 - 37 Liv. 22.9.11; Martin 1987, 127.

- 38 Manacorda and Zanini 1997; Márquez and Gutiérrez 2006; Caprioli 2010, 49, 2011; John Burge, personal communication. For Coarelli 1981, 16–18, a slight reorientation suggests that the work at Temple A post-dates the inception of work on the Theater of Pompey in *ca.* 62. Also *LTUR* 3.162–3, s.v. *Iuturna, Templum* (F. Coarelli) (early Augustan); *MAR* 55 s.v. “*Area Sacra*” (*Largo Argentina*): *Temple A* (E.J. Kondratieff) (third quarter of the first century); Bernard 2012b, 364 (early first century).
- 39 Coarelli 1981; *LTUR* 3.162–3, s.v. *Iuturna, Templum* (F. Coarelli); Martin 1987, 107; Zevi 1995, 138–41.
- 40 Pensabene 1991, 14–15; Pensabene and D’Alessio 2006.
- 41 Ov. *Fasti* 4.348. Also Val. Max. 1.8.11; Obs. 39; Morgan 1973b, 238–9. Also Coarelli 2012, 251–2. Pensabene and D’Alessio 2006, 39, assume that the restoration was the work of Caecilius Metellus Numidicus using *manubiae*.
- 42 Diod. 36.13.1, trans. Oldfather.
- 43 E.g. Morgan 1973b; Coarelli 2012, 249–82.
- 44 Plut. *Mar.* 17.8, adapted from the Perrin’s translation. Morgan 1973b, 242–5.
- 45 Pensabene and D’Alessio 2006, 49. The exception is Graillet 1912, 333. Morgan 1973b, 234 n. 95, sees Plutarch’s account as ‘a garbled reference to the work, nearing completion in 102, on the temple on the Palatine hill.’
- 46 Crawford 1974, 326–7, no. 322. Roller 1999, 290 n. 18.
- 47 Liv. 29.11.3.
- 48 Obs. 55, trans. Schlesinger.
- 49 Cic. *De Div.* 1.4, trans. Falconer.
- 50 *LTUR* 3.128–9 s.v. *Iuno Sospita (in Foro Holitorio), aedes* (F. Coarelli) and *LTUR* 3.90–1 s.v. *Ianus, aedes (apud Forum Holitorium, ad Theatrum Marcellum)* (F. Coarelli), arguing for an early date; Crozzoli Aite 1981 prefers an Augustan date; Schultz 2006, 210–12. For the fire: Cass. Dio 50.10.3.
- 51 *LTUR* 3.90–1 s.v. *Ianus, aedes (apud Forum Holitorium, ad Theatrum Marcellum)* (Coarelli); Schultz 2006, 210–12. The date of the restoration of the Temple of Spes is unclear: *LTUR* 4.336–7 s.v. *Spes, aedes* (Coarelli).
- 52 Di Manzano and Giustini 1998–99; contra Bernard 2012b, 392–3.
- 53 *CIL* 1.105 = 1² 990 = 6.379.
- 54 Coarelli 1997, 327, suggests that Altar A at Largo Argentina burnt in the fire of 111. Fire also occurred on the Capitoline: Cic. *Scaur.* 46.
- 55 Obs. 55, trans. Schlesinger; Schultz 2006.
- 56 Levick 1978, 217. On religion and authority in the late Republic: Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 248–51.
- 57 Plut. *C. Gracch.* 17.6, trans. Perrin; also Morstein-Marx 2012; Hillard 2013.
- 58 Münzer 1999, 281.
- 59 *CIL* 1² 582; Nielsen 1992, 112; Ulrich 1994, 93.
- 60 Plut. *Mar.* 31.1; Van Ooteghem 1967, 171–5; Morgan 1973b, 235–6.
- 61 Gros 1976a, 399, 403.
- 62 Museo di Palazzo Trinci; Marcatilli 2009, 108–23, with mosaic representations from Luni, Tunisia, and Piazza Armerina.
- 63 Gros 1976a, 406; Coarelli 1981; Martin 1987, 105; Leach 2010, 117.
- 64 Vit. 3.2.5, trans. Rowland and Howe; Castagnoli 1955.
- 65 Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.126; Plin. *NH* 34.54; Gros 1976a, 406; Coarelli 1981; Martin 1987, 105; Leach 2010, 117.
- 66 Fest. 468. Contra: McDonnell 2006, 271–80.
- 67 Vit. 7. *Praef.* 17, adapted from Rowland and Howe.
- 68 Gros 1973; 1976, 407–9; La Rocca 2011, 15.
- 69 Zevi 1996; Adams 2003, 365; Cifarelli 2005; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 125–6; La Rocca 2011, 15.
- 70 *De consulate et de rebus gestis suis*; Gell. 19.9.14; Cic. *Nat. Deor.* 1.79; Paratore 1991, 151–3; McDonnell 2006, 282–4; Caprioli 2010, 55, 2011; Leach 2010.
- 71 Within the Tiberian building are remains of the podium of tufo *caementa*, and on the sides are moulding blocks. The temple had a traditional *cella*: *pronaos* ratio of 2 : 1. Gros 1976a, 399–404; *LTUR* 1.316–20, s.v. *Concordia, aedes* (A. M. Ferroni).
- 72 Lugli 1946, 111–13, 1957, 321; Gros 1976a, 398; Coarelli 1981; *LTUR* 1.316–20, s.v. *Concordia, aedes* (A. M. Ferroni); Jackson and Marra 2006; Caprioli 2010, 2011.
- 73 The frieze fragment measures 32.5 cm by 67 cm and dates stylistically around 100: Coarelli, 1981. On the statue: Martin 1987, 103–4; Coarelli 1996, 73, who ascribes the work to Scopas Minor.
- 74 La Rocca 2011, 24.
- 75 Coarelli 1981, 16–18; *LTUR* 3.90–1 s.v. *Ianus, aedes (apud Forum Holitorium, ad Theatrum Marcellum)* (Coarelli). Podium: 18 by 29 m, 2.09 m high, on a concrete foundation. Renaissance drawings indicate 6 × 9, a solid rear wall, and 4 × 2 columns in the *pronaos*. Seven columns and corner pilasters from the south side remain in the wall of the church, and three bases from the north side.
- 76 John Burge, personal communication. Coarelli 1981, 16–18, for a different date. Also *LTUR* 3.162–3, s.v. *Iuturna, Templum* (F. Coarelli) (early Augustan); *MAR* 55, s.v. “*Area Sacra*” (*Largo Argentina*): *Temple A* (E.J. Kondratieff) (third quarter of the first century); Bernard 2012b, 364 (early first century).
- 77 *LTUR* 3.128–9 s.v. *Iuno Sospita (in Foro Holitorio), aedes* (F. Coarelli). The podium measures 15 by 27 m (33 with steps). The columns are peperino on square plinths. The *cella* is peperino. Fragments 31i–h of the *Forma Urbis Romae* indicate two rows of four columns in the porch in Severan times.
- 78 Three travertine steps on the right flank were apparently designed to mask the point of juncture between ground level and podium rather than to provide access. Cozza 1968; Zevi 2004, 457–8, who considers the relationship between the steps and the temple indeterminate; Márquez and Gutiérrez 2006, 316–19.
- 79 John Burge, personal communication.
- 80 Marchetti Longhi 1936; Coarelli 1981, 15–19; Ziolkowski 1992, 25–8; Bernard 2010.
- 81 Masonry found in debris at the foot of the Capitoline, associated with the temple, indicates a podium at least 2 m high, approximately 20 by 30–35 m in plan. *LTUR* 2.249–52 s.v. *Fides Populi Romani/Publica* (Ch. Reusser).
- 82 See also note 38.
- 83 Bianchi and Tucci 1996; Coarelli 1997, 400. The temple does not appear to be pseudoperipteral, as they state.

- 84 Fides: Centro Montemartini, Cons. inv. 2447; *LTUR* 2.249–52, s.v. *Fides Populi Romani/Publica* (Ch. Reusser). Hor. *Carm.* 1.35.21 f.; Val. Max. 6.6.1. Martin 1987, 120–3, conjectures that Aemilius Scaurus vowed the temple in 115 but may not have built it, or he built it and it burnt in the fire of 83; he sees the restoration as the work of the younger M. Aemilius Scaurus in 58. Mens: Centro Montemartini, Cons. inv. 1589. The head is Parian marble. It is usually attributed to Aemilius Scaurus in 115; Martin, 220–1 doubts that he built the temple.
- 85 Nielsen 1992, 109–5; Gorski and Packer 2015, 293.
- 86 Nielsen 1992, 109–15; Ulrich 1994, 95, n. 160. The lateral walls of the podium may have been reused or rebuilt using tufo, probably Aniene. There may have been *tabernae* within the podium.
- 87 Nielsen 1992, 109–15. Four surviving column plinths and the steps between are travertine. It is not clear if two fragments of travertine Corinthian capitals found near the temple belong to the Metellan design. The interaxials were 3.45 m at the center, 3.20–3.25 for the lateral façade columns.
- 88 Nielsen 1992, 109–15; Ulrich 1994, 95 n. 160. The *cella* walls may have been Anio tufo, the entablature probably travertine. Depending on the rear design, there were either nine or eleven lateral columns. The *cella* measured 14.5 by 14.5 m. It is possible that there were shops in the podium in this phase: Nielsen 1993, 243; Filippi 2013, 163.
- 89 Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.133. Nielsen 1992, 116–17. For related concrete walls: Mogetta 2013, 158–61.
- 90 Cic. *Leg.* 3.38; Taylor 1966, 39.
- 91 Vit. 3.3.2–3.
- 92 *LTUR* 3.206–8, s.v. *Magna Mater, aedes* (P. Pensabene). Coarelli 2012, 258–67, sees this as the temple's original phase.
- 93 Pensabene 1991, 14.
- 94 Pensabene and D'Alessio 2006, 40–2.
- 95 Pensabene and D'Alessio 2006, 40–2.
- 96 Gullini 1973; Pollitt 1986, 230–42; Coarelli 1987; Pensabene and D'Alessio 2006, 42–7; Winter 2006, 207–18. This phase of the sanctuary also provides the earliest known use of *opus reticulatum* in Rome.
- 97 Gell. 2.24.2; *CIL* 1.1 234; Cic. *De Senec.* 13.45; Liv. 37.9.9, 18.9–10; Diod. Sic. 36.13; Val. Max. 7.7.6; Dion. Hal. 2.19.4–5. Graillot 1912; Galinsky 1969, 187; Morgan 1973b, 235–6; Beard, North and Price 1998; Roller 1999, 283; Pensabene and D'Alessio 2006, 46–7.
- 98 Dion. Hal. 2.19.3–5 (after 23); Cic. *Har. Resp.* 21–22; Ov. *Fast.* 4; Varr.; also Polyb. 21.37.4–6; Roller 1999.
- 99 Serv. *Georg.* 2.394; Roller 1999, 283.
- 100 Bremmer 2005, 33–41; Latham 2007, 187–8. Obs. 44a.
- 101 Diod. Sic. 36.13.1, adapted from Oldfather.
- 102 Diod. Sic. 36.13.1, trans. Oldfather; Plut. *Mar.* 17.5–6; Roller 1999, 290–1.
- 103 Takacs 1996, 374, believes the cult was only orgiastic in Pessinus; Nauta 2005, 110, argues that the orgiastic aspects were not on public display in the festival processions in Rome.
- 104 Cumont 1911, 56–7; Latham 2007, 193.
- 105 Lucr. 2.601–643; Dion. Hal. 2.19.2–5; also Polyb. 21.37.4–6; Latham 2007 225–8, 230–1. They may have worn breastplates emblazoned with the goddess's image. Ov. *Fast.* 4. By the first century chariot races had been added to the *ludi scaenici* held in the Circus Maximus, also in sight of the Magna Mater, preceded by a procession in which the statues of the gods were carried. Ov. *Fast.* 4.389–92, *Am.* 3.2.43–57; Roller 1999, 289.
- 106 MacMullen 1981, ch.1; Smith 1982, 63; Davis 1986, 1–22; Scott 1990, 66; Rappaport 1999, 131; Latham 2007, 15–18, 79.
- 107 Otto 1958, 12–40; Roller 1997; Latham 2007, 186, 228–32.
- 108 Latham 2007, 230–31.
- 109 On disruptions in 165: Ter. *Hecyra*, prolog; Roller 1999, 289. Gruen 1992, 205–22, argues for the senate's desire to control entertainment in the 150s.
- 110 *LTUR* 5.119 s.v. *Venus Verticordia, aedes* (F. Coarelli); Marcatilli 2009, 108–23.
- 111 Plut. *C. Gracch.* 17.8–9; *LTUR* 1.316–20, s.v. *Concordia, aedes* (A. M. Ferroni).
- 112 Coarelli 1981; *LTUR* 3.162–3, s.v. *Iuturna, Templum* (F. Coarelli).
- 113 Richardson 1978 believes it was part of a monumental complex, the *Mariana monumenta*, perhaps including one of Marius' trophies and his house, built near the Forum in 98. The temple stood close to the Forum, since the senate assembled there to recall Cicero from exile (Cic. *Sest.* 116, *Planc.* 78, *Div.* 1.59). Coarelli 1983, 101–3, places it higher on the Sacra Via; Richter 1901 near the Auguraculum on the Capitoline. Bruno 2013, 229, puts it on the Palatine's north slope.
- 114 Val. Max. 2.5.6, 4.4.8.
- 115 On using the *mos maiorum* in this way: Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 225–9.
- 116 Huzar 1978, 13–14; Pitassi 2009, 145.
- 117 Plut. *C. Gracch.* 15.1, *Mar.* 12.4; Roller 2010, 130–1; also Morgan 1973b, 215, 225–8.
- 118 Flor. *Epit.* 1.37.5, trans. Forster.
- 119 Cic. *De Or.* 2.267, *Verr.* 1.19, *Planc.* 17; Sen. *Dial.* 2.1.3; *HA Gall.* 19.4; Ps. Asc. *Verr.* p. 133; Schol. *Pers.* 4.49; Porph. *Hor. epist.* 1.19.8; Schol. *Cic.* 211, 336, 350; Kleiner 1985, 16–19; De Maria 1988, 50, 264–6; *LTUR* 2. 264–6, s.v. *Fornix Fabianus* (L. Chioffi); Chioffi 1996, 33–4. Kontokosta's proposal (2013, 9) that the arch belongs to Fabius Maximus' censorship of 108 is unlikely given patterns of censorial building.
- 120 Flor. *Epit.* 1.37.6, trans. Forster.
- 121 Between 219 and 167 *carpenta* feature in all Livy's accounts of Gallic triumphs, but never in triumphs over other adversaries. In Manlius Vulso's parade in 187, Liv. 39.7.2 even specifies that the spoils captured from the Gauls in Asia Minor, transported separately from spoils from other eastern kingdoms, were borne on *carpenta*; also 33.23–4; Östenberg 2009, 32–6; Carson 1978, no. 104, 36; Albrethsen 1987, 104, fig. 34, no. 10.
- 122 Syphax: Liv. 30.45.4–5 (but also 45.39.7). Perseus: Plut. *Aem.* 34.2; *Mor.* 198b; Cic. *Tusc.* 5.118; Liv. 45.39.9. Gentius: Liv. 45.43.6; Vell. Pat. 1.9.5–6. Jugurtha: Plut. *Mar.* 12; Liv. *Per.*

67. Teutobades: Flor. *Epit.* 1.38 (3.3.10); Eutr. 5.1; Oros. 5.16; Beard 2007, 116–21, 135. Plut. *Mar.* 12.2–5.
- 123 Beard 2007, 121.
- 124 Zevi 1994, 1075; Konrad 2006, 173.
- 125 Flor. 2.3.4.
- 126 Vell. Pat. 2.8.3, trans. Shipley; Degrassi 1947, 561.
- 127 E.g. Zevi 1994; Coarelli 1997, 298–9. He did not hold a censorship to which it might otherwise be attributed.
- 128 Sources in Coarelli 1997, 297–300.
- 129 *CIL* 6.10223 = *ILS* 6071; *CIL* 6.10224 = *ILS* 6069; *CIL* 6.10225 = 6070; *Chron. Ann.* 354 p. 187 (Mommsen); Rickman 1983, 103.
- 130 Cic. *Tusc.* 3.48.
- 131 Van Berchem 1939; Nicolet 1976; Virlouvét 1987; Coarelli 1997, 303–8.
- 132 Cic. *Phil.* 2.63, 2.84; also Suet. *Iul.* 41.3. Nicolet 1976, 48–50.
- 133 Zevi 1994 (but not 1993); Virlouvét 1995, 157–60; Coarelli 1997, 300–2; *LTUR* 4.137–8, s.v. *Porticus Minucia Vetus* (F. Coarelli).
- 134 Liv. 4.13–16; Dion. Hal. 12.1–4; Plin. *NH* 18.15, 34.21. Zevi 1994, 1074–5; Coarelli 1997, 300–1; *LTUR* 1.305–7, s.v. *Columna Minucia* (M. Torelli); Torelli 2007, 120. Pliny mentions a *columna Minucia* for Minucius Augurinus Esquilinus outside Porta Trigemina; Livy's report (4.13.7, 16.3) of a gilded bronze bull dedicated to him at the gentilician shrine of the Minucii at Porta Minucia fits better in the religious context of the fifth century.
- 135 Cincius Alimentus F4 in Cornell 2013; Momigliano 1936; Crawford 1974, 273 f., nn. 242–3; Garnsey 1988, 170–1; Zevi 1994, 1074–5; Cornell 1995, 268; Wiseman 1996, 64; Forsythe 2005, 238–41; Elkins 2015, 21–2.
- 136 Piso: Cornell 2013, 2.319, F26.
- 137 Zevi 1994, 1075.
- 138 *Chron.* 354 148M; Nordh 1949, 86; Zevi 1993, 676–80 on the extent of fire damage.
- 139 *Fast. Praen.* (Degrassi 1963, 2.543); HA, *Comm.* 16.5.
- 140 Cozza 1968.
- 141 Nicolet 1976; Coarelli 1981; 1997, 296–345; *LTUR* 4.137–8, s.v. *Porticus Minucia Vetus* (F. Coarelli); Carre and Virlouvét 1985; Virlouvét 1995. Also Ziolkowski 1986; Manacorda 1987; D'Alessio 2013, 503.
- 142 Zevi 1993; 2004. Moreover, excavation (albeit limited) at Temple D has yielded no sign of a platform like those installed at Temples A and C during the second century, which suggests that it post-dates that renovation phase and is therefore too late to be the Temple of the Lares Permarini: Zevi 1995, 137–9. Zevi also notes that until the platform and altar phase, construction was in peperino or tufo in the *area sacra*, not in concrete. Also Castagnoli 1946. Coarelli notes that it must date before 100. In theory there could be an earlier phase as well. Rickman 1983, 106, stresses that the space seems ill suited to safeguarding and distributing grain. Claridge 2010, 245, notes that the east façade faces out from, not into, the piazza; also Kondratieff 2002.
- 143 Cozza 1968; Zevi 1993; 1994; 1995; 2004, 457; also Castagnoli 1947; Rickman 1983; Richardson 1992a; Patterson 2010, 220. Contra: Coarelli 1997, 306–7. Also *LTUR* 4.132–7 s.v. *Porticus Minucia Frumentaria* (D. Manacorda).
- 144 Zevi 1993, 676. Manacorda and Zanini 1989, 25–6; Coarelli 1997, 330; *LTUR* 4.137–8, s.v. *Porticus Minucia Vetus* (F. Coarelli) suggest that the modesty of the pavement would fit better with small-scale buildings such as houses or *tabernae*.
- 145 Cozza 1968, 19–20.
- 146 De Caprariis 1991–92; Coarelli 1997, 345; Zevi 2004, 460.
- 147 Caecilius Metellus Numidicus returned from Numidia so disgruntled by Marius' machinations to undermine him that, by Plutarch's account, he refused to hand over his army in person: Plut. *Mar.* 7.4, 8–10.
- 148 Cic. *Sest.* 17.39; *Har. Resp.* 20.43; Diod. Sic. 36.12. Coarelli 1997, 301, 342–5, sets the portico in Saturninus' quaestorship, which he dates before 104.
- 149 Liv. 30.21.12; *RRC* 429/2a; Fuchs 1969, 22, 81–91; *LTUR* 5.203–5, s.v. *Villa Publica* (S. Agache). *LTUR* 4.228–9, s.v. *Saepta Iulia* (E. Gatti). Torelli 2007, 113–5.
- 150 Varr. *RR* 3.2 5, trans. Goetz. Morgan 1973a, 218–22, 230; Coarelli 1997, 173, 327. For other possibilities: Elkins 2015, 31–2, with bibliography.
- 151 Morgan 1973a, 215, 225–8; *LTUR* 5.202–5, s.v. *Villa Publica* (S. Agache).
- 152 App. *BC* 28–33; Van Ooteghem 1967, 171–5; Morgan 1973a, 235–6; Konrad 2006, 176.
- 153 Auct. *Ad Her.* 1.21; Sall. *Hist.* 1.62 Maur.; Münzer 1999, 267–8; Lintott 1999, 69; *RRC* 1.330–1.
- 154 He became embroiled in the case against Servilius Caepio as a tribune in 103: Cic. *De Or.* 2.107–9, 124, 188, 197–203, *Part. Or.* 104–5, *Off.* 2.49; Val. Max. 8.5.2; Broughton 1951–86 1.563–4.
- 155 Plut. *C. Gracch.* 14.5; Cic. *De Or.* 2.66.
- 156 Huzar 1978, 13–14; Pitassi 2009, 145. He also received an honorary statue.
- 157 Plin. *NH* 34.77. Pape 1975, 202, attributes these to Lutatius Catulus in 78 and considers them spoils; he did not triumph.
- 158 Plin. *NH* 34.54, 34.60; Pape 1975, 64, 161–2.
- 159 List of prosecutions in Alexander 1990.
- 160 Asc. *Cornel.* 69 Kiessel. = 61.11ff. Stangl; Münzer 1999, 262–4.
- 161 Strab. 4.1.13; Timagenes *FHG* 323 frag. 9 (= *FHG* no. 87 frag. 33); Just. *Epit.* 32.3.9–11; Alexander 1990, 33–4; Bradford Churchill 1999, 105–6; Münzer 1999, 262–6.
- 162 Liv. *Per.* 67; Münzer 1999, 264–5.
- 163 Val. Max. 6.9.13, trans. Ridley, 4.7.3; Poseidonius *FHG* 3.261 frag. 27 (= *FHG* no. 87 frag. 33); Timagenes *FHG* 323 frag. 9 (= *FHG* 88 frag. 11); Cic. *Pro Balbo* 28; Münzer 1999, 266. For another tradition: Broughton 1951–86, 1.565–6, nn. 7–8; Oros. 5.15.25; D.C. 27 frag. 90; Gell. 3.9.7.
- 164 Diod. 36.15.1 ff.; Cic. *Sest.* 101; Münzer 1999, 266.
- 165 Plut. *Mar.* 27.4, trans. Perrin.
- 166 Cic. *Dom.* 102, 114, *Verr.* 2.4.126; Val. Max. 6.3.1; Pape 1975, 179–80. Coarelli 1997, 277, sees Cicero's description of the

- aedes Catuli* as a reference to the Temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei.
- 167 Coarelli 2012, 318.
- 168 E.g. Liv. 10.7.9–11, 33.23.6, 38.43.9–10; Plin. *NH* 35.7; Polyb. 9.10.
- 169 Cic. *Dom.* 114, adapted from Yonge's translation; also 38, 102; Val. Max. 6.3.1 grouped Fulvius Flaccus with Saturninus; *LTUR* 2.105 s.v. *Domus: M. Fulvius Flaccus* (E. Papi). On the location, Tamm 1963, 32–6; N. Degrassi 1987; Carandini 1988, 359–87; *LTUR* 4.119 s.v. *Porticus (monumentum) Catuli* (E. Papi). It may have been associated with the *vicus Huiusce Diei*: *CIL* 6.975 = *ILS* 6073; Cerutti 1997, 422.
- 170 Val. Max. 6.9.14; Prop. 3.11.46; Vell. Pat. 2.43.4; Plut. *Caes.* 6. 1–5; Suet. *Iul.* 11; *LTUR* 5.91, s.v. *Tropaea Marii* (Ch. Reusser); MacKay 2000, 162–5.
- 171 Plut. *Sull.* 5.6; Keaveney 2005, 35–8. Thein 2002, 18, exonerates Marius.
- 172 Plut. *Sull.* 6.1–2, trans. Perrin; also *Mar.* 32; Keaveney 2005, 40–1.
- 173 Plut. *Caes.* 6. 1–5; Suet. *Iul.* 11; Luc. 1.580–83; Plin. *NH* 7.187; Gran. Lic. 36.27; Cic. *Leg.* 2.56–57; MacKay 2000, 162–7.
- 174 Hölscher 1988, 385; MacKay 2000, 163–4; Keaveney 2005, 38–40; also Kuttner 2013, 267–72 on advantages for Bocchus.
- 175 Robinson 1980; Hodge 1992, 168, 170; Evans 1994; *LTUR* 1.70, s.v. *Aqua Tepula* (D. Cattalini); Dodge 2000, 174–5; de Kleijn 2001, 18–19.
- 176 For its course after Agrippa: Evans 1994, 95–8.
- 177 Boren 1957–58, 896; Brunt 1971b, 79; Bodei Giglioni 1974, 87–8; Scheidel 2001a, 63; Patterson 2006; de Ligt 2006. For La Rocca 1990 and Evans 1994, the aqueduct itself indicates a steady growth in population.
- 178 Evans 1994; De Kleijn 2001, 18. Servilius Caepio may have built a fountain at the start of the *vicus Iugarius* by the Basilica Sempronia, mentioned by Festus (370), in which case it was named for the censor: Filippi 2013, 164.
- 179 Fabretti 1680, 166; Cozza and Tucci 2006, 183–6. The lower window was later transformed into a door. The riverside openings are not preserved, but Gatti's partial documentation shows that they were originally the width of the inner rooms (1934, 137).
- 180 Gatti 1934; Von Gerkan 1958; Gatti, 135–44; 1979; also Etienne 1987, 236–7. A Cornelian granary: Tuck 2000.
- 181 Cozza and Tucci 2006, and Tucci 2012, refuting Arata and Felice 2011. Platner and Ashby 1929 questioned the identification as the Porticus Aemilia; Von Gerkan 1958, 189–90, proposed identification as *navalia*. It is conceivable that the building is shown on *denarii* of M. Lollius Palicanus, minted in 45: Crawford 1974, no. 473/1; Elkins 2015, 33–4.
- 182 Comparanda in Cozza and Tucci 2006.
- 183 Vitruv. 5.12.7, trans. Rowland and Howe.
- 184 Cozza and Tucci 2006, 193–4. At the Piraeus, by contrast, the sea level varies by only 10–28 cm.
- 185 Rankov 2013, 39–41.
- 186 Goldsworthy 2003, 34, 38, 94; also Coarelli 1997, 345–58; Rankov 2013, 31–2.
- 187 Liv. 36.42.1 (191), 42.27.1 (172, referring to the ships' storing in Roman shipyards).
- 188 For instance, Liv. 8.14.12. For a possible ship-shed beneath the Theater of Pompey, Coarelli 1997, 528, 543.
- 189 Ennius in Servius, *Ad Aen.* 11.326; D'Alessio 2013, 499.
- 190 Lugli 1952–53, 58–61; Le Gall 1953, 103–11; Coarelli 1968a; *LTUR* 3.339–40, s.v. *Navalia* (F. Coarelli); 1997, 345–61; Cozza and Tucci 2006, 194; Pitassi 2009, 123–30.
- 191 Mogetta 2013. Cozza and Tucci 2006 for a mid-to late second century date; Blake 1947, 249, dated it to the second or early first centuries.
- 192 Anselmino 2006, 234–5, suggests a close chronology and possibly the same architect.
- 193 Cic. *De Or.* 1.62. Coarelli 1997, 356–8; Cozza and Tucci 2006, 195, hypothetically attribute the Navalía to Hermodorus, either around 140 after the Temple of Jupiter Stator and before the Temple of Mars, or a little earlier, before either temple. On fifth- to fourth-century *neosoi* of Kition-Bamboula, near Larnaca: Callot 1995; Cozza and Tucci 2006, 195–7; also Plin. *NH* 7.125 on Philo.
- 194 Plut. *Mar.* 44.
- 195 Plut. *C. Gracch.* 5.3, trans. Perrin.
- 196 Patterson 2006, 355; also Russell 2016, 71–6.
- 197 Cic. *De Leg.* 3.38; also Plut. *Mar.* 4.2.
- 198 Cohen 1971; Gamboni 1997; also Réau 1959.
- 199 Plut. *C. Gracch.* 12.3–4, trans. Perrin.
- 200 Auct. *Ad Her.* 1.21; Sall. *Hist.* 1.62 Maur.; Münzer 1999, 267; Lintott 1999, 68.
- 201 App. *BC* 1.32.
- 202 Plut. *C. Gracch.* 6.3.
- 203 Bodei Giglioni 1974, 98.
- 204 Plut. *C. Gracch.* 6.3–7; App. *BC* 1.23, trans. Oldfather; Laurence 1999, 40–1.
- 205 App. *BC* 1.23; Bodei Giglioni 1974, 98–101. The only possible link to Plutarch's and Appian's accounts is a Forum Sempronia on the via Flaminia.
- 206 Bodei Giglioni 1974, 98–101.
- 207 Plut. *C. Gracch.* 6.3; Fest. 370 L; *LTUR* 3.47 s.v. *Horrea Sempronia* (D. Palombi). *CIL* 14.4190 (first century CE) mentions a *horrea Sempronia* in the Sanctuary of Diana at Nemi. Scheid 1980 argues that the appellation meant any warehouses built as a result of Gracchan legislation.
- 208 Rickman 1971, 4–5; Rodríguez Almeida 2002, 43–9.
- 209 Rickman 1971, 4–5; Rodríguez Almeida 1984, 43; Zevi 2004, 451–2.
- 210 Romanelli; Coarelli 1974, 307.
- 211 Viriout 1987; Zevi 1993.
- 212 Hor. *Carm.* 4.12.18; *CIL* 3.30855 = *ILS* 1621; *LTUR* 3.40–2 s.v. *Horrea Galbana* (F. Coarelli). Its date hinges on a tomb set into the building's façade, now assembled in the Antiquario Comunale on the Caelian. Constructed out of Monteverde tufo, it bears a travertine inscription commemorating *Ser. Sulpicius Galba f. Galba*, and ten *fascēs* represented in relief, flanking the inscription, signify consular status. As depicted on *Forma Urbis* fragment 24c, the warehouse and

- the tomb were oriented differently: the tomb, apparently earlier, faced the road, while the *horrea* was sited at an angle to exploit all available land. The tomb was first linked to Ser. Sulpicius Galba, consul of 144, a renowned orator who, charged in 149 with massacring crowds of Lusitanians during a praetorship in Hispania Ulterior and amassing profit by selling captives as slaves, managed nevertheless to defend his case against Cato: Ferrea 1998, who links the tomb to the consul of 144 because of Coarelli's association of the *horrea* with the consul of 108, which is in turn based on the notion that tomb and *horrea* were contemporaneous. Comparanda for the type of *aedicula* tomb reconstructed by Ferrea belong to the first half of the first century, supporting a date shortly after 108. Cic. *Rep.* 3.9; also Castagnoli 1980, 35; Bauman 1996, 22. More likely, it commemorated his son, Ser. Sulpicius Galba, governor of Hispania Ulterior in 111–109 and consul in 108: Marcello Mogetta, personal communication. Also Gatti 1934; Lugli 1931–38, 608, who estimated the date from 50 BCE to 50 CE; Rickman 1971, 103–4, who prefers the beginning of the range; Coarelli 1997, 342–4: ca. 100 BCE. For discussion of the phases of facings, Mogetta 2013. For other views: Rickman 1971, 165–8; Etienne 1987.
- 213 Gatti 1934; Rickman 1971, 97–100, 165–8; Rodríguez Almeida 1984, 62–4; Etienne 1987, 238–91; *LTUR* 3.40–2, s.v. *Horrea Galbana* (F. Coarelli).
- 214 Rickman 1971, 5, 97–104; Etienne 1987; Rodríguez Almeida 1977; 1984, 235–49; *MAR* 141, s.v. *Horrea: Sacra Via* (E. A. Dumser). It covered some 20,000 square meters.
- 215 Lugli 1931–38, 3.608; Rickman 1971 97–104; Virlovet 2006. Lines in the east court correspond to two long walls that emerged during excavations and may have formed a shed or back-to-back sheds separated by a passage, perhaps an adaptation to gain space. Rodríguez Almeida 1984 sees the building as *ergastula* or living quarters for slaves working on the estate (the scarcity of exterior doors preventing escape). Two parallel lines flanked by broken lines in the center of the east court on the marble plan would represent a covered *lavacrum* or communal basin.
- 216 Rickman 1971; Coarelli 1997, 344.
- 217 Cato, *Agr. Praef.*; Rosenstein 2006, 374.
- 218 Livy glossed his account of the *plebiscitum Claudianum* of 218 forbidding senators and their sons to own ocean-going ships with the words, “every form of profit seeking was regarded as unseemly for senators” (21.63.3); Cicero declared trade *sordida* unless undertaken on a grand scale.
- 219 Cic. *Off.* 1.151; D’Arms 1980, 77. For divergent views: Wiseman 1971, 77, 82; Finley 1973, 57–63; Garnsey 1976, 127; also Shatzman 1972.
- 220 Rickman 1971, 5; Palombi 1990; Schingo 1996, 154; *LTUR* 2.92 s.v. *Domus Domitiana* (E. Papi); *LTUR* 3.40 s.v. *Horrea circa domum Auream* (E. Papi); *MAR* 141, s.v. *Horrea: Sacra Via* (E. A. Dumser). Fraioli 2013a, 291, dates them to the mid- to late second century.
- 221 Varr. *DLL* 5.156. Cic. *Sest.* 140.
- 222 *CIL* 6.2338, 2339, both early imperial in date, mention the basilica in reference to *servos publicus ex basilica Opimia*. Before clarification of the plan of the Temple of Concordia, Gasparri 1979, 61, placed it in the area of the later enlarged temple; Lugli 1946 and Coarelli 1985 sited it on the north-east between the temple and the Carcer. Hafner 1984 argues that the basilica was never a freestanding building; its functions took place in the temple cella, the pronaos being consecrated to Concordia. *LTUR* 1.183 s.v. *Basilica Opimia* (A. M. Ferroni).
- 223 Plut. *C. Gracch.* 4–12; App. *BC* 1.21–6; Liv. *Per.* 60; Cic. *Rab. Post.* 12; Boren 1957–58, 896; Gruen 1968; Brunt 1971a, 79; Bodei Giglioni 1974, 87–8; Scullard 1982, 34–6; Sherwin-White 1982; Lintott 1992; Crawford 1996, 35–122; Bauman 1996, 22–3; Konrad 2006, 170–3; Miles 2008, 119–20.
- 224 Diod. 35.25; Appian *BC* 1.22; Sherwin-White 1982, 21; Bauman 1996, 23.
- 225 Cic. *Sest.* 140; *De Orat.* 2.106, 132, 165, 169–70; *Part.* 106; *Brut.* 128; Liv. *Per.* 61; Alexander 1990, 14–15, no. 27.
- 226 *CIL* 6.31602; Rodríguez Almeida 1984, 28.
- 227 *MAR* 208–10, s.v. *Portunus, Aedes* (L. Haselberger); Coarelli 1988a, 104–5 (city wall); contra Ruggiero 1991–92, 282.
- 228 Ruggiero 1991–92; *MAR* 208–10, s.v. *Portunus, Aedes* (L. Haselberger). The wall already existed when the rear wall of the precinct was constructed in the early first century.
- 229 Plut. *Sull.* 5.1; Plin. *NH* 8.53; Sen. *Dial.* 10.13.6; Thein 2002, 17; Keaveney 2005, 28–30.
- 230 Plin. *NH* 36.5–8 mentions them immediately after describing the columns Aemilius Scaurus moved from his theater to his Palatine house in 58. Pape 1975, 52, 201; Klar 2006, 172, 182 n. 41.
- 231 Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.3; Plin. *NH* 35.23; Pape 1975, 49–51, 198.
- 232 Morstein-Marx 2004.
- 233 On this process writ large: Gamboni 1997, 27.

5 CIVIL WAR AND AFTERMATH: ca. 89–70

- 1 Plut. *Sull.* 24.4; Val. Max. 9.2.3. Some estimates place the number as high as 150,000.
- 2 App. *Mith.* 1–29; Keaveney 2005, 64–7; Konrad 2006, 178–9.
- 3 Vell. Pat. 2.20.2; App. *BC* 49; Plut. *Sull.* 7–8; *Mar.* 34–5.4; App. *BC* 55–6; Konrad 2006, 179.
- 4 Plut. *Sull.* 8.8–10; *Mar.* 35–40; App. *BC* 57–60; Keaveney 2005, 47–56; Konrad 2006, 179–80.
- 5 Diod. Sic. 38/39.1–4; App. *BC* 64–75; Gran. Lic. 35.1–50; Plut. *Mar.* 43–5; *Sull.* 22; Seager 1994, 171–9; Keaveney 2005, 68–71; Konrad 2006, 180–1.
- 6 Plut. *Sull.* 11–25; App. *Mith.* 30–63; Konrad 2006, 181.
- 7 Gruen 1974, 19–20, 43–6; Seager 2002, 26–9; Thein 2002, 162; Konrad 2006, 182.
- 8 App. *BC* 1.98–9; Plut. *Sull.* 33.1.
- 9 Thein 2002, 76, 87. Also Cic. *Rep.* 2.56; Tac. *Ann.* 1.1.
- 10 App. *BC* 1.95; Dio 47.3.1; Plut. *Sull.* 31.1–4; Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 128; Oros. 5.21.3; Hinard 1985b; Flower 2006, 90–3. For Thein 2002, 64–5, 115, 124, 130–5, they were also a sacred purging of the city.

- 11 App. BC 1.104; Keaveney 2005, 135–6, 142.
- 12 App. BC 1.59; Sall. Cat. 37.6; Thein 2002, 172–4; Keaveney 2005, 145–8, with bibliography.
- 13 Tac. Ann. 11.22; Gruen 1974, 191; Millar 1998, 19.
- 14 Ascon. 78; App. BC 1.100; Gruen 1974, 23–4; Hantos 1988, 73, 79–89; Thein 2002, 178, 187; Keaveney 2005, 140–4. He also applied a *biennium* to curule aedileships and established a minimum age of thirty for quaestorships.
- 15 Thein 2002, 174; Keaveney 2005, 146–8, with bibliography.
- 16 Liv. Per. 89; De vir. ill. 75; Tac. Ann. 6.12.3; Lact. Inst. 1.6.11. Thein 2002, 166, 174; Keaveney 2005, 148. He increased the priesthoods from 31 to 52. In 104, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus (cos. 96) had championed a *lex Domitia* that deprived the four major colleges – *pontifices*, *augures*, *Xviri* and *IIIviri* – of complete control of their membership, allowing them to nominate candidates for priesthoods, but giving the right to select from the nominations to seventeen voting tribes (a system already in use for electing a *pontifex maximus*). Rawson 1974; North 1990; Beard, North, and Price 1998, 136.
- 17 Dig. 11.5.3; Gell. 2.24.11; Plut. Sull. 35.3–4, Comp. Lys.-Sulla 3; Macrobian Sat. 3.7.11; Cic. Att. 12.35–6; Keaveney 2005, 149.
- 18 Plut. Sull. 34.4–5; App. BC 1.105; Gruen 1974, 12; Thein 2002, 354–8. For Keaveney 2005, 137–9, 164–6, he began to stand for consul of 80 with co-consul Caecilius Metellus Pius, was *consul designatus* at elections in July/August, but continued to be dictator, possibly until the end of 81 or January 1, 80.
- 19 Val. Max. 9.3.8; Plut. Sull. 26.3; App. BC 1.104; De vir. ill. 75; Thein 2002, 118; Keaveney 2005, 167–8; Flower 2006, 96–7; Riggsby 2007. On his death: Cic. Verr. 2.4.69; Liv. Per. 98; Val. Max. 6.9.5; Mart. 5.10.6; Plut. Publ. 15.1; Tac. Hist. 3.72.3; Suet. Iul. 15.1, Aug. 94.8; Varr. Carm. frag. in Gell. 2.10; Plin. NH 7.138, 19.1.23; Cassiod. Chron. 133.501 M; Phleg. Olymp. frag. 12.
- 20 App. BC 1.105–6; Plut. Pomp. 15.3, Sull. 38.1; Gran. Lic. 36.25–6; Cic. Leg. 2.57; Plin. NH 7.187; Thein 2002, 315–17; Keaveney 2005, 174–5. Also Kantorowicz 1957; Davies 2000.
- 21 Cic. Leg. 2.57; Plin. NH 7.187; App. BC 1.106; Lucan 2.222; Liv. Per. 90; Plut. Sull. 38; Arce 1988, 17–23; LTUR 4.286, s.v. *Sepulcrum: L. Cornelius Sulla* (E. La Rocca).
- 22 Gran. Lic. 36.27; Liv. 2.7.4, 2.16.7.
- 23 Sall. Hist. 1.54–83; Plut. Pomp. 16; App. BC 105–7; Gran. Lic. 36.33–48; Broughton 1951–86, 2.85–92; Gruen 1974, 12–17; Konrad 2006, 184.
- 24 Plut. Sert. 1–22; App. BC 108–12; Broughton 1951–86, 2.74–100; Gruen 1974, 17–20; Konrad 2006, 184–5. For a different chronology: Brennan 2000, 2.503–15.
- 25 Plut. Sert. 23–4; Luc. 5–23; App. Mith. 64–83; FGrH 434 F 1.27–37; Broughton 1951–86, 2.100–31; Gruen 1974, 10–12, 19–21; Konrad 2006, 185.
- 26 Sall. Hist. 3; Vell. Pat. 2.31.3; Diod. Sic. 40.2–3; Plut. Ant. 1.
- 27 Plut. Crass. 8–11; App. BC 116–20; Broughton 1951–86, 2.109–26; Gruen 1974, 20–1; Konrad 2006, 185.
- 28 Gruen 1974, 6–12; Millar 1998, 19.
- 29 Alexander 1990; Miles 2008, 119–20.
- 30 Rickman 1980.
- 31 Sall. Hist. 3.48.8, 10; Gruen 1974, 7, 23–8; Keaveney 2005, 171–2.
- 32 Plut. Pomp. 22; Crass. 12; Mor. 204A, 815E–F; Liv. Per. 97; Seager 2002, 31–9; also McDonnell 1999, 545–6.
- 33 Plut. Pomp. 21.4–5, 22.3; Broughton 1951–86, 2.126; Gruen 1974, 24–6, 28–35; Thein 2002, 174–5; Millar 1998, 70; Keaveney 2005, 171; Konrad 2006, 186.
- 34 Sall. Hist. 3.47; Cic. Verr. 2.5.151–2; Gruen 1974, 36–7; Konrad 2006, 186.
- 35 LTUR 3.21–2, s.v. *Hercules Sullanus* (D. Palombi); Marroni 2010, 98–9. Seeing it as a temple, Thein 2002, 137, notes that it would have emphasized victory in civil combat.
- 36 Bellona: CIL 6.490 and 3674 = 30851; Mart. 12.57.9–11; Palmer 1975; LTUR 1.193–4, s.v. *Bellona Pulvinensis, aedes* (A. Viscogliosi); LTUR 5.231, s.v. *Bellona Pulvinensis, aedes* (A. Viscogliosi). Venus Felix: CIL 6.781, 782, 8710, 32451, 32468; LTUR 5.116, s.v. *Venus Felix, aedes* (L. Chioffi).
- 37 Ov. Fast. 6.209–12. Ziolkowski 1992, 50–6; LTUR 3.13–14, s.v. *Hercules Custos, aedes* (A. Viscogliosi); Keaveney 2005, 156–7. Contra: Coarelli 1997, 498–503.
- 38 Cic. Catil. 3.9; Sall. Cat. 47.2; Plin. NH 33.16; Plut. Publ. 15.1–2; Tac. Hist. 3.72.3; Plut. Mor. 379D; Dion. Hal. 4.62.5–6 (Sibylline Books); LTUR 3.148–53, s.v. *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, aedes* (“*fasi tardo-republicane e di età imperiale*”) (S. De Angeli); Keaveney 2005, 108–14. Coarelli 2010 believes that Sulla built two more temples, to the Genius Populi Romani and Fausta Felicitas: below. A second temple to Luna, with the epithet Noctilucae, may belong to this period: Varr. DLL 5.68; Macr. Sat. 3.8.3; Hor. Carm. 4.6.38. Bruno 2013a, 229, describes the composition of a podium on the Palatine that may belong to the temple as peperino blocks and concrete with travertine and tufo.
- 39 Coarelli 1988a, 77–84; Ziolkowski 1992, 46–50; LTUR 3.20–1, s.v. *Hercules Pompeianus, aedes* (F. Coarelli); LTUR 3.15–17, s.v. *Hercules Invictus, ara Maxima* (F. Coarelli).
- 40 E.g. Plut. Sull. 6.6–7; also 5.5–6; Vell. Pat. 2.24.3; Thein 2002, 28; Keaveney 2005, 33, 39.
- 41 He kept a *haruspex*, Postumius, with him on campaign. Plut. Sull. 9.3–4, 12.5; Thein 2002, 21, 25; Keaveney 2005, 28–30, 68–9, 135.
- 42 Ma-Bellona: Plut. Sull. 9; LTUR 1.193–4, s.v. *Bellona Pulviensis, aedes* (A. Viscogliosi); contra: Orlin 2010, 199. Apollo: Frontin. Strat. 1.11.11. Venus: App. BC 1.97; Plut. Sull. 34.2.
- 43 RRC 2.386–7, no. 367; Fears 1981, 795–6; Thein 2002, 22.
- 44 Mart. 9.43.1–10; Stat. Silv. 4.6.32–109.
- 45 Plut. Sull. 17.1–2, 35.1; Cic. Pro Rosc. 130–2; Thein 2002, 284; Flower 2008, 83.
- 46 Plut. Sull. 34.1–2; Thein 2002, 23–6; Keaveney 2005, 135. The most significant precedent for fortunate leadership was Scipio Africanus; Polyb. 10.2.5, 10.9.2. Orlin 2010, 201 notes that the counterpart of *epaphroditos* in Rome was Felix.
- 47 LTUR 3.13–14, s.v. *Hercules Custos, aedes* (A. Viscogliosi); Keaveney 2005, 156–7.

- 48 Obs. 57R; *Chron.*; Plut. *Sull.* 27.10.12, trans. Perrin (also Cornell 2013, 2.489, F24); Dion. Hal. 4.62; also App. *BC* 1.83; Flower 2008, 80.
- 49 App. *BC* 1.83, trans. Oldfather.
- 50 Plut. *Sull.* 7.2–5, trans. Perrin; Keaveney 2005, 160.
- 51 App. *BC* 1.74; Val. Max. 9.12.5; Vell. Pat. 2.22.2; Flor. 2.9; Flower 2008, 80–1. On the notion of a conflagration marking the end of a cycle of time: Davies 2000, 75–101.
- 52 Plin. *NH* 7.95; Plut. *Pomp.* 13.4–14.3; Seager 2002, 28–9. It is possible the triumph was as late as 80 or 79.
- 53 Plut. *Pomp.* 14, trans. Perrin; also Gran. Lic. 36; Plin. *NH* 8.2.4.
- 54 Weinstock 1971, 37.
- 55 Hölscher 2008, 96; Seager 2002, 29–30.
- 56 On the temple as a restoration: Coarelli 1988a, 77–84; Ziolkowski 1992, 46–50; *LTUR* 3.20–1, s.v. *Hercules Pompeianus, aedes* (F. Coarelli).
- 57 Vit. 4.8.4.
- 58 *Ant. mai.*, Allif, Amit.; Degrassi 1963, 2.494, 496; Plut. *Pomp.* 2.4; Wiseman 1974a, 5; *LTUR* 1.245–6, s.v. *Castor et Pollux in Circo (fasti); aedes Castoris in Circo Flaminio (Vit.)* (F. Coarelli); Coarelli 1997, 504–15. Its location on the Via Triumphalis suggests the date of 71.
- 59 Gell. 2.10.2, trans. Rolfe; Tac. *Hist.* 3.72.3; Plin. *NH* 7.138; Plut. *Publ.* 15.1.
- 60 *CIL* 6.1314, 31597. Cic. *Catil.* 3.9; Sall. *Cat.* 47.2; Plin. *NH* 33.16; Plut. *Publ.* 15.1–2; Tac. *Hist.* 3.72.3; Plut. *Mor.* 379D; Dion. Hal. 4.62.5–6 (Sibylline Books); *LTUR* 3.148–53, s.v. *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus, aedes* (“*fasi tardo-republicane e di età imperiale*”) (S. De Angeli); Tucci 2005; 2014, 46–9.
- 61 Canina 1845; Delbrück 1907–12 1.44–5; bibliography in *LTUR* 5.17–20, s.v. *Tabularium* (A. Mura Sommella); *MAR* 238–40, s.v. *Tabularium* (A. G. Thein); Tucci 2005.
- 62 Delbrück 1907–12, 1.44–5. Also Canina 1845; Purcell 1993; La Rocca 1995b; David 1998, 78–9, fig. 23; Gorski and Packer 2015, 197–209. Contra: Amici 1995–96; Thein 2002; Tucci 2005, 2014.
- 63 Tucci 2005 for the voids; Coarelli 2010.
- 64 Coarelli 2010; Filippi 2013, 166–7. The deities are recorded for October 9 in *fast. Fr. Arv.*: *Geni Publici Faustae Felicitat(i) | V(eneri) V(ictrici) in Capit(olio) Apollon(i) in Palat(io)*, and in the *fast. Amit.* The entry may place only the cults of Fausta Felicitas and Venus Victrix, or just Venus Victrix, on the Capitoline: *LTUR* 2.242–3, s.v. *Fausta Felicitas* (D. Palombi). Coarelli’s argument is based on a Sullan date for the temples, though the inscription sets the *substructio*, probably the platform on which they stood, in 78. Contra: Tucci 2014.
- 65 Tucci 2005, 2014; also Giannelli 1978, 1981; Cifani 2008, 75–8. Ov. *Fast.* 1.637–8 places Juno Moneta’s temple in *summam arcem* (in his time, though not necessarily before) and, when describing the Temple of Concordia, locates it “where high Moneta leads her steps sublime.” The steps were likely a staircase within the concrete substructure (p. 197). The poet claims that the temple stood on the one-time location of Manlius Capitolinus’ house, which Cicero appears to place *inter duos lucos* on the saddle between the Arx and the Capitol. Ov. *Fast.* 6.183–5; Cic. *De Domo* 38.101; Ziolkowski 1993, 211 n. 32; also Arata 2010. For problems with the wholesale relocation of a temple: Mazzei 1998, 20–1; Coarelli 2010, 115.
- 66 Colini 1942; Morricone 1980; Sommella 1981 and 1984; Sanzi di Mino 1987. In Livy’s time the office of the mint accompanied the temple on the Arx. Filippi 2013, 165, suggests that these buildings included the mint.
- 67 Vella 2010–11, 362–5; Tucci 2014, 68–72. June 1: Ov. *Fast.* 6.183–4; Macr. *Sat.* 1.12.30–1; *Fasti Venusini*, I.I. 13.2: 58; probably the *Fasti Sabini*, I.I. 13.2: 12. October 10: *Ant. Mai.*, I.I. 13.2: 20; *Fasti Viae Ardentinae*. Also De Sanctis 1953, 141–2, n. 53; Degrassi 1963, 2.463 and 519. On the possibility of a Sullan restoration: Becatti 1945, 31–8. For other explanations, mooted before the discovery of the *Fasti viae Ardentinae*: Mancini 1921, 97–8; *LTUR* 3.123–5, s.v. *Iuno Moneta, aedes* (G. Giannelli); Ziolkowski 1992, 73–6; 1993, 211–13, who argues for two temples.
- 68 As acknowledged by Tucci 2005, 24 and argued by Coarelli 2010, 123.
- 69 At the Sanctuary of Vesta a concrete wall was built, in the first phase of concrete construction on the site: Arvanitis 2010, 54–9, esp. 58; Mogetta 2013, 153. Veiovis: Colini 1943. On the Temple of Portunus: Ruggiero 1991–92; *LTUR* 4.153–4, s.v. *Portunus, aedes* (C. Buzzetti); Del Buono 2009, 28; Bariviera 2013b, 429.
- 70 Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.130; *LTUR* 1.242–5 s.v. *Castor, aedes, templum* (I. Nielsen).
- 71 *LTUR* 3.168–70, s.v. *Lacus Iuturnae* (E. M. Steinby); Mogetta 2013, 155–9. The platform stood on an ashlar base that may have held earlier construction.
- 72 Plut. *Sull.* 34.5; *Pomp.* 15.1–2; Gruen 1974, 13; Keaveney 2005, 172.
- 73 App. *BC* 1.71; Gruen 1974, 7, 23–6; Keaveney 2005, 171–2.
- 74 *RRC* 385.1, pl. 49.3; Elkins 2015, 26–7.
- 75 Coarelli 1997, 514–5; Wiseman 1974a, 5; *LTUR* 1.245–6, s.v. *Castor et Pollux in Circo (fasti); aedes Castoris in Circo Flaminio (Vit.)* (F. Coarelli).
- 76 Perhaps the complex, with its centralized mint, celebrated the enfranchisement of Italian allies, who during the Social War had minted their own coins at their capital of Venusia: Scullard 1982, 67.
- 77 Plin. *NH* 33.13.46; Barlow 1980, 203.
- 78 Oros. 5.18.27.
- 79 App. *BC* 1.54; Liv. *Per.* 74; Val. Max. 9.7.4; Barlow 1980, 213; Brennan 2000, 443.
- 80 Fest. 516 L; App. *Mith.* 22; Plin. *NH* 33.5.16; Val. Max. 7.6.4; Barlow 1980, 212–15.
- 81 Sall. *Cat.* 33.2; Cic. *Pro Fonteio* 1–5; Vell. Pat. 2.23.2; Plin. *NH* 33.46.132; Barlow 1980, 216–19. It either reaffirmed a standard exchange rate for the *denarius* and the *as*, or established a way to detect counterfeiting, or both.
- 82 Plin. *NH* 33.5.16.
- 83 App. *Mith.* 62; Plut. *Sull.* 25.3; *Luc.* 4.1; *Comp. Lys. et Sull.* 3.2. Thein 2002, 185, 187; Keaveney 2005, 56, 92–5, 163.

- 84 Cic. *Verr.* 2.3.81, *Off.* 2.27; Plut. *Comp. Lys. et Sull.* 3.3, *Crass.* 2.4; Plin. *NH* 33.134; Liv. *Per.* 89; Shatzman 1975, 268–72; Thein 2002, 70, 185; Keaveney 2005, 125–7, 130, 133–4.
- 85 Paulus, *Sent.* 5.25.1, 1a, 5; Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.108; Barlow 1980, 217–18; Keaveney 2005, 56, 88, 163.
- 86 Roller 2010, 144–5, on cultural forgetting.
- 87 App. *BC* 26.
- 88 Plut. *Sull.* 33.4, trans. Perrin.
- 89 Luc. *BC* 2.126–8; Cic. *Nat. deor.* 3.10, 3.80; App. *BC* 1.88.4–6; Fantham 1992, 105; Thein 2002, 69–72.
- 90 App. *BC* 1.88; Val. Max. 9.2.1; Luc. 2.231–43; Cass. Dio 30–35.109.8; also 47.3.2. Thein 2002, 129–30, sees the river as a healing power.
- 91 Wiseman 1974a, 5; Coarelli 1997, 514–15; *LTUR* 1.245–6, s.v. *Castor et Pollux in Circo (fasti)*; *aedes Castoris in Circo Flaminio (Vitr.)* (F. Coarelli).
- 92 Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.68–9; also Tac. *Hist.* 3.72.3.
- 93 *CIL* 1².2961; Molisani 1971; Coarelli 2010, 124.
- 94 Cic. *Off.* 3.80–1; Crawford 1968, 1985, 190–2; Hollander 2007, 29; Flower 2006, 94, 2010; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 267. On the *Compitalia*: Lott 2004, 14, 34–8.
- 95 Sch. Luc. 2.174; App. *BC* 1.74; Alexander 1990, 60; Flower 2006, 94–5.
- 96 Plin. *NH* 34.12.27; Oros. 5.21; Plut. *Sull.* 32.2; Val. Max. 9.2.1; Gruen 1968, 232–4; Marshall 1985; Thein 2002, 126; Flower 2006, 94–5.
- 97 *LTUR* 3.21–2, s.v. *Hercules Sullanus* (D. Palombi); Palmer 1975; Fraioli 2013a, 330; *LTUR* 1.193–4, s.v. *Bellona Pulvinensis, aedes* (A. Viscogliosi); *LTUR* 5.231, s.v. *Bellona Pulvinensis, aedes* (A. Viscogliosi).
- 98 *LTUR* 1.245–6, s.v. *Castor et Pollux in Circo (fasti)*; *aedes Castoris in Circo Flaminio (Vitr.)* (F. Coarelli).
- 99 Castagnoli 1985; Conticello de' Spagnolis 1986; Tucci 1993, 2004, 2013; Ciancio Rossetto 1994–95, 1996; Vitti 2011.
- 100 Coarelli 1997, 504–15. On the marble plan, the cult statue base appears too small for them. Coarelli attributes the statues to the same atelier as the statues of Apollo and the Muses from the theater of Pompey (62–55). Neronian period: Simon 1966; Lorenz 1976. Antonine period: Parisi Presicce 1994, 166–9.
- 101 Vitr. 4.8.4; Coarelli 1987, 31; also Rous 2007. The temple measured approximately 24.56 by 25.68 m.
- 102 Dion. Hal. 4.61.4; Vitr. 3.3.5; Tac. *Hist.* 3.71.4.
- 103 *RRC* 385 1, pl. 49.3.
- 104 *RRC* 487 1–2; Elkins 2015, 35–6.
- 105 Colini 1943, 51.
- 106 *LTUR* 4.153–4 s.v. *Portunus, aedes* (C. Buzzetti).
- 107 Thus at the Temple of Portunus, architects used Aniene tufo for the podium and cella walls, concrete for the core of the podium and the spur walls, and stuccoed travertine for the pronaos and corner columns, the column bases and capitals, the stylobate, pronaos architrave, the revetment of the cella walls, the podium and the stairs, and travertine for a repaving of the sanctuary: Ruggiero 1991–92, 266.
- 108 Colini 1943, 51.
- 109 Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.154; also 2.1.129–34, 2.3.41, 2.5.186; Brennan 2000, 445–8; Miles 2008, 131. The excavators place the mosaic in the mid-first century (the Ciceronian period) or later. Nielsen and Poulsen 1992, 116–17, 181–4.
- 110 Colini 1943, 51.
- 111 Gell. 2.10.2–3, trans. Rolfe; also Fest. 78 L.
- 112 Plin. *NH* 33.57; Sen. *Contr.* 1.6.4, 2.1.1.
- 113 Cass. Dio 54.25.4, 59.28.7; Fl. Ios. *Ant.* 19.1.2. Gold: Ov. *Fast.* 6.37, 652.
- 114 Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.68–9, trans. Greenwood.
- 115 Tucci 2005, 21–8. Fragments of architectural decoration that may belong to the building include part of a Corinthian capital, as well as the corner of a frieze, a horizontal cornice, a slanting cornice, and a cornice of a niche. Von Hesberg, 1995 suggests that they belonged to a phase of a monumental temple on the walls in the Aracoeli garden, which he identifies as the Temple of Honos and Virtus.
- 116 Coarelli 1994a, 39–40.
- 117 Delbrück 1907–12, 35.
- 118 Titus Tatius: Solin. 1.21; Tucci 2005, 30–1. Romulus: Sommella 1984, who identifies the alcove with the Asylum.
- 119 Sappa and Sappa 1999, 202.
- 120 On similar sanctuaries constructed at Terracina and at Tibur in the interval between the two structures: Giuliani 1970, 1998–99, 2004; Coarelli 1987; Tucci 2005, 24–8.
- 121 Liv. 6.20.13; Ov. *Fast.* 6.183–5; Forsythe 2005, 259–62.
- 122 Sappa and Sappa 1999, fig. 3.
- 123 The paving may belong to a restoration phase: Nibby 1838, 1.552. It is tempting to see this processional route as a monumentalization of the portico built by the censors of 174 by Fulvius Flaccus and A. Postumius Albinus (pp. 136–37).
- 124 Coarelli 1983, 97–107; Linderski 1986, 2226–7. Archaeologists sometimes identify the Auguraculum with the cappelaccio walls in the Aracoeli garden, but most place it further west at the highest point of the Arx. *LTUR* 1.142–3, s.v. *Auguraculum (Arx)* (F. Coarelli).
- 125 The laws seem also to have limited legislation to *dies comitiales*, except for twenty-four days before elections (to prevent legislative activity when Rome was filled with crowds and to check the tribunes' ability to disrupt the Forum with meetings when candidates were canvassing). Cic. *Har. Resp.* 58; Frank 1930, 367; Taylor 1962, 22–4; Linderski 1986; Beard, North, and Price 1998, 109–10. Lange 1861 1.274–341 dates it to 153.
- 126 Flower 2008, 76–7.
- 127 For a full list: Rüpke 2008, 118.
- 128 Plin. *NH* 33.5.16; Val. Max. 2.8.7; also Cic. *Manil.* 3.8; App. *BC* 1.101; Eutr. 5.9.1.
- 129 Plut. *Sull.* 34.1–2, trans. Perrin.
- 130 Plin. *NH* 9.123.
- 131 Strab. 13.54, trans. Jones; Plut. *Sull.* 26; Barnes 1997; Holz 2009, 196.
- 132 Lucian, *Zeuxis* 3; Plin. *NH* 35.69; Pape 1975, 170; Keaveney 2005, 92–105; Miles 2008, 24.
- 133 Plin. *NH* 36.45; Tölle-Kastenbein 1994, 145, 152; La Rocca 2011, 2–4.

- 134 On the wreck and its contents: Hellenkemper Salies 1994; Ridgway 1995; Prittwitz 1998; Stecher 2001; Miles 2008, 209–10. An alternative view is that the ship was transporting items looted from Delos by pirates in 69.
- 135 Pape 1975, 55–6; Helbig⁴ no. 1659. Dinsmoor 1960, 305, believes the metope came from the Temple of Poseidon at Isthmia; Broneer 1971, 182–3, links it with a marble metope from Amphipolis in the Kavalla Museum, with a Greek warrior opposing a barbarian warrior, of Attic craftsmanship, which may have been moved in connection with Sulla.
- 136 Plin. *NH* 36.45; Tölle-Kastenbein 1994, 145, 152.
- 137 Thein 2002, 23; Keaveney 2005, 98–123, 156–7.
- 138 Cic. *Cluent.* 36.101; Coarelli 1997, 167.
- 139 Diod. Sic. 38/39.1–4; App. *BC* 64–75; Gran. Lic. 35.1–50; Liv. *Per.* 70; Plut. *Sull.* 22; Seager 1994, 171–9; Keaveney 2005, 68–83; Konrad 2006, 180–1; Miles 2008, 94; Holz 2009, 195–7. After defeating Mithridatic forces at Chaeronea and Orchomenos, he confiscated half of Thebes' lands for their treachery and assigned the revenue to repay the temples he had raided: Plut. *Sull.* 12.3–9; 3; App. *Mith.* 54; Diod. 38.7; Liv. 45.28.3. He also removed Myron's statue of Dionysus from Orchomenos and took it to Helikon, perhaps in repayment of a "loan": Paus. 9.33.5–6.
- 140 Plut. *Sull.* 12.8–9; Valgiglio 1956, 230; Thein 2002, 9–10.
- 141 Plut. *Sull.* 13.1, 14.1–10, *Mor.* 505B; App. *Mith.* 38; Keaveney 2005, 74–5.
- 142 Plut. *Sull.* 14.4–6; Paus. 1.20.6; Pape 1975, 21; Hoff 1997; Keaveney 2005, 73–81; Miles 2008, 24.
- 143 Sall. *Cat.* 11.5–7; Pape 1975, 22–3; Thein 2002, 38–40; Miles 2008, 90.
- 144 Cic. *Tog. Cand.* frag. 2, *Verr. passim*; *Scaur.* 45; Q. Cic. *Com. Pet.* 8; Asc. 26, 74C, 84, 87C; Quint. *Inst.* 12.6.1, 12.7.3, 4; Plut. *Caes.* 4.1; Juv. 8.105; [Asc.] 194, 206, 208, 234, 242St; Scol. Gronov. B325, 329, 333St; Alexander 1990, 71–2, no. 141.
- 145 Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.46–54, trans. Greenwood; Miles 2008, 130.
- 146 Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.45, 2.1.54.
- 147 Cic. *Verr.* esp. 1.18.56, 2.1.8, 2.4.17, *Div. Caec.*; Plut. *Cic.* 7.3–8.1; Quint. *Inst.* 4.1.20, 4.2.113–14, 6.3.98, 7.4.33, 7.4.36, 10.1.23; Juv. 8.105; [Asc.] 184–264St; Schol. Clun. 273St; Schol. Gronov. ABC 324–51St; Alexander 1990, 88–90 no. 177.
- 148 Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.1–2; also 2.1.41–2.1.102, 2.2.50 and *passim*; Alexander 1990, 69 no. 135; Miles 2008, 88, 129, 132–41; also Holz 2009, 197–8. He also referred to his history of embezzlement as quaestor to Papirius Carbo in Cisalpine Gaul in 84: 2.1.34–40, and *passim*.
- 149 E.g. *Verr.* 2.1.6–7, 2.4.72–9, 2.4.84–93, 2.4.97–103, 2.4.109–14, 2.4.122–5, 127–31; Miles 2008, 66, 98, 174–5, 180.
- 150 Cic. *Verr.* 50–1; also 2.1.53–4, 57, 59, 2.4.36, 2.4.61–70, 2.4.126, 2.5.127; Miles 2008, 88, 127, 129, 189–97.
- 151 Weis 2003; Miles 2008, 157.
- 152 Cic. *Verr.* 1.1.2, 1.14.40–1, 2.1.60–1, 2.4.8–16, and *passim*.
- 153 Astin 1985.
- 154 App. *BC* 1.66, trans. Oldfather.
- 155 Barbera and Magnani Cianetti 2008, 26; Bruno 2013, 396; Bariviera 2013a, 379; Cifani 2013, 84 for walls near Porta Naevia, under S. Balbina, and near viale Aventino.
- 156 *Pomerium*: Gell. 13.14.1, citing the augur Messalla, consul in 53; Sen. *Dial.* 10.13.8; Tac. *Ann.* 12.23; Cass. Dio 43.50.1; Liv. 1.44.3; Thein 2002, 348–51; Capanna 2013, 71–2. Sewers: *CIL* 6.37043; Gatti 1899; Steinby 2012, 45; Panella 2013, 45–6, who dates the first phase, of concrete, to the first half of the second century; Bianchi and Antognoli 2014, 113–14.
- 157 Cic. *Fin.* 5.2; Plin. *NH* 34.21, 34.26; Cass. Dio 40.50.2–3; Amici 2004–05, 2007, refuting Bartoli 1963, 37 and Bonnefond-Coudry 1989, 56–60; also Coarelli 1985, ch. 2; *LTUR* 1.331–2, s.v. *Curia Hostilia* (F. Coarelli).
- 158 Colini 1946–48; Coarelli 1985, 60–63; *LTUR* 1.187, s.v. *Basilica Porcia* (E. M. Steinby).
- 159 Boni 1899, 1900; Gjerstad 1941; Gantz 1974, with a different dating sequence; Amici 2004–05, 360–9; also Coarelli 1983, 161–8, 188–9; *LTUR* 4.295–6, s.v. *Sepulcrum Romuli* (F. Coarelli). Carafa 1998, 75–80, 86–8, 148–51, places this phase in the mid-second century, followed by Morstein-Marx 2004, 47.
- 160 Cic. *Phil.* 9.13; Suet. *Iul.* 75; Cass. Dio 42.18.2, 43.49.1; *RRC* 381; *LTUR* 2.227–8, s.v. *Equus*: L. *Cornelius Sulla* (E. Papi); MacKay 2000, 182; Keaveney 2005, 135.
- 161 Cic. *Fin.* 5.2, *Scaur.* 46; Vasaly 1993, 29; Edwards 1996, 17; Flower 2006, 96.
- 162 Grassigli 1991.
- 163 App. *BC* 1.59, 1.77, 1.81; Liv. *Per.* 84–6; Cic. *Phil.* 12.27; Taylor 1960, 118; Thein 2002, 165.
- 164 Houser 1982; Thein 2002, 192. On the *Equus Tremuli*: Liv. 9.43.22–4; Cic. *Phil.* 6.13–15; Plin. *NH* 34.23–7; *RCC* 293/1, pl. 40; Lahusen 1983, 19; Coarelli 1985, 310 ff.; La Rocca 1990, 347; Bergemann 1990, 156; *LTUR* 2.229–30, s.v. *Equus Q. Marci Tremuli* (E. Papi).
- 165 App. *BC* 1.97; *RRC* 381; *LTUR* 2.227–8, s.v. *Equus*: L. *Cornelius Sulla* (E. Papi); MacKay 2000, 182; Keaveney 2005, 135. A second inscription with similar wording from *vicus Laci Fund(ani)* suggests that the sculpture was replicated in other districts of the city, raising the possibility that Sulla was honored as a savior at neighborhood shrines: *CIL* 1².721 = 6.1297; Flower 2010, 170.
- 166 Sordi 1988a; *LTUR* 4.96–105, s.v. *Pomerium* (M. Andreussi), esp. 101; Thein 2002, 77; Keaveney 2005, 159.
- 167 Varr. *DLL* 5.143; Liv. 1.18.7, 1.44.3–4; Gell. 13.14.1, 4; Cato, *Origines* ap. Serv. *Aen.* 5.755; Cornell 1983, 1137–8; Thein 2002, 348. On circumambulation and purification: Davies 1997.
- 168 Gell. 13.14.1; Sen. *Dial.* 10.13.8; Tac. *Ann.* 12.23; Cass. Dio 43.50.1; Liv. 1.44.3; App. *BC* 1.59; Thein 2002, 348–51; Coarelli 2012, 15–29.
- 169 App. *BC* 1.88; Plut. *Pomp.* 9.3; Val. Max. 9.2.3; Liv. *Per.* 86; also Plut. *Mar.* 46.5; Diod. Sic. 38/39.17.
- 170 Cass. Dio 40.50.2–3.
- 171 Alongside it were the heads of Antonius (consul of 99), Iulius Caesar (consul of 90) and his brother C. Caesar. App. *BC* 1.71; Plut. *Mar.* 42.5; Cic. *De Or.* 3.10, *Tusc.* 5.55, *Brut.*

- 311; Liv. *Per.* 80; also Sehlmeier 1999, 63–6; Flower 2006, 92. On Octavius' statue of 162: Plin. *NH* 34.23–5.
- 172 Proscription lists were also posted throughout Italy. Many of the heads were displayed around the city and left to decompose; others Sulla mounted in his atrium, a macabre twist on the ancestral portraits stored there. Val. Max. 3.1.2; Plut. *Cato Min.* 3.4–5; Thein 2002, 93; Flower 2006, 92–3.
- 173 Schol. ad Hor. *Ep.* 16.13–14; Fest. 186 L. Dionysios records a lion there before his arrival in Rome in 36: 1.87.2; Gantz 1974, suggests that the association with Romulus was relatively late, perhaps second century.
- 174 Plin. *NH* 35.12, trans. Rackham; De Nuccio 2011, 196.
- 175 Plin. *NH* 35.13; *RRC* 419/3a–b, pl. 51; Freyberger and Ertel, 500. Coarelli 1985, 204–8 sees the coin image as a view of the south side of the building, while Freyberger considers it a view of the interior and Elkins 2015, 28–9, suggests the Portico Aemilia, not the basilica. John Burge (personal communication, 2015) argues for the north side of the basilica, facing the Macellum. For an earlier change of name, perhaps due to a restoration by Aemilius Paullus: Chioffi 1996, 39; Steinby 2012, 55. For the Basilicas Fulvia and Aemilia as two separate buildings: Steinby 1987; Wiseman 1993; also *LTUR* 1.167–8, s.v. *Basilica Aemilia* (E. M. Steinby).
- 176 Also discussion in Russell 2016, 92–3.
- 177 Morstein-Marx 2004.
- 178 Liv. 6.20.13; Gatti 1888, 497–8, 1888, 330–1; Serafin 2001, 34–5. Marble weights and a touchstone fragment found beneath Vignola's staircase appear to have been exposed to intense heat.
- 179 Delbrück 1907–12, 46; Coarelli 1994a, 43–5. Contra: MacIsaac 1987.
- 180 Delbrück 1907–12 proposed this use for the northeast rooms. On the basis of the inscription's findspot, Tucci (2014, 50) interprets the *substructio* as the structures supporting the rooms on the northeast side; he argues for a *tabularium* inside the temple (2005, 31).
- 181 Serafin 2001, 35.
- 182 *CIL* 6.1313; Canina 1845, 98; 1848, 302–5; Tucci 2014, 50–2.
- 183 *LTUR* 5.17–20, s.v. *Tabularium* (A. Mura Sommella); Tucci 2005, 7; 2014, 52–4.
- 184 Hurst 2006; Mogetta 2013, 146–50.
- 185 Cicero refers to the *gradus* in 66 and 59, and to the tribunal in 57: *Dom.* 54, *Red. ad Quir.* 13; *Sest.* 34; *Pis.* 11; *Cluent.* 93; *LTUR* 2.325–36, s.v. *Forum Romanum (The Republican Period)* (N. Purcell); *LTUR* 5.86–7 s.v. *Tribunal Aurelium, Gradus Aurelii* (K. Korhonen); contra Filippi 2013, 166. Coarelli, 1985, 190–9. It was possibly destroyed in the fire of 52. Also Kondratieff 2010, 102–5; Millar 1998, 41.
- 186 Cic. *Cluent.* 93, trans. Yonge; also *Flacc.* 66; Millar 1998, 56; *LTUR* 5.86–7 s.v. *Tribunal Aurelium, Gradus Aurelii* (K. Korhonen).
- 187 Cic. *Corn.* in Ascon. 66, and 78C; Sall. *Hist.* 2.49M, 3.48.8M; Kondratieff 2009, 2010, 107–10. For the tribunes' *subsellia*: Coarelli 1985, 53–9.
- 188 Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 53, 61; Wiseman 1990; *LTUR* 3.343–5 s.v. *Forum Romanum (lastricati)* (D. Palombi). Fest. 416 L preserves *collastravit*, corrected to *Sulla stravit* (Platner and Ashby 1929, 234, 540) or *Cotta stravit* (Castagnoli 1964, 192). Also Jordan 1878, 103; Broughton 1951–86, 2, 536. It could be credited to a third brother, L. Aurelius Cotta, praetor in 70, consul in 64, and censor in 64. With Coarelli, Filippi 2004 (n.v.) and 2013, 166 and 168, identifies Cotta's pavement as a peperino layer and the travertine pavement as Caesarian.
- 189 *LTUR* 3 166–7 s.v. *Lacus Curtius* (C. F. Giuliani). Its surface was reduced, the puteal was moved 6 feet to the southeast and three *cippi* on the northwest side were relocated.
- 190 Carettoni 1956–59; Giuliani and Verduchi 1987, 53–61. Carettoni set the end of usage in the mid-first century CE, Giuliani and Verduchi in 12 BCE. At a maximum of 1.2 m on a side, it is unlikely they transported large animals, which in any case were usually displayed in the Circus Maximus. Welch 2007, 41–2, argues that they were only used for animals, in the *venatio* and *damnatio ad bestias*. Placing Caesar's "cynegetic" or hunting theater of 46 in the Forum (not the Campus Martius: Coarelli 2001), she associates the galleries with his triumph in 46. Suet. *Iul.* 37; Cass. Dio. 43.22–3.
- 191 Liv. 23.30.15; Vitruv. 5.1.1; Beacham 1999, 37; Welch 2007.
- 192 Plut. *Luc.* 1; Cic. *Acad. Pr.* 2.1, *Off.* 2.16; Plin. *NH* 8.7.
- 193 *Verr.* 2.1.59, trans. Greenwood; also 2.1.49–50, 2.4.6; Miles 2008, 177; also Beacham 1999, 36.
- 194 Cic. *Off.* 2.12/58; Plin. *NH* 15.1/2; Millar 1998, 60–1. Other candidates are L. Seius Strabo, prefect of Egypt in the early empire, or his son Seianus, praetorian prefect of Tiberius. *CIL* 6.238, 36778, 36783, 36786–7, 36819; Rickman 1971, 107, 168–9; Rodríguez Almeida 1984, 47–8; Etienne 1987; *MAR* 141, s.v. *Horrea Seiana* (Ö. Harmansah); *LTUR* 3.46–7, s.v. *Horrea Seiana* (D. Palombi).
- 195 App. *BC* 1.67.5, 1.88.7; Plut. *Mar.* 42; Meiggs 1973, 34–6; Tuck 2000, 181–2.
- 196 Keaveney 2005, 141, 149; Thein 2002, 177, 183, suggests that he abolished the dole in the hope of reversing the influx of immigrants into the city.
- 197 Sall. *Hist.* 1.55.11 [2.42]; Cic. *Verr.* 2.3.215; Gruen 1974, 35–7; Millar 1998, 60; Thein 2002, 177.
- 198 Cic. *Off.* 2.58; Plin. *NH* 15.2, 18.16; Gruen 1974, 35–6; Millar 1998, 60–1, 63, 65. The consuls of 73, M. Lucullus and C. Cassius, passed a measure directing the purchase of additional grain in Sicily and its distribution. As consul in 70, Crassus provided a three-month supply of grain out of his own resources.
- 199 Plut. *Cato Min.* 5.1.
- 200 Proposing rupture of tradition and innovation in Augustan times: Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 231–7.
- 201 Plut. *Sull.* 34.1–2; Cic. *Flacc.* 60; Curt. 9.3.16.
- 202 Mouritsen 2001; Morstein-Marx, 2004. For a different model: Millar 1995, 1998.

6 POMPEY, CAESAR, AND RIVALS: ca. 69–55

- 1 Plut. *Luc.* 14, 33.5; Cass. Dio 36.2.1; App. *Mith.* 90.411; Sall. *Hist.* 4.70; Millar 1998, 79; Seager 2002, 42–3.

- 2 Plut. *Pomp.* 26; Liv. *Per.* 99; App. *Mith.* 94.431; Cic. *Leg. Man.* 44, 52; Meier 1982, 145; Millar 1998, 80–1; Seager 2002, 43–9, with additional sources.
- 3 Cic. *Leg. Man.*; Plut. *Pomp.* 30; App. *Mith.* 97.446 f.; Meier 1982, 145–6; Seager 2002, 49–52.
- 4 Seager 2002, 53–8, 60–1, 75–6 with sources.
- 5 Plin. *NH* 7.97.
- 6 Seager 2002, 60–2, 72 with sources.
- 7 Cic. *Prov.* 27, *Att.* 1.18.6; Vell. *Pat.* 2.40.4; Cass. Dio 37.21; Weinstock 1971, 38, 63; Frézouls 1983, 198–9; Seager 2002, 72–3.
- 8 Linderski 1985; Yakobson 1992; Millar 1998, 69, 92–3; Seager 2002, 40.
- 9 Millar 1998, 92–3: only one of the laws passed in these years was clearly passed by a consul and none by praetors; tribunes passed approximately fifteen. Also Lintott 1999b, 78–83.
- 10 Ps.-Sallust, *In Cic.* 7; Münzer 1999, 292; Tatum 1999, 69.
- 11 Meier 1982, 163–78; Seager 2002, 72–4, with sources; Tatum 2006, 195–6.
- 12 Meier 1982, 159; Gruen 2009; Wardle 2009, 102.
- 13 Cic. *Att.* 2.17.1, 8.3.3; Vell. *Pat.* 2.44.3; Plut. *Pomp.* 47, *Caes.* 14, *Cato Min.* 31; Cass. Dio 38.9.1; Suet. *Iul.* 21.
- 14 Suet. *Iul.* 20; Meier 1982, 221; Parenti 2003, 160.
- 15 Cic. *Att.* 1.18.6; Cass. Dio 37.49.2, 38.7.5; App. *BC* 2.9; Frézouls 1983, 198–9; Tatum 1999, 102–3; Seager 2002, 81–2.
- 16 Cass. Dio 38.3.2 f.; Val. Max. 2.10.7; Sen. *Ep.* 14.13; Suet. *Iul.* 20.4; Gell. 4.10.8.
- 17 Cass. Dio 38.4.4–6.4; Plut. *Pomp.* 47–8, *Caes.* 14, *Cato Min.* 32; App. *BC* 2.10–11; Suet. *Iul.* 20.1; Meier 1982, 207–13; Seager 2002, 86–7; Tatum 2006, 199–200, 2008, 72–3.
- 18 Meier 1982, 161–2; Seager 2002, 72; Tatum 1999, 62–86, with sources, 2006, 197–8.
- 19 Cic. *Sest.* 15 f., *Har. Resp.* 45, *Prov. Cos.* 42, *Att.* 8.3.3; Plut. *Cato Min.* 33; Cass. Dio 38.12.2; Tatum 1999, 104, 108–13; Seager 2002, 91–2.
- 20 Cass. Dio 38.13; Tatum 1999, 120–4; Seager 2002, 101.
- 21 Cic. *Red. Sen.* 33, *Dom.* 21, 96 ff., *Sest.* 42 ff.; Vell. *Pat.* 2.45.1; Plut. *Cic.* 30; Cass. Dio 38.14.4; App. *BC* 2.15; Liv. *Per.* 103; Tatum 1999, 111–13, 136, 156–8; Seager 2002, 101–2.
- 22 Cic. *Dom.* 66, *Mil.* 18, 37, *Att.* 2.12.2; Plut. *Pomp.* 48; Cass. Dio 38.30.1; Schol. Bob. 118St; Meier 1982, 232–4; Tatum 1999, 167–70; Seager 2002, 94, 102–5.
- 23 Cic. *Dom.* 67, 110, 129, *Sest.* 69, 84, *Har. Resp.* 49, 58, *Pis.* 16, 28–9, *Mil.* 18 f., 37, 73, *Red. Sen.* 4, 29, *Red. Quir.* 14, *Att.* 2.12.2; Ascon. 46; Plut. *Pomp.* 48.4–49; Meier 1982, 227, 233–4; Frézouls 1983, 98–9; Tatum 1999, 174; Seager 2002, 94, 106.
- 24 Plut. *Pomp.* 49, *Cic.* 33; Cic. *Red. Sen.* 9, 19 f., 24, 26, 29–31, *Red. Quir.* 15 ff., *Sest.* 86 f., 107, 109, 128 f., *Mil.* 38–9, 94, *Dom.* 7–8, 14, 25, 30, 70 f. 85, *Pis.* 25, 27, 34 ff., 80, *Har. Resp.* 14, 46, *Att.* 4.1.7; Vell. *Pat.* 2.45.3; Cass. Dio 39.6.2, 39.9.2–3; App. *BC* 2.16; Livy, *Per.* 104; Ascon. 48; Meier 1982, 267; Tatum 1999, 172–4, 180–1, 184–5; Seager 2002, 106–9.
- 25 Meier 1982, 266; Tatum 1999, 186–7, 196; Seager 2002, 101–15.
- 26 Meier 1982, 268–9; Seager 2002, 110–15 with sources.
- 27 App. *BC* 2.13; Plut. *Pomp.* 48.4, *Caes.* 14; Meier 1982, 188; Seager 2002, 85, 89–90, 98–9; Tatum 2008, 41.
- 28 Meier 1982, 217–22.
- 29 Plut. *Pomp.* 51, *Caes.* 21, *Crass.* 14, *Cato Min.* 41; App. *BC* 2.17; Suet. *Iul.* 24.1; Meier 1982, 270–3; Seager 2002, 117–19; Tatum 2008, 9, 44–5, 124–5.
- 30 Plut. *Caes.* 21.2, *Pomp.* 51.3; App. *BC* 2.17; Tatum 1999, 214–15.
- 31 Cass. Dio 39.27.3–39.29.3; Val. Max. 6.2.6; Meier 1982, 276–7; Tatum 1999, 222–3; Seager 2002, 116–22.
- 32 Cic. *Planc.* 36 ff., 49, *Pis.* 94, *Phil.* 1.20; Ps.-Sall. *Ep.* 3.3, 7.11; Ascon. 17; Cass. Dio 39.37.1; Meier 1982, 283; Seager 2002, 122–3.
- 33 Also Orlin 2010, 206–8, on senatorial failure in maintaining authority over religion.
- 34 Plin. *NH* 7.97.
- 35 Gell. 10.1.7; Plin. *NH* 8.20; Tert. *Spect.* 10; *Fast. Allif.* 13.2:181; *Amitt.* 13.2:191; *CIL* 1². 217, 244, 324. Richardson 1987; *LTUR* 5.120–1, s.v. *Venus Victrix, aedes* (P. Gros); Coarelli 1997, 568–70.
- 36 Suet. *Iul.* 6.1, trans. Rolfe.
- 37 Orlin 2010, 201–2.
- 38 Palmer 1990; *LTUR* 3.253–4, s.v. *Minerva, delubrum* (D. Palombi), who believes that Diod. Sic. 40.4 refers to the monument (but see pp. xx, xx).
- 39 Suet. *Claud.* 21.1.
- 40 Monterroso Checa 2006, 39–47, who argues that the axial structure only reached the first storey, and may have contained a staircase. Contra: Packer 2013 and personal communication.
- 41 The foundations are shifted slightly to the south of the central axis. Pellegrini 1865, 202; Hanson 1959, 44–52, 77. Gagliardo and Packer 2006, 97, 100; Packer *et al.* 2007, 515. A marble block inscribed *Venus Victrix* was found in 1525 in a pit for the foundations of S. Maria in Grotta Pinta.
- 42 Contra: Monterroso Checa 2006, 39–47.
- 43 Gros 1976b, 133–42; *LTUR* 5.35–8, s.v. *Theatrum Pompei* (P. Gros).
- 44 Van Buren 1936; also Crema 1959, 174; Hanson 1959, 77 n. 96; Tamm 1963.
- 45 Cass. Dio 37.44.1–2, trans. Cary; Alexander 1990.
- 46 *CIL* 7.7. Mommsen argued for a reading of [V]al[eriu]s. Degraffi 1987; *LTUR* 1.21–2, s.v. *Aesculapius, aedes, templum (insula Tiberina)* (D. Degraffi). Flaccus' aedileship probably fell between a quaestorship in 70 and a praetorship in 63 – possibly in 66, when no aediles' names are recorded. Also Mochegiani Carpano 1983; D'Arco 1996.
- 47 *LTUR* 3.99–101, s.v. *Insula Tiberina* (D. Degraffi).
- 48 Tatum 2008, 67.
- 49 Suet. *Claud.* 25; Guarducci 1971, 275; Brucia 1990, 106–7, 112; Wickkiser 2003, 205–76. On Asclepiades, discussion and bibliography in Fagan 2002, 93–103. Plin. *NH* 29.6.12–13 records a *taberna* provided at public expense near the *compitum Acilii* (in the Meta Sudans area) for Arcagathus, the first physician to come to Rome from Greece in 219.
- 50 On ideological vandalism: Réau 1959; Cohen 1971; Scott 1990; Gamboni 1997.
- 51 Cic. *Dom.* 54, *Sest.* 34, *Pis.* 23; Yavetz 1969; Cerutti 1998; Tatum 1999, 157, 179.

- 52 Cic. *Cael.* 78, *Dom.* 62, 102, 114, 116, *Har. Resp.* 58, *Pis.* 11, 26; Allen 1944; Weinstock 1971, 133–45; Gros 1996, 74; Cerutti 1997, 419; Tatum 1999, 152–3, 156, 163; Roller 2010, 133–7.
- 53 Cic. *Dom.* 81; Tatum 1999, 165.
- 54 Tamm 1963; Picard 1965; Cerutti 1997; Bruno 2013a, 231.
- 55 Cic. *Dom.* 137; Tamm 1963; Tatum 1999, 159, 163–4. Contra: Bruno 2013a, 230.
- 56 Cic. *Dom.* 101, 103, 116.
- 57 Tatum 1999, 164–6; also Cerruti 1997.
- 58 On the remains: Bruno 2013a, 230–1, with bibliography.
- 59 Cic. *Dom.* 53–5, 100; Roller 2010, 134; Tatum 1999, 188.
- 60 Cicero describes the building as a *delubrum*, a *monumentum*, a *porticus*, an *ambulatio*: *Dom.* 51, 100, 112, 116, 132 and a *templum*. It is also named a *neus* (Plut. *Cic.* 33.8) and a *naos* (Cass. Dio 38.17.6): *LTUR* 3.188–9, s.v. *Libertas (I)* (E. Papi).
- 61 Cic. *Dom.* 67, 110, 129, *Sest.* 69, 84, *Har. Resp.* 49, 58, *Pis.* 16, 28–9, *Mil.* 18 f., 37, 73 *Red. Sen.* 4, 29, *Red. Quir.* 14, *Att.* 2.12.2; Plut. *Pomp.* 48.4–49; Meier 1982, 227, 233–4; Frézouls 1983, 98–9; Tatum 1999, 174, 181; Seager 2002, 94, 106.
- 62 Cic. *Cael.* 79, *Mil.* 73, *QF* 11.3.2; Cass. Dio 39.24.1–2; Nicolet 1976; Nippel 1995, 76–7; Tatum 1999, 211; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 292. Wiseman 1969, 64 n. 48: they may have been targeting lists prepared by Pompey.
- 63 Cic. *Att.* 4.3.2, 4.2.5; *LTUR* 4.119, s.v. *Porticus (monumentum) Catuli* (E. Papi); Tatum 1999, 181, 193.
- 64 Zevi 1995; contra Coarelli 1981, 1997.
- 65 Shoe 1965, 180; Shoe Meritt and Edlund-Berry 2000, 180–1; Coarelli 1981, 18; Zevi 1995, 138. Of the original phase, all that is known are traces of a concrete staircase, set at soil level before the surrounding pavement of *ca.* 100. Level C, a pavement of *tufo rossastro* identified by Marchetti Longhi, is preserved in some places, especially in front of Temple C, but absent near Temple D. Archaeologists consider a more heterogeneous pavement level with elements of travertine, at a slightly lower level, more or less equivalent stratigraphically.
- 66 Zevi 1995, 138.
- 67 Coarelli 1997, 311.
- 68 Plut. *Luc.* 33, 37.1–2, *Cato Min.* 29; Millar 1998, 87; Seager 2002, 65; Keaveney 2005, 129–36.
- 69 Plut. *Luc.* 37; Vell. Pat. 2.34.2; App. *BC* 36.17a; Tatum 1999, 63; Seager 2002, 72–3, 90.
- 70 Cic. *Att.* 1.18.6; Cass. Dio 37.49.2, 50.1; App. *BC* 2.9; Frézouls 1983, 198–9; Seager 2002, 63–72, 76–7, 81–2.
- 71 App. *Mith.* 116–17; Plin. *NH* 7.98; Plut. *Pomp.* 45.2; Diod. 40.4.
- 72 Cic. *Manil.* 3.8.
- 73 Plut. *Luc.* 37, trans. Perrin; Keaveney 2005, 136.
- 74 Plut. *Luc.* 36.7; Funaioli, *Gramm. Rom. Frag.* nos. 53–4; Dix 2000.
- 75 Millar 1998, 87; Östenberg 2009, 45–6, 51. Since Mithridates' fleet was only about 120 strong and some ships reputedly sank, some of the ships Lucullus displayed may have been booty or gifts from elsewhere.
- 76 Plut. *Pomp.* 45, *Luc.* 37; App. *Mith.* 116; Plin. *NH* 7.98; Greenhalgh 1981, 168–96; Östenberg 2009, 51, 55; also Holz 2009, 199–202.
- 77 Inv. MC 1068; Beard 2007, 10–11; Fortunati in La Rocca 2008, 209, 11.4.6; Östenberg 2009, 101; Sauron 2013, 38.
- 78 Plin. *NH* 12.20, 12.111, 25.5–8, 33.151, 37.11; App. *Mith.* 116; Miles 2008, 233; Östenberg 2009, 188.
- 79 Pliny *NH* 37.13, 37.18; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 347; Östenberg 2009, 92.
- 80 Plin. *NH* 37.14, trans. Greenwood; Miles 2008, 231–3; Östenberg 2009, 105–7.
- 81 Westall 1996, 91; Östenberg 2009, 107.
- 82 Cass. Dio 37.21, adapted from Cary's translation. Also App. *Mith.* 117; Plut. *Pomp.* 45; Vell. Pat. 2.40.2–4; Plin. *NH* 37.6.13.
- 83 Cic. *Manil.* 56.
- 84 Plut. *Pomp.* 45, trans. Perrin.
- 85 App. *Mith.* 117; Plin. *NH* 7.95.
- 86 Cass. Dio 37.21; Vell. Pat. 2.40.4.
- 87 Plut. *Luc.* 37, trans. Perrin.
- 88 Plut. *Luc.* 37.1, trans. Perrin.
- 89 Plut. *Luc.* 37, trans. Perrin.
- 90 Millar 1998, 87; Östenberg 2009, 45–6.
- 91 Plut. *Luc.* 38.2, trans. Perrin; Keaveney 2005, 143–65.
- 92 Plin. *NH* 15.102. Crassus collected lotus trees: Plin. *NH* 17.1–5; Val. Max. 9.1.4.
- 93 Plin. *NH* 36.49–50; Borghini 2004, 133–5.
- 94 *LTUR* 3 67–70, s.v. *Horti Lucullani* (H. Broise–V. Jolivet), with bibliography; Coarelli 1996, 327–43; Broise, Dewailly, and Jolivet 2000, 436–7; Broise and Jolivet 2009.
- 95 Cic. *Fin.* 3.2.7–3.3.10; Dix 2000.
- 96 Keaveney 2005, 155.
- 97 Miles 2008, 220–6.
- 98 Plut. *Luc.* 39.2–4, trans. Perrin; also Cic. *Leg.* 3.30–1; Edwards 1993, 140; Miles 2008, 225.
- 99 Plin. *NH* 34.93; Pape 1975, 23–4; Bradford Churchill 1999, 108; Miles 2008, 224 (who believes that Lucullus dedicated it).
- 100 Cic. *Brut.* 230; Val. Max. 5.3.5, 6.2.8; Sen. *Con.* 7.2.6; Oros. 5.18.26; Plut. *Pomp.* 4.1–3; Bradford Churchill 1999, 106–7; Seager 2002, 25. Contra: Alexander 1990, 62 no. 120.
- 101 Plin. *NH* 7.96, trans. Bostock; Diod. Sic. 40.4, who does not specify cult statues, but *andriantas*.
- 102 *HA Gord.* 3; *LTUR* 2 159–60, s.v. *Domus Pompeiorum* (V. Jolivet); Beard 2007, 30; Miles 2008, 161; Russell 2016, 161.
- 103 Sear 2006, 23, using calculations based on Thornton and Thornton, 1989. Also Cass. Dio 39.38.2–5 for a rumor that Demetrius, a freedman of Pompey's, paid for the complex with money gained on campaign with the general.
- 104 Tac. *Ann.* 13.54.3; Plin. *NH* 33.54; Gagliardo and Packer 2006, 95; Sear 2006, 57–9.
- 105 Gell. 10.1.7; Plin. *NH* 8.20; Tert. *Spect.* 10; Hölscher 2008, 96–7.
- 106 Vitruvius 5.6–7; Sear 2006, 57; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 153–60.
- 107 Plut. *Pomp.* 42.4, trans. Perrin; Seager 2002, 60–1, 75–6. Scholars struggle to find literal transpositions between the theaters: Sear 2006, 57. Russell 2016, 172, argues for an ideological rather than a formal similarity.

- 108 Plut. *Sull.* 11.1–2; Sall. *Hist.* 2.70 M; Coarelli 1997, 564–5.
- 109 Cic. *In Pis.* 8; Asc. *In Pis.* 6–7; Frézouls 1983, 207–13; Tatum 1999, 117; Lott 2004, 36, 47–60; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 264–9. Violence recurred in 66.
- 110 Cic. *In Pis.* 4–8; Lott 2004, 56. An unnamed tribune tried unsuccessfully to restore them in 61.
- 111 Coarelli 1997, 544–6, on the possibility that Pompey owned the land. On Pompey's adjacent house: Russell 2016, 160–2.
- 112 Baltard 1837; Canina 1845; *LTUR* 5.35–8, s.v. *Theatrum Pompei* (P. Gros) with extensive bibliography; Gagliardo and Packer 2006; Packer 2007; Sear 2006, 57–61; Packer *et al.* 2007; Filippi *et al.* 2015.
- 113 Gagliardo and Packer 2006, 116; Packer 2007, 263–4; Packer *et al.* 2007, 511; Filippi *et al.* 2015, 324. The Doric half-columns were probably similar to but moderately taller than the façade openings on the later Theater of Marcellus. Surmounting the arches there was probably an entablature similar to that on the Tuscan colonnade across from the Theater of Marcellus or on the Flavian amphitheater.
- 114 There was probably a single ambulatory at ground level. Its inner wall (and those of the *aditus maximi*) was pepperino *opus quadratum*, probably with travertine cornices. Its piers were ornamented with pilasters with stuccoed flutes. Fragments of painted stucco indicate that the walls were also painted. The ambulacrum was paved with travertine. Gagliardo and Packer 2006; Packer 2007; Packer *et al.* 2007; Packer *et al.* 2010; Filippi *et al.* 2015, 325–39, 348–64. Red granite columns discovered in the area probably belong to a restoration of the upper levels: Gagliardo and Packer 2006, 117.
- 115 Val. Max. 2.4.6; also Mart. *Epig.* 6.9.
- 116 Plin. *NH* 36.115; Sear 2006, 57, 60.
- 117 Sear 2006, 60. On the travertine block: Packer, personal communication. Gleason 1994, 22, believes the Pompeian *scaenae frons* to have been temporary.
- 118 Gagliardo and Packer 2006, 113; 2006, 32.
- 119 Sear 2006, 61.
- 120 Cass. Dio 44.16; Plut. *Brut. Min.* 14; Nicol. Damasc. *Vita Caes.* 83; Gianfrotta and Mazzuccato 1968–69; Marchetti-Longhi 1970–1, 57–62; Coarelli 1981, 23; *LTUR* 1.334–5, s.v. *Curia Pompei, Pompeiana* (F. Coarelli); Coarelli 1997, 572–3; Sear 2006, 61. The exedra was about 24 m wide and 20 m long.
- 121 On identifications of this building, Sear 2006, 61.
- 122 Columns of bases: Gleason 1994, 19–21. Trees: Mart. 2.14.19; Prop. 2.32.12–16. Grimal 1984, 175, suggests laurel and myrtle on analogy with gardens at Croton.
- 123 Suet. *Aug.* 31. Two rectangles flank the arch. Gleason 1994, 21, suggests that they represent a victory monument comparable to the Great Altar of Zeus at Pergamon and a monument at Kbor Klib.
- 124 Gianfrotta and Mazzuccato 1968–69; Coarelli 1981, 23; Gleason 1994, 19.
- 125 Cic. *Att.* 4.9.1, trans. Shackleton Bailey.
- 126 Mus. Chiaramonti, inv. 636; Lanciani 1902 1, 144 (possibly Commodus); Helbig, 1.65 n. 11; Andreae 1998, who sees Telephus as Mithridates.
- 127 Pellegrini 1865, 201–3; Castagnoli 1947, 147–8; Pietrangeli 1949–51, 44; Gagliardo and Packer 2006, 98; Sear 2006, 60–1. There were also fragments of melted bronze.
- 128 Apollo: with plinth and without head: 3.82 m; Thalia: 3.70 m; Clio: 3.33 m. Fuchs 1982; Sear 2006, 61. Lanciani 1902 3.124 refers to a Muse in the Museo Pio-Clementino, also found there: Winckelmann 1763, *Storia* 1.322; Visconti 1784, 2.26. He also mentions fragments of trophies.
- 129 Fuchs 1982. Stylistic and material evidence suggest that the figure in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (MFA inv. 2011.75) should be recognized as a Muse: Christine Kondoleon, personal communication, 2015. For Coarelli 1996, 370–5, the mantles with *fibulae* and the long-sleeved undergarments suggest allegorical figures rather than Muses, probably Coponius' Nations.
- 130 Pellegrini 1865, 201–3; Castagnoli 1947, 147–8; Gagliardo and Packer 2006, 99–100.
- 131 Cass. Dio 50.8.3; Lanciani, 1902 3.124; Stuart Jones 1912, 22, nos. 5 and 25, no. 3; Sear 2006, 60, notes comparanda from theaters in Campania dating to ca. 100.
- 132 Diod. Sic. 40.4.
- 133 Plin. *NH* 35.59, 35.114, 35.126, 35.132.
- 134 Prop. 2.32.11–16; Pliny *NH* 36.41; also Suet. *Ner.* 46.
- 135 Coarelli 1996, 360–4.
- 136 Coarelli 1996, 369–70. Actual size: 2.05 m; about 3 m when complete.
- 137 Marchetti-Longhi 1957, 659; Coarelli 1996, 375–8, who conjectures that the Belvedere torso came from the Theater complex.
- 138 Plin. *NH* 7.34, trans. Bostock.
- 139 Tat. *Ad Graec.* 33–34.
- 140 Respectively, Coarelli 1971–72 and Kuttner 1999; Sauron 1987; DeRose Evans 2009.
- 141 Tat. *Ad Graec.* 35.
- 142 Vit. 5.9.1, citing Athens, Smyrna, and Tralles.
- 143 *LTUR* 5.35–8, s.v. *Theatrum Pompei* (P. Gros), esp. 38, who notes that sacred calendars imply a comparison between the theater and the Capitoline.
- 144 Gagliardo and Packer 2006, 93.
- 145 Kuttner 1999; Miles 2008, 233.
- 146 Hölscher 2008, 96–7.
- 147 Grimal 1943, 58; also Meier 1982, 151–2; Wallace-Hadrill 1998; Boatwright 1998, 72; Davies 2012b.
- 148 Vit. 5.9.5, 5.9.9; Grimal 1943, 80–4.
- 149 In Tarentum, for instance, and at Croton: Petr. *Sat.* 126.12, 127.8, 128.4. Grimal 1943, 79, 84, 173–7, believes that Pompey's gardens were unrelated to the Italic tradition.
- 150 Gleason 1994; Grimal 1943, 80–4, 85, 173–7; Kuttner 1999, 346–9.
- 151 Mart. 2.14.10.
- 152 Prop. 2.32.12; Kuttner 1999, 346.
- 153 Fuchs 1982.
- 154 Plin. *NH* 12.111.
- 155 Langendorfer 2012, 48.
- 156 Gleason 1994, 13; Kuttner 1999, 357–8.
- 157 Plut. *Pomp.* 52; Miles 2008, 234–5; Russell 2016, 182–6. On Pompey's house, Coarelli 1997, 543–59.

- 158 Gell. 10.1.7. On problems concerning the date of dedication, placed by Chron. Pasch. 1.215 in 52, see most recently Russell 2016, 164–5.
- 159 Tatum 1999, 118–19, 142–3, 179. He pointedly enrolled them at the *tribunum Aurelium* in front of the Temple of Castor.
- 160 Cic. *Mil.* 38; Asc. 48 C, in *Mil.* 43; Cic. *Har. Resp.* 22; Frézouls 1983, 204–5; Tatum 1999, 182–3, 211–12; Seager 2002, 97.
- 161 Cic. *Att.* 2.19, *Sest.* 116–23, *Planc.* 78; *Schol. Bob.* 136, 166; Frézouls 1983, 204–5; Tatum 1999, 181.
- 162 Cic. *Pis.* 65, trans. Yonge.
- 163 Tatum 1999, 224–5.
- 164 Cic. *Pis.* 65, trans. Yonge.
- 165 Cic. *Fam.* 7.1.3.
- 166 Cass. Dio 39.38.2–5; Plut. *Pomp.* 52.5.
- 167 Plin. *NH* 8.53, 8.64, 8.70–1, 8.84, trans. Bostock; Plut. *Pomp.* 52.5.
- 168 Cic. *Fam.* 7.1.3, adapted from Yonge’s translation; Plin. *NH* 7.158. On the numbers, Westall 1996, 85.
- 169 Greenhalgh 1981; Champlin 2003; Cic. *Fam.* 7.1.2; Erasmo 2007. For social segregation in the theater: Packer *et al.* 2007, 517.
- 170 Plut. *Brut.* 14; Cic. *Div.* 2.23; Suet. *Aug.* 31; Johansen 1973, 1977; La Rocca 1987–88; Sapelli 1990; Coarelli 1996, 378–9; 1997, 574–5; *LTUR* 4.367, s.v. *Statua: Cn. Pompeius* (E. Papi). The statue was found in via dei Leutari near Palazzo della Cancelleria in 1552/3. The head is restored. The mannered drapery style might fit with a mid-first century date; so would the use of Pentelic marble. The globe would describe Pompey’s conquests on three continents; a globe also appears on coins in 55, minted by Faustus Cornelius Sulla in honor of Pompey, his father-in-law (also Östenberg 2009, 287 for coins featuring globes in *ca.* 75); Crawford 1974, 449–51, no. 426.4a. For Muthmann 1951, 115; Faccenna 1956; and Sapelli 1990, the statue is late first or early second century CE, principally because of iconographical analysis of the palm trunk support, the Gorgoneion on the *fibula*, and the globe. Controversial as it is, it may be worth noting that the statue’s *contrapposto* pose answers that of the bronze Hercules from the Theater: just as Hercules offers the apples of the Hesperides, the sign of his labors accomplished, so the Palazzo Spada figure holds forth a globe, the sign of a world subjugated.
- 171 Cass. Dio 39.61; Steinby 2012, 21, 76.
- 172 Five inscribed *cippi* were discovered in Regio XIV (*CIL* 6.31540g–i, 14.2526–8); one, dated to 53, was discovered out of *situ* in Regio XIII (*CIL* 6.1234 f.). Le Gall 2005, 175; *LTUR* 2.221–3, s.v. *Emporium* (Moccheggiani Carpano); Bruno 2013b, 400; Carafa and Pacchiarotti 2013, 554.
- 173 Some patrician magistrates also used memorials to gain attention while they were *privati*: Plin. *NH* 33.53; Cic. *Sest.* 124–6; Cass. Dio 37.51.4; Beacham 1999, 37; Thein 2002, 74.
- 174 Val. Max. 2.4.6; Amm. Marc. 14.6.25; Plin. *NH* 19.23. Liv. *Per.* 98 places the dedication in 69.
- 175 Hybrida: consul in 63. Petreius: perhaps the praetor of 64.
- 176 Val. Max. 2.4.6; Beacham 1999, 13; Welch 2007, 6.
- 177 Val. Max. 2.4.6.
- 178 Plin. *NH* 36.5–6, 36.50, 36.114–15, 36.189, trans. Rackham. Cic. *Sest.* 116, *Schol. Bob. ad Sest.* 116; Medri 1997, 100.
- 179 Plin. *NH* 8.64, 8.86, 9.11.
- 180 Plin. *NH* 35.127; Medri 1997, 85.
- 181 Cic. *Vat.* 37, trans. Yonge; Beacham 1999, 16.
- 182 Cic. *Off.* 2.58–59 (in 44), *Mur.* 19.40; Millar 1998, 74; Beacham 1999, 3, 16, 31–2, 43; also Plut. *Cic.* 13.
- 183 Cic. *Mur.* 38–9, 75–7, trans. Yonge; Beacham 1999, 4, 15; also Cic. *Off.* 2.57.
- 184 The wooden bridge may have been built in 191. Radke 1971, 57; *CIL* 1².751 a–h; *LTUR* 4.109–10, s.v. *Pons Fabricius* (J.–M. Salamito); Laurence 1999, 41.
- 185 The bridge could date anywhere between 62 and 28. It is probably the work of C. Cestius, praetor in 44, or L. Cestius, praetor the following year. Gazzola 1963 2.42 ff.; *LTUR* 4.108–9, s.v. *Pons Cestius* (D. Deglassi).
- 186 *CIL* 1.606 = 1².762; Chioffi 1996, 26.
- 187 *CIL* 6.1303, 1304, 31593; *ILS* 43; *LTUR* 2.264–6, s.v. *Fornix Fabianus* (L. Chioffi). The proportions of the support blocks argue for bust-size portraits in niches as opposed to full-size statues. Chioffi 1996, 26, 33, notes comparanda for busts in niches in tomb façades in Pompeii. Kontokosta 2013, 21, describes the inscriptions as Parian marble.
- 188 Cic. *Att.* 4.17, trans. Shackleton Bailey; Cass. Dio 42.2; Liverani 2008, 43. In this phase, the bays were reduced to 4.24 m; the shops were 6.29 m wide. *LTUR* 1.173–5, s.v. *Basilica Fulvia* (H. Bauer). Reconstruction: John Burge. Freyberger and Ertel 2007, 495–7. Freyberger 2009, 38–43 dates this phase, and the initial conversion to a second-story design, before 80, presumably to provide an attic for the shields displayed by Aemilius Paullus in 78 and shown on *denarii* of 61 (see fig. 5.21). See also Gorski and Packer 2015, 91–115.
- 189 Cic. *Att.* 4.17, trans. Shackleton Bailey. See n. 188 for a different interpretation of Cicero’s letter.
- 190 DeRose Evans 1992, 129–34. The existing architrave and the frieze appear not to be contemporaneous: summary in Gorski and Packer 2015, 392 n. 67. Bartoli 1950, Borda 1951, Toynbee 1953, Carettoni 1961, Furuhausen 1961, and Albertson 1990 set the reliefs in 55–34, reused in the building of 14. Torelli no. 49 and Coarelli 1985, 206–7, date them to the restoration of 78; Bartoli makes them coeval with the Temple of Venus Genetrix because they glorified the Julians by portraying the Romans’ origins. Strong 1976, 78, Van Buren 1936, and Freyberger and Ertel 2007, 502–8, see them as Augustan.
- 191 Münzer 1999, 292.
- 192 Cic. *Att.* 4.17, trans. Shackleton Bailey.
- 193 Plut. *Caes.* 5; Flower 1996, 124; Millar 1998, 75–6.
- 194 Plut. *Caes.* 6.1–2, trans. Perrin; Gruen 1974, 79–81; Meier 1982, 146–7; MacKay 2000, 165–6; Thein 2002, 73.
- 195 MacKay 2000, 164–6; Flower 2006, 105–6; Plut. *Caes.* 6.1–5.
- 196 Suet. *Iul.* 11.
- 197 Plut. *Caes.* 6–7, trans. Perrin.
- 198 Sall. *Cat.* 49.3, trans. Ramsey; Suet. *Iul.* 10; Meier 1982, 147–8; Favro 1996, 61.
- 199 Plin. *NH* 33.16; Suet. *Iul.* 10; Millar 1998, 75–6; Miles 2008, 236.

- 200 Cic. *Vat.* 33–4, *Sest.* 135; Schol. Bob. 140, 150; Alexander 1990, 125–6 no. 255; Tatum 1999, 140–1.
 - 201 Cic. *QF* 2.2.2, *Att.* 2.3.2, *Mil.* 46 ff.; Tatum 1999, 198.
 - 202 Hor. *Carm.* 3.30.
 - 203 Plin. *NH* 36.109; Miles 2008, 188–9; Morricone 1980, 8–9; Fiorini 1988; Carandini and Papi, 1999; Casti and Zandri, 1999; *LTUR* 2.36, s.v. *C. Aquilius Gallus* (D. Palombi); *LTUR* 2.72, s.v. *Domus: Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus* (E. Papi); *LTUR* 2.75, s.v. *Domus: P. Calpurnius Lanarius* (W. Eck).
 - 204 Carandini and Carafa 1995; Gros 1996, 2.72–5. Coarelli calculates that there were 430 m² of usable space. The largest atrium in Pompeii, in the House of the Silver Wedding, has 144 m², and only 240 m² of usable space.
 - 205 Plin. *NH* 36.5; Isager 1993, 268.
 - 206 Clodius bought Scaurus' house after his death in 52 for 14,800,000 sesterces, the largest known sum paid for a house in Rome. At the end of 62 or the beginning of 61, Cicero informed Atticus that when P. Autronius Paetus, consul designate of 65, sold his *domus* to M. Valerius Mesalla Niger, consul of 61, his asking price showed Cicero that his own Palatine residence, purchased for three and a half million sesterces at the end of 62, was a good buy: Cic. *Att.* 1.13.6; *LTUR* 2.132, s.v. *Domus: M. Livius Drusus* (E. Papi); *LTUR* 2.66–7, s.v. *Domus: P. Autronius Paetus* (E. Papi). Also Gros 1996, 2.72–4.
 - 207 Vanderbroeck 1987; Millar 1998, 34.
 - 208 Cic. *Off.* 1.138–9.
- 7 CAESAR, POMPEY, AND RIVALS: ca. 54–44
- 1 Vell. Pat. 2.48.1; Cass. Dio 39.39.4; *De vir. ill.* 77.8; Seager 2002, 125.
 - 2 Cic. *QF* 3.1.17; Suet. *Iul.* 26; Plut. *Caes.* 23.5, *Pomp.* 53; Cass. Dio 39.64.1; Vell. Pat. 2.47.2; App. *BC* 2.19.68; Liv. *Per.* 106; Flor. 2.13.13; Meier 1982, 294–6; Tatum 2008, 109–10, 125.
 - 3 Suet. *Iul.* 18.2; Tatum 2008, 73–4, 127–8; Ramsey 2009, 48.
 - 4 Vell. Pat. 2.46.4; Plut. *Pomp.* 53, *Caes.* 28; App. *BC* 2.18.66; Cass. Dio 40.27; Liv. *Per.* 106; Flor. 2.13.13; Eutrop. 6.18.1; Seager 2002, 131–2.
 - 5 Plut. *Caes.* 28; Cic. *Att.* 4.15.7, 4.17.5, 4.18.3; *QF* 2.13.5, 2.14.4, 3.2.3, 3.3.2; Luc. 1.178 ff.; Meier 1982, 290–1; Millar 1998, 179–80; Seager 2002, 124–31.
 - 6 Ascon. 30 ff., 36; Vell. Pat. 2.47.3; Val. Max. 8.15.8; Cass. Dio 40.46.3, 40.50.4, 40.51.3; Liv. *Per.* 107, Schol. Bob. 169St.; Plut. *Cato Min.* 47, *Pomp.* 54, *Caes.* 28; Cic. *Mil.* 32, 89; App. *BC* 2.23; Suet. *Iul.* 26.1; Meier 1982, 297–9, 317–318, 328; Millar 1998, 181; Seager 2002, 133–4; Tatum 2008, 126, 130–1.
 - 7 App. *BC* 2.101; Cic. *Prov.* 33; Meier 1982, 317–30; Tatum 2008, 57.
 - 8 *Caes. BG* 7.90.8; Suet. *Iul.* 24; Plut. *Caes.* 29.2; App. *BC* 2.26; Meier 1982, 327, 331–41; Millar 1998, 190–3; Seager 2002, 140–51; Tatum 2008, 137–41. The gift to Aemilius Lepidus and the reuse of columns have led some archaeologists to believe that there were two phases to the restoration.
 - 9 *Caes. BC* 1.5.5, 1.8.1; Meier 1982, 342–6.
 - 10 *Caes. BC* 1.14.3; Cic. *Att.* 7.11.3, 7.12.2, 8.3.3, 9.10.2; Plut. *Pomp.* 60 f., *Caes.* 34; Cass. Dio 41.7 ff.; Suet. *Iul.* 34.1; *De vir. ill.* 77.9, 78.5; Eutrop. 6.19.3; Meier 1982, 369–77; Seager 2002, 152–4.
 - 11 Cic. *Att.* 10.4.8, 10.7.1; Cael. *Fam.* 8.16.1; Plut. *Pomp.* 62, *Caes.* 35; Cass. Dio 41.17.1 ff.; App. *BC* 2.41; Luc. 3.114 ff.; Flor. 2.13.21; *Caes. BC* 1.32.7; Meier 1982, 377–85; Seager 2002, 162; Tatum 2008, 141.
 - 12 *Caes. BC* 3.1–2; Meier 1982, 385–9; Gardner 2009, 58.
 - 13 Meier 1982, 397–403; Seager 2002, 161–7 with sources.
 - 14 *Caes. BC* 3.104.3; Cic. *Div.* 2.22, *Tusc.* 3.66; Strab. 16.2.33, 17.1.11; Vell. Pat. 2.53.3; Val. Max. 5.1.10; Plut. *Pomp.* 79–80, *Caes.* 48; Cass. Dio 42.4.1 ff.; App. *BC* 2.84.355 ff.; Liv. *Per.* 112; Flor. 2.13.52; Eutrop. 6.21.3; Oros. 6.15.28–9; Plin. *NH* 5.68; *De vir. ill.* 77.9, 78.6; Seager 2002, 168.
 - 15 Plut. *Caes.* 51.1; Cass. Dio 42.20.3; Weinstock 1971, 220–2; Meier 1982, 403, 407–13; Gardner 2009, 59.
 - 16 Meier 1982, 413, 418.
 - 17 Meier 1982, 411–12, 419–30.
 - 18 Cass. Dio 43.14.3.
 - 19 Meier 1982, 411–12, 452–5.
 - 20 Meier 1982, 436–8, 447; Yavetz 1983; Gardner 2009, 58.
 - 21 Suet. *Iul.* 44, trans. Rolfe; *Iul.* 40; Donati 2008, 41; Feeney 2008; Tatum 2008, 74–5, 167–9; Wardle 2009, 104; Rüpke 2011, 109–21.
 - 22 App. *BC* 2.11, trans. Oldfather; Meier 1982, 196–8.
 - 23 Plut. *Caes.* 55.5, 58.10; Suet. *Iul.* 41–42.2; App. *BC* 2.102; Cass. Dio 43.21.4, 43.51.3; Meier 1982, 386, 417–18, 447; Parenti 2003, 150–1; Donati 2008, 39.
 - 24 Suet. *Iul.* 42.3, 43; Meier 1982, 447; Favro 1996, 75; Parenti 2003, 150; Lott 2004, 61–5, with some caveats; Donati 2008, 40, who suggests that the laws were never rigorously enforced.
 - 25 Cass. Dio 43.49.1, 43.51.3; Tac. *Ann.* 11.25; Suet. *Iul.* 41.1, 76.3; “Sall.” *Ep. Ad Caes.* 1.7; Yavetz 1983, 174 and *passim*; Parenti 2003, 161; Gardner 2009, 61–2.
 - 26 Meier 1982, 447–9, 469.
 - 27 Cic. *Att.* 9.18; Suet. *Iul.* 41; Cass. Dio 43.14, 51; Meier 1982, 415–18, 462–3; Tatum 2008, 74–5, 143, 155–6; Gardner 2009, 60.
 - 28 Parenti 2003, 188–9.
 - 29 App. *BC* 2.107; Meier 1982, 459–60.
 - 30 Vell. Pat. 2.56.3; Parenti 2003, 189; also A. Hirtius and C. Vibius Pansa, consuls selected for 43, Munatius Plancus also for 42. Lintott 2009.
 - 31 Suet. *Iul.* 79.2–80.1; Plut. *Caes.* 60; Meier 1982, 456–8.
 - 32 Nic. Dam. 23.
 - 33 Flor. 2.13.95, trans. Forster; Suet. *Iul.* 80.4.
 - 34 Panciera 1987 attributes to Cn. Plancius, curule aedile of 55 or 54, a temple to Diana Planciana on the Quirinal near the intersection of via Panisperna and Salita del Grillo, known from inscriptions and a statue. The argument is based on a coin issue by Plancius, depicting a bow, quiver, and goat on the reverse and a female head on the obverse, identified as Diana: *RRC* 432/1 (but Crawford identifies the image as Macedonia). Also *LTUR* 2.15, s.v. *Diana Planciana, aedes*

- (L. Chioffi); Richardson 1992a, 109; *MAR* 102, s.v. *Diana Planciana* (E. A. Dumser); Capanna 2013, 453. Contra: Jones, 1976. A more likely candidate is L. Munatius Plancius, consul in 42, censor in 22, who celebrated a Gallic triumph in 29. In 54, Cicero may also have been restoring the Temple of Tellus while still rebuilding his house and his brother's; he erected a statue belonging to his brother at the temple; Cic. *Har. Resp.* 31 (in 57).
- 35 Caes. *BG* 2.35.4, 4.38, 7.90.8; Cass. Dio 39.5.1, 39.53.2, 40.50.4 (who claims the *supplicatio* was sixty days); Plut. *Caes.* 21.1, 22.4; Weinstock 1971, 62–4; Meier 1982, 63, 283.
- 36 Cass. Dio 43.43.3; Wardle 2009, 100, 108–10.
- 37 Caelius ap. Cic. *Fam.* 8.15.2, trans. Weinstock; App. *BC* 2.68, 2.76; Weinstock 1971, 83–7.
- 38 Serv. Dan. *Aen.* 1.720 claims it came to him in a dream; Weinstock 1971, 84.
- 39 App. *BC* 2.68, trans. Oldfather.
- 40 App. *BC* 2.102, trans. Oldfather.
- 41 For an earlier vow to Venus: Delfino 2014, 249. Critique of Appian: Weinstock 1971, 81–2.
- 42 Discussion of the historicity of Appian's account in Weinstock 1971, 81–2; Ulrich 1994, 128–30; Westall 1996, 99–107. Anderson 1984, 52, accepts Appian's essential account but denies its importance to the design of the Forum Iulium.
- 43 Ulrich 1994, 153; Misto and Vitti, 2009. Ships' rostra may have ornamented its façade.
- 44 Ulrich 1993, 62; 1994, 133–7. Amici 1991, 33, sees the tribunal as a later addition, and postulates a frontal staircase in the Caesarean phase. Yet as Ulrich notes, the tufa wall of the platform, built as a facing wall not a foundation, extends beyond the line of the lateral columns, making a frontal staircase unlikely; a tribunal also explains the extra width at the rear half of the temple.
- 45 Amici 1991, 77; Ulrich 1994, 146; Westall 1996, 87. The stairs may have passed between the façade columns. By Augustan times, there was a pair of pools in front of the tribunal at either corner, each approximately 2.90 m square and 10 cm deep and equipped with a drainage hole. In combination with a larger pool, probably on axis with the *cella*, the installation corresponds to a fountain mentioned by Ovid, dedicated to the Appian nymphs, the Appiades. Ov. *Ars Am.* 1.81, 3.451–2; Plin. *NH* 36.4.33. Ulrich 1986, 1993, 141–5; Longfellow 2011, 18–19, consider it integral to the temple's design. Contra: John Burge, personal communication.
- 46 Plin. *NH* 35.156. Ulrich 1993, 59, considers the rear of the temple hastily built. Cavallero, Delfino, and Di Cola 2013, 207 suggest a shorter plan for the Caesarian period than earlier reconstructions.
- 47 Weinstock 1971, 85–6; Ulrich 1990, 1994, 152; Westall 1996, 109–11. Alternative versions minted by Mn. Cordius Rufus in 46 show her holding a set of scales.
- 48 App. *BC* 2.102, trans. Oldfather; Cass. Dio 51.22.3; Plin. *NH* 7.126, 35.26, 35.136; Philostrat. *VA* 2.22. For this and later decoration: Ulrich 1994, 147–52; Westall 1996, 93–7, 107; Tatum 2008, 94–5 (with a different view of the paintings), 117–19; Pinna Caboni 2008, 57–9; Zanker 2008, 74–5; Miles 2008, 237.
- 49 Ulrich 1993, 74.
- 50 The *cella* measured 15.3 by 8.3 m. Liverani 2008, 48, like Ulrich, 1994, 150, comments on what he perceives as the narrowness of the *cella*.
- 51 Ulrich 1994, 140.
- 52 Suet. *Iul.* 78; Liv. *Per.* 116; Plut. *Caes.* 60 (“above the rostra”); Ulrich 1994, 132.
- 53 Ov. *Ars Am.* 1.81.
- 54 Suet. *Iul.* 24.
- 55 Amici 1991, 32–3, figs. 29–31; Westall 1996, 87. Ulrich 1994, 137 believes that it was finished with rusticated ashlar. If the latter, it may have been the result of the haste with which the temple was dedicated in 46.
- 56 Suet. *Iul.* 44.1, trans. Rolfe; Robinson 1992, 17.
- 57 Weinstock 1971, 130–1.
- 58 Also given Augustus' later celebration of Mars Ultor after a victory of civic vengeance at Philippi.
- 59 Liv. 22.10.9; Weinstock 1971, 128–32.
- 60 App. *BC* 2.68.
- 61 Cass. Dio 41.14.2–3; Weinstock 1971, 178–9.
- 62 Cass. Dio 43.45.2–3; Cic. *Att.* 12.45.2, 13.28.3.
- 63 Vitruv. 3.2.7; Gros 1976a, 115–19; Manca di Mores 1982–83; *LTUR* 4.185–7, s.v. *Quirinus, aedes* (F. Coarelli); *MAR* 214, s.v. *Quirinus, aedes* (L. Haselberger); contra Richardson 1992a, 326–7.
- 64 Brown 1935; Scott 1988; *LTUR* 4.189–92, s.v. *Regia* (R. T. Scott).
- 65 Scott 2009, 35–52; Arvanitis 2010, 58. For pavements: Morricone Matini 1967, 15, 111–19, 1971, 10–12. Around this time, too, Shrine A in the sanctuary on the Velian ridge was raised again, and revetted to resemble a well: Panella 2013, 46.
- 66 Scott 2009, 52, and personal communication.
- 67 Suet. *Iul.* 1.
- 68 Cass. Dio 43.49.3; Plin. *NH* 7.121.
- 69 Cass. Dio 43.14.2–7; Weinstock 1971, 40–59, 68–76; *LTUR* 4.362, s.v. *Statua: C. Iulius Caesar* (E. Papi); Cadario 2006; Zanker 2008, 73.
- 70 Cass. Dio 43.14.6, trans. Cary.
- 71 Cass. Dio 43.46–61; Weinstock 1971, 133.
- 72 Also Suet. *Iul.* 76.1, 80.3; Cic. *Deiot.* 33; *FPL* p. 92 M; Weinstock 1971, 145–8, 178–88.
- 73 Weinstock 1971, 64, 103–11, 174, 189.
- 74 Cass. Dio 43.44.1, trans. Cary.
- 75 Cass. Dio 44.4–7, 44.8.2, who records them all wrongly for 44; Weinstock 1971, 270; Meier 1982, 473–4; Tatum 2008, 75–7, 149–50.
- 76 Also Flor. 2.13.91; App. *BC* 2.106; Weinstock, 1971, 104, 200–5, 274–5. Appian places the title *pater patriae* in 45, which Weinstock considers more likely.
- 77 Also App. *BC* 2.106; Flor. 2.13.91; Weinstock 1971, 153–62.
- 78 Cass. Dio 44.4.4, trans. Cary; also App. *BC* 2.106; Flor. 2.5.91, 2.13.91; Weinstock 1971, 87, 163–7, 273, 282–6; Cadario 2006; Zanker 2008, 73–6.
- 79 Cass. Dio 44.4.5–44.6.4, trans. Cary; also App. *BC* 2.106; Plut. *Caes.* 57.4.
- 80 App. *BC* 2.106.
- 81 App. *BC* 2.106; Alfoldi 1974, 8, tav. 156.48a–49; Hill 1980, 47; *RRC* 480/21; Elkins 2015, 34; Weinstock 1971, 308–10;

- LTUR* 1.279–80, s.v. *Clementia Caesaris, aedes* (D. Palombi). Dio states that the Temple of Felicitas was completed in 44, but his account is problematic, particularly given that archaeological evidence now suggests that Caesar's senate house occupied the same site as its predecessors. Colini; Morselli and Tortorici 1989, 58 ff., 105–6; *LTUR* 2.245–6, s.v. *Felicitas, naos* (E. Tortorici); Liverani 2008, 44.
- 82 Diod. Sic. 32.4; Polyb. 5.10.1; Weinstock 1971, 234.
- 83 Cic. *Verr.* 2.2.4; Polyb. 15.17.4; Liv. 31.31.16, 33.12.7; Gelzer, *Kl. Schr.* 2.56, 2.58; Weinstock 1971, 235.
- 84 Vell. Pat. 2.56; Cass. Dio 43.5, 43.50; Weinstock 1971, 133–45, 233–43; Meier 1982, 369–77.
- 85 Flor. 2.13.90; Cass. Dio 43.15.1–2; App. *BC* 2.106. Weinstock 1971, 233–43, who places the decree at about the same time as the Rostra statues (VII.5).
- 86 Suet. *Iul.* 42.3; Meier 1982, 447, 467–9.
- 87 Cic. *Att.* 8.16.2, 9.7.3, 9.7C.1, 10.7.1, 8.11.2; Caes. *BC* 1.76.5; Weinstock 1971, 237.
- 88 Cic. *Marc.* 1, 8, 26–7, *Lig.* 38; Weinstock 1971, 233–43; Yavetz 1983, 174 and *passim*.
- 89 Plut. *Caes.* 57.4; Suet. *Iul.* 75; Cic. *Deiot.* 34.
- 90 Weinstock 1971, 239.
- 91 Plut. *Cato Min.* 66, 72.2; Yavetz 1979, 175.
- 92 Caes. *BC* 1.22.5; Cass. Dio 41.57.2; also “Sall.” *Ep. Ad Caes.* 2.2.4, 2.5.7; Weinstock 1971, 139.
- 93 Cass. Dio 43.5, trans. Cary; Plut. *Cato Min.* 71.1.
- 94 Cass. Dio 43.44.1.
- 95 Cic. *De Imp.* 45, 48.
- 96 Caes. *B. Afr.* 83.1; App. *BC* 2.97; Weinstock 1971, 115–27.
- 97 Cass. Dio 43.21.1, trans. Cary.
- 98 Nic. Dam. 23.
- 99 *LTUR* 2.245–6, s.v. *Felicitas, naos* (E. Tortorici); Liverani 2008, 44.
- 100 Jal 1961; *LTUR* 1.321, s.v. *Concordia Nova* (A. M. Ferroni).
- 101 *RRC* table 13; Cic. *Cluent.* 152, *Att.* 1.18.3, 7.3.5, 8.2.1; Weinstock 1971, 261, 263–4; Levick 1978, 221–2.
- 102 Dion. Hal. 2.11.2; “Sall.” *Ep. Ad Caes.* 1.5.3; Weinstock 1971, 264. Levick 1978, 223–4, who notes that Caesar may have perceived the sarcasm.
- 103 Meier 1982, 298–9, 327–8; Millar 1998, 187–8; Tatum 2008, 126–33.
- 104 Suet. *Iul.* 47, 54.2; Cass. Dio 42.48.2; Meier 1982, 281, 287; Miles 2008, 100; Wardle 2009, 103.
- 105 Cic. *Att.* 4.17 (October 1, 54), trans. Shackleton Bailey; Millar 1998, 176–7.
- 106 Pape 1975, 53; Anderson 1984, 9.
- 107 Suet. *Iul.* 26, trans. Rolfe. To his Gallic spoils, he could add manubial resources from the Alexandrian war. On Caesar levying money from the Egyptians: Cass. Dio 42.9.1; Westall 1996, 89.
- 108 Summary of positions in Ulrich 1993, 57–8; also Anderson 1984, 39; Robinson 1992, 17; Westall 1996, 83, 89; Delfino 2008, 53–4, 2014, 255.
- 109 Ulrich 1993, 54–5, before the excavations of 1998–2000 and 2004–8.
- 110 Plin. *NH* 36.103.
- 111 Ricci 1933; Thomsen 1941; Fiorani 1968; Amici 1991; Delfino 2008, 52–3, 2014, 136–83.
- 112 Amici 1991, 33–40; Ulrich 1993, 70–1, 77–9; Delfino 2008, 52.
- 113 Delfino 2008, 52–4.
- 114 For fragments of architectural elements: Pinna Caboni 2008, 57; Maisto and Vitti 2009, 37–9; Delfino 2014, 167–75. Ulrich (1993) and Longfellow (2011, 18) place the Appiades at the temple in the Caesarian phase; Ovid (*Ar. Am.* 1.82, 3.452, *Rem. Am.* 660) simply mentions Appian nymphs in connection with the temple, while Pliny (*NH* 36.33) states that Asinius Pollio owned statues of the Appiades by Stephanos.
- 115 Plin. *NH* 8.154–5; Stat. *Silv.* 1.1.84–90; Suet. *Iul.* 61; Cass. Dio 37.54.2; Weinstock 1971, 86–7; Westall 1996, 88; Delfino 2008, 53, 2014, 162–5, 252–3; Zanker 2008, 74.
- 116 Plin. *NH* 34.18.
- 117 Ulrich 1993, 53; Westall 1996, 89.
- 118 App. *BC* 2.102, trans. Oldfather.
- 119 Also temple complexes (for instance, at Gabii and Fregellae). Gjerstad 1944; Ulrich 1993, 73; Favro 1996, 71–2; Delfino 2008, 52–3, 2014, 177–81.
- 120 Ulrich 1993, 51, suggests that by 44 Caesar intended his forum to supplant the civic functions of the Roman Forum. Also Millar 1998, 176–7.
- 121 And perhaps a problematic equestrian group erected by a Metellus, probably Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio Nasica (cos. 52), on the Capitoline: *LTUR* 2.230, s.v. *Equus: Metelli (turma equestrium)* (E. Papi).
- 122 Westall 1996, 92; Plin. *NH* 34.18; Weinstock 1971, 87; Cadario 2006, 33–5; Zanker 2008, 74–5.
- 123 Cic. *Att.* 4.17, trans. Shackleton Bailey; also Cass. Dio 53.23.
- 124 Gatti 1934, 1937; Coarelli 1997, 155–64, 580–2; *LTUR* 4.228–9, s.v. *Saepta Iulia* (E. Gatti).
- 125 Taylor 1966, 47–58.
- 126 Hier. *Chron. a. Abr.* 1971. Miles 2008, 236 and others read a reference to Caesar's basilica in Cic. *Att.* 4.17.7: “Paullus has almost brought his basilica in the forum to the roof, using the same columns as were in the ancient building: the part for which he gave out a contract he is building on the most magnificent scale.” This would date the conception to 54. This interpretation presupposes an abrupt change of subject.
- 127 Liverani 2008, 43; *LTUR* 1.177–9, s.v. *Basilica Iulia* (C. F. Giuliani–P. Verduchi); Stat. *Silv.* 1.1.29; Mart. 6.38.6.
- 128 Quint. *Inst.* 12.5.6 describes the use of the basilica as the seat of the centumviral tribunal; it was also used for financial matters.
- 129 Cass. Dio 42.18.1; Plut. *Caes.* 56.9; Weinstock 1971, 61.
- 130 Cass. Dio. 43.14.3, 43.22.2–3; Cic. *Phil.* 14.23; Weinstock 1971, 61–2, 64.
- 131 Östenberg 2009, 287.
- 132 Cass. Dio 43.19; Vell. Pat. 2.56; App. *BC* 2.101; Suet. *Iul.* 37; Plut. *Caes.* 55.
- 133 Plut. *Aem. Paul.* 33.1, 34.6, *Pomp.* 45.1; Diod. Sic. 31.8.12; Plin. *NH* 37.13; Weinstock 1971, 76.
- 134 App. *BC* 2.101; Östenberg 2009, 246–53.
- 135 Suet. *Iul.* 37.2, trans. Rolfe; also Östenberg 2013.

- 136 Suet. *Iul.* 35.2; Westall 1996, 115–16.
- 137 Vell. Pat. 2.56.2, trans. Shipley; Östenberg 2009, 214, 217, 221, 230, 234, 287–8.
- 138 Plin. *NH* 37.11, 9.116; Solin. 53.28.
- 139 App. *BC* 2.102; Vell. Pat. 2.56.2: in 2003, about \$270,000,000 or £170,000,000.
- 140 Vell. 2.56.3; Liv. *Per.* 116; Weinstock 1971, 198.
- 141 Vell. Pat. 2.56.2; Quint. *Inst.* 6.3.61; Suet. *Iul.* 37.1; Plut. *Caes.* 56.7; Cass. Dio 43.42.1; Weinstock 1971, 198; Meier 1982, 461–2; Östenberg 2009, 201.
- 142 Cass. Dio 43.22.2–3; Östenberg 2009, 182–4.
- 143 Plin. *NH* 37.11, 9.116; Solin. 53.28.
- 144 App. *BC* 2.102; Cass. Dio 43.21.3; Suet. *Iul.* 38.2; Plin. *NH* 14.97.
- 145 App. *BC* 2.102; Suet. *Iul.* 38; Cass. Dio 43.24; Meier 1982, 446; Westall 1996, 85.
- 146 Cass. Dio 43.22.2–3; Weinstock 1971, 88.
- 147 Suet. *Iul.* 26.2; Liv. *Per.* 106; Plut. *Caes.* 23.5, 55.4, *Pomp.* 53.4; Cass. Dio 39.64; Weinstock 1971, 89–90; *LTUR* 4.291, s.v. *Sepulcrum: Iulia (tumulus)* (F. Coarelli).
- 148 Suet. *Iul.* 38.2, 39; Plut. *Caes.* 55.4.
- 149 Suet. *Iul.* 39.1–2; Macrobian.
- 150 Suet. *Iul.* 39; App. *BC* 2.102; Cass. Dio 43.23.4–6; Weinstock 1971, 88, 92. Sulla's revival: Plut. *Cato Min.* 3.1; also Meier 1982, 444.
- 151 Suet. *Iul.* 39.3, trans. Rolfe; Plin. *NH* 8.53 (lions); Cass. Dio 43.23 (giraffe); App. *BC* 2.102: 20 against 20. Östenberg 2009, 171.
- 152 Dion. Hal. 3.68.1–4, trans. Cary; Suet. *Iul.* 39.2; Humphrey 1986, 73–7; Favro 1996, 62, 67; Liverani 2008, 49; Marcattili 2009.
- 153 Humphrey 1986, 74–6.
- 154 App. *BC* 2.102; Cass. Dio 43.23.3.
- 155 Suet. *Iul.* 39.3, trans. Rolfe; Cass. Dio 43.22; Favro 1996, 62; Liverani 2008, 49. The temporary stadium was probably in the piazza Navona area.
- 156 Suet. *Iul.* 39 (where scholars correct a textual corruption, *in morem cochleae*, to *in minore Codeta*, located in the Campus Martius by Dio or in Trastevere by Fest. 50 L); Cass. Dio 43.23; App. *BC* 2.102; Vell. Pat. 2.56; Coleman 1993, 50; Coarelli 1997, 584–5; Favro 1996, 67; Liverani 2008, 49; *LTUR* 3.338, s.v. *Naumachia Caesaris* (A. M. Liberati).
- 157 Plin. *NH* 19.23, trans. Bostock; Cass. Dio: 43.24.2.
- 158 Plin. *NH* 15.78.
- 159 Vell. Pat. 2.56, trans. Shipley.
- 160 Suet. *Iul.* 39.4, trans. Rolfe.
- 161 Westall 1996, 88.
- 162 Weinstock 1971, 91.
- 163 Suet. *Iul.* 38.2, trans. Rolfe; Vell. Pat. 2.56.2; Liv. *Per.* 116; Weinstock 1971, 198; Meier 1982, 461–2.
- 164 Cic. *Att.* 2.8.1, 2.19.3.
- 165 Cic. *Fam.* 2.3.
- 166 Plin. *NH* 36.117–18, adapted from Greenwood's translation; Sear 2006, 56.
- 167 Carey 2003, 97–8.
- 168 Plin. *NH* 36.120, trans. Greenwood.
- 169 Cic. *Fam.* 8.2.1; Richardson 1992a, 381, who places it in the Campus Martius.
- 170 Plin. *NH* 36.120, trans. Greenwood. On the ship of state: Aesch. *Sept. passim*; Plato, *Rep.* 6.488a–89d; Hor. *Carm.* 1.14.
- 171 Plin. *NH* 36.118, trans. Greenwood; Beacham 1999, 72; Carey 2003, 98.
- 172 Cass. Dio 40.49.2–3, trans. Cary; Asc. *In Mil.* 32C; Millar 1998, 182.
- 173 Cass. Dio 40.49.2–3, trans. Cary. The crowd also attacked the houses of Aemilius Lepidus, *interrex*, and Milo. Meier 1982, 298; Millar 1998, 182.
- 174 On the event as a public funeral: Achard 1975, 166–78; Nippel 1995, 77.
- 175 Cass. Dio 40.50.2–3, trans. Cary.
- 176 Meier 1982, 436–8.
- 177 Suet. *Iul.* 44, trans. Rolfe.
- 178 Cass. Dio 38.1; Meier 1982, 151–2, 159; Scheidel 2001; Patterson 2006; de Ligt 2006; also Wallace-Hadrill 1998; Boatwright 1998, 72.
- 179 Cass. Dio 42.50; Suet. *Iul.* 38.2; Cic. *Off.* 2.83–4; Meier 1982, 418; Donati 2008, 39.
- 180 Suet. *Iul.* 38.1, 42.1; App. *BC* 2.94; Cass. Dio 42.54.1; Gardner 2009, 64.
- 181 Suet. *Iul.* 42, trans. Rolfe; Meier 1982, 447, 466–7.
- 182 Cass. Dio 43.47.4.
- 183 Cass. Dio 43.50; Cic. *Att.* 13.20 (July 2, 45).
- 184 Cic. *Att.* 13.33a, trans. Shackleton Bailey.
- 185 Suet. *Iul.* 44; Plut. *Caes.* 58; Le Gall 1953, 132.
- 186 Cic. *Att.* 13.35, *QF* 3.7.
- 187 Le Gall 1953, 130–3; Lagunes 2004, 117–29; Aldrete 2007, 182–4; Liverani 2008, 49–50.
- 188 Le Gall 1953, 132; Favro 1996, 73–5. On garden estates, Grimal 1943.
- 189 Suet. *Iul.* 44. Contra Coarelli, 1997, 586–8, who argues for a single theater in the location of the Theater of Marcellus. On the location of the Tarpeian Rock: Coarelli 1985, 2, 80–7; *LTUR* 4.237–8, s.v. *Saxum Tarpeium* (T. P. Wiseman).
- 190 Valentini and Zucchetti 1940, 1.123; Sear 2006, 62.
- 191 Cass. Dio 43.49.3, trans. Cary; Favro 1996, 63.
- 192 Suet. *Iul.* 44.2, trans. Rolfe; Miles 2008, 238.
- 193 Cic. *Att. passim*, *Fam.* 7.20.3, *Fin.* 3.2.7–3.3.10; Varr. *RR* 3.2.17; Dix 2000, 457–8.
- 194 Plut. *Luc.* 42.1; Dix 1994, 282; 2000, 454–6.
- 195 Dix 1994, 286–7. Sen. *Contr.* 4. Pref. 2, attributes the invention of author recitals to C. Asinius Pollio, whose library was the first public library in Rome, between 39 and 28; Dalzell 1955.
- 196 Parenti 2003, 154–7, sees this as a false accusation.
- 197 Scobie 1986; Davies 2012b; Lo Cascio 2016.
- 198 Davies 2012b. Judging by available evidence, only Cato the Elder, whose trademark was austerity, and perhaps Sulla as dictator, renovated the sewer system.
- 199 Johnson *et al.* 1961, 93–7; Robinson 1992, 17; Favro 1996, 75–76; Crawford 1996, 355–62; Gardner 2009, 64.
- 200 *Tabula Heracleensis* 7–21.
- 201 Cass. Dio 43.49.
- 202 Coarelli 1985, 237–57; *LTUR* 4.214–17, s.v. *Rostra Augusti* (P. Verduchi); *RRC* 473/1; Favro 1996, 68–9. The socle in

- white marble, evidently remounted, originated on another monument. On the marble types: Borghini 2004, 133–5, 285–6. Based on Boni 1900, 306, Coarelli 1985, 133–5, also posits a new pavement in the Forum in Caesar's time, made of travertine and with marble slabs in front of the Curia.
- 203 Cass. Dio 43.49.2, trans. Cary; Suet. *Iul.* 75.4. Filippi 2013, 168, suggests that the statues stood on bases behind the Rostra, discovered in excavations.
- 204 Cass. Dio 43.44.6, trans. Cary.
- 205 For the first version: Cic. *Rep.* 2.53; Plut. *Popl.* 10.3 ff., 6; Liv. 2.7.6 f.; Val. Max. 4.1.1; Dion. Hal. 5.19.1 f.; *De vir. ill.* 15.2 f.; Serv. *Aen.* 4.410. For the second: Cic. *Har. Resp.* 16; Ascon. *Pis.* 52; Pliny *NH* 36.112. Also Weinstock 1971, 278–9; Coarelli 1983, 79–83; Bruno 2013a, 223.
- 206 Dion. Hal. 5.39.4; Ascon. *Pis.* 52; Plin. *NH* 36.112; Plut. *Popl.* 20.2; Weinstock 1971, 278–9.
- 207 Liv. 42.6.9; Weinstock 1971, 279.
- 208 Bodel 1997; Davies 2000; Flower 2006. Milo's house may also have been confiscated after the murder of Clodius: *CIL* 6.37053; Filippi 2013, 165.
- 209 Plut. *Caes.* 63.9, trans. Perrin; also Flor. 2.13.91. Suet. *Iul.* 81.3.
- 210 Cic. *De Orat.* 3.180; Vitruv. 5.6.9; Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 19. Weinstock 1971, 280–1, contends that the pediment may have been on the *domus publica*, not on the gifted house.
- 211 Plut. *Caes.* 63.9–10, trans. Perrin; also Suet. *Iul.* 81.
- 212 Cass. Dio 44.4–7.
- 213 Suet. *Iul.* 80.1; “Sall.” *Ep. ad Caes.* 1.7; Yavetz 1983, 174 and *passim*; Parenti 2003, 161; Gardner 2009, 61–2.
- 214 Liverani 2008, 44–5.
- 215 Amici 2004–5, 2007; Liverani 2008, 44–6. Coins minted in 28 in the east may depict the Curia Iulia as completed in 29 as a pedimented structure surrounded by a colonnade: *RIC* 1².60, no. 266; *LTUR* 1.332–4, s.v. *Curia Iulia* (E. Tortorici) with bibliography. For an earlier view (for which there is no archaeological evidence) that previous versions were oriented north–south and stood further to the west, in the position of SS Luca e Martina: Coarelli 1983, 138–44; 1985, 233–7; *LTUR* 1.331–2, s.v. *Curia Hostilia* (F. Coarelli); also Meier 1982, 467–8.
- 216 Morselli and Tortorici 1989, 229–37; Coarelli 1997, 575; also Liverani 2008, 44–5; Delfino 2008, 53–4, 2014, 183–9, 210–25.
- 217 Robinson 1992, 17; Favro 1996, 67, 73, 76–8.
- 218 Plut. *Caes.* 58.4.
- 219 Gardner 1967, 21; 2009, 66–8; Meier 1982, 470; Parenti 2003, 164; Lintott 2009, 76.
- 220 E.g. Favro 1996, 63, on the Temple of Felicitas and the inscription on the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus.
- 221 Cass. Dio 44.4–7.
- 222 Flor. 2.13.90–1.
- 223 Meier 1982, 433–4.
- 224 Barry Strauss, personal communication; Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, personal communication.
- 225 Tatum 2008, 157–61.
- 226 Nic. Dam. 20; also 19.
- 227 Cass. Dio 44.7.2–4, trans. Cary.
- 228 Plut. *Caes.* 57, trans. Perrin; also Suet. *Iul.* 76; Cass. Dio 44.3; Meier 1982, 475; Caesar was to be branded a tyrant; unmasking by panegyric. Contra: Gardner 2009, 66.
- 229 Liv. 38.56.12; Weinstock 1971, 36.
- 230 Plin. *NH* 34.18.
- 231 Cass. Dio 43.45.1, trans. Cary. On attempts to make Caesar a king: Weinstock 1971, 318–19.
- 232 Weinstock 1971, 175, 178; Cadario 2006.
- 233 Tatum 2008, 75.
- 234 Weinstock 1971, 287–96, 300–6. For Dio the vow together with the appointment of Antonius as *flamen* grouped Caesar with Jupiter. Meier 1982, 443 on Caesar's close relationship with Jupiter; Wardle 2009 106.
- 235 Suet. *Iul.* 80.3, trans. Rolfe.
- 236 App. *BC* 2.108, trans. Cary; also Nic. Dam. 20; Suet. *Iul.* 79.1–2.
- 237 Cass. Dio 43.45.4; also App. *BC* 113.
- 238 Plut. *Caes.* 60.4, trans. Perrin; Nic. Dam. 22; App. 107; Suet. *Iul.* 78.1. Weinstock 1971, 276, who believes that as the senior magistrate he had no obligation to rise, and that the incident was probably turned into a scandal long after it happened.
- 239 Cass. Dio 44.7.4; Nic. Dam. 22; App. 107.
- 240 Flor. 2.13.92, trans. Forster.
- 241 Suet. *Iul.* 79.2; Nic. Dam. 20–1; App. 107–8.
- 242 Suggestive episodes at Suet. *Iul.* 79.1 and App. *BC* 2.108.
- 243 Cass. Dio 44.3.2.
- 244 Cass. Dio 43.21.2, trans. Cary.
- 245 Plut. *Caes.* 60.5–8, adapted from Perrin; also Cass. Dio 44.8.
- 246 He may have finally resorted to testing public opinion, as at the Lupercalia in February of 44: App. *BC* 2.108–9; also Vell. Pat. 2.56.4; Flor. 2.5.91.
- 247 Meier 1982, 417–18, 479–80: Cicero promoted a plan to assassinate Caesar, and in summer 45 an attempt had been made to win over Antonius; also Donati 2008, 39.
- 248 Suet. *Iul.* 80.1, trans. Rolfe; also Nic. Dam. 19.
- 249 On messages left on Brutus' chair: Plut. *Brut.* 9.7; App. *BC* 113; Weinstock 1971, 147.

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